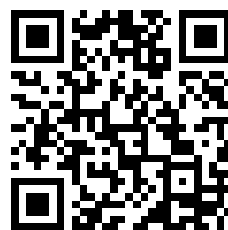

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A QUARTERLY JOURNAL IN THE INTERESTS OF SEMITIC STUDY

MANAGING EDITOR:

WILLIAM R. HARPER, PH. D.,

PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO; PRINCIPAL OF SCHOOLS OF THE
AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS:

PAUL HAUPT, PH. D.,

PROFESSOR OF THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES IN JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE.

HERMANN L. STRACK, PH. D., D. D.,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN.

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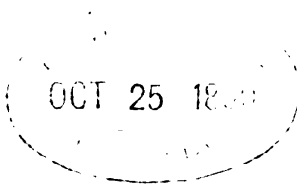
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No. I.

THE PENTATEUCHAL QUESTION. III. GEN. 37:2-EX. 12:51.

BY PROFESSOR W. HENRY GREEN,

Princeton Theological Seminary.

A. Gen. 37:2-50:26.

The first thirty-six chapters of Genesis have been discussed in previous articles; and no justification has yet been found for the critical hypothesis that the book is compounded from pre-existing documents. We proceed to inquire whether this hypothesis has any better support in the only remaining section of this book, "the generations of Jacob," 37:2-50:26.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

1. The Unity of Plan.

The divisive hypothesis encounters here in full measure the same insuperable difficulty, which meets it throughout the Book of Genesis, and particularly in the life of Abraham and the early history of Jacob. The unity of plan and purpose, which pervades the whole, so that every constituent part has its place and its function and nothing can be severed from it without evident mutilation, positively forbids its being rent asunder in the manner proposed by the critics. If ever a literary product bore upon its face the evidence of its oneness, this is true of the exquisite and touching story of Joseph, which is told with such admirable simplicity and a pathos that is unsurpassed, every incident grouped with the most telling effect, until in the supreme crisis the final disclosure is made. No such high work of art was ever framed by piecing together selected fragments of diverse origin.

The critics tell us that the apparent unity is due to the skill of the redactor. But the suggestion is altogether impracticable. A writer, who gathers his mate-

rials from various sources, may elaborate them in his own mind and so give unity to his composition. But a redactor, who limits himself to piecing together extracts culled from different works by distinct authors varying in conceptions, method and design, can by no possibility produce anything but patchwork, which will betray itself by evident seams, mutilated figures and want of harmony in the pattern. No such incongruities can be detected in the passage before us by the most searching examination. All that the critics affect to discover vanish upon a fair and candid inspection.

Moreover, the story of Joseph, complete as it is in itself is but one link in a uniform and connected chain, and is of the same general pattern with those that precede it. With striking individual diversities both of character and experience the lives of the several patriarchs are, nevertheless, cast in the same general mould. Divine revelations are made to Joseph at the outset, forecasting his future, 37:5sq., as to Abraham, 12:1sq., and to Jacob, 28:11sq. Each was sent away from his paternal home and subjected to a series of trials, issuing both in discipline of character and in ultimate prosperity and exaltation. And the story of Joseph fits precisely into its place in the general scheme, which it is the purpose of Genesis to trace, by which God was preparing and training a people for himself. By a series of marvelous providences, as the writer does not fail to point out, 45:5,7; 50:20, the chosen seed was preserved from extinction and located within the great empire of Egypt, as had been already foreshown to Abraham, 15:13sq., that they might unfold into a nation ready, when the proper time should arrive, to be transplanted into Canaan.

These broad and general features, in which the same constructive mind is discernible throughout, are lost sight of by critics, who occupy themselves with petty details, spying out doublets in every emphatic repetition or in the similar features of distinct events, finding occasions of offence in every transition or digression however natural and appropriate, and creating variance by setting separate parts of the same transaction in antagonism, as though each were exclusive of the other, when in fact they belong together and are perfectly consistent, or by dislocating phrases and paragraphs from their true connection and imposing upon them senses foreign to their obvious intent. These artifices are perpetually resorted to by the critics, and constitute in fact their stock arguments, just because they refuse to apprehend the author's plan, and to judge of the fitness of every particular from his point of view, but insist instead upon estimating everything from some self-devised standard of their own.

Vater, to whom the Pentateuch was a mass of heterogeneous fragments, and who was ready to go to any length in the work of disintegration, nevertheless says* that the history of Joseph is "a connected whole. To rend it asunder

* *Commentar über d. Pentateuch*, I., p. 290; III., p. 435.

would be to do violence to the narrative." And Tuch, who finds a double narrative throughout the rest of Genesis, declares that it is impossible to do so here. "Several wrong courses have been ventured upon," he says,* "in respect to the narrator of the life of Joseph. Some relying upon insecure or misunderstood criteria have sought to extort two divergent accounts. Others have held that the documents have been so worked over that it is impracticable to separate them with any degree of certainty. But we must insist upon the close connection of the whole recital, in which one thing carries another along with it, and recognize in that which is continuously written the work of one author." And he adds† respecting ch. 37: "This section in particular has been remarkably maltreated by the divisive document and redactor hypotheses of Ilgen and Gramberg without bringing forth anything but an arbitrary piece of mosaic work, which is shattered by the inner consistency and connection of the passage itself." The posthumous editor of Tuch's Commentary interposes the caveat that "since Hupfeld and Böhmer, the unity of the history of Joseph can no longer be maintained." But the fact is that no inconsistencies have since been pretended in this narrative, which were not already pointed out by Ilgen and Gramberg. Whether the later attempts to establish duplicate accounts have been more successful than those which Tuch so pointedly condemns, we shall inquire presently.

The urgent motive, which impels the most recent critics to split the history of Joseph asunder at all hazards is thus frankly stated by Wellhausen:‡ "The principal source for this last section of Genesis is JE. It is to be presumed that this work is here as elsewhere compounded of J and E. Our previous results urge to this conclusion, and would be seriously shaken if this were not demonstrable. I hold, therefore, that the attempt "to dismember the flowing narrative of Joseph into its sources" is not a mistaken one, but as necessary as the decomposition of Genesis in general."

2. Lack of Continuity in the Documents.

If distinct documents have been combined in this portion of Genesis, the critical analysis which disentangles them and restores each to its original separateness, might be expected to bring forth orderly narratives, purged of interpolations and dislocations, with the true connection restored and a consequent gain in each in significance, harmony and clearness. Instead of this there is nothing to show for P, J or E but mutilated fragments, which yield no continuous or intelligible narrative, but require for their explanation and to fill their *lacunae* precisely those passages which the critical process has rent from them. We are expected to assume with no other evidence than that the exigencies of the

* *Commentar über die Genesis*, 2d ed., p. 417.

† *Ibid.*, p. 424.

‡ *Composition des Hexateuchs*, p. 52.

hypothesis require it, that these P, J and E fragments were originally filled out into as many complete documents, but that the missing parts were removed by R.

3. The Divine Names.

The divine names here give no aid in the matter of critical division. Yahweh occurs in but three of these fourteen chapters, and in only eight verses, each time with evident appropriateness. It is found in connection with displays of God's punitive righteousness toward offenders 38:7,10 (no other name of God in the chapter), or his gracious care of Joseph as one of the chosen race, 39:2,3,5,21, 23 (inseparable from the rest of the chapter, where Elohim is found, v. 9), and in a pious ejaculation of the dying patriarch Jacob, 49:18, (in the same discourse with Elohim and Shaddai, v. 25). Hupfeld, *Quellen*, p. 178, confesses the embarrassment, which the critics find from the use of אֱלֹהִים in the history of Joseph in a manner which does not square with their maxims.

4. Diction and Style.

Neither is the partition conducted on the basis of such literary criteria as diction and style. Mere scattered scraps are assigned to P, such as can be severed from the main body of the narrative, as entering least into its general flow and texture. The mass of the matter, as has uniformly been the case since ch. 23, is divided between J and E, which by confession of the critics can only be distinguished with the greatest difficulty. At times they are held to be inextricably blended; at other times arbitrary grounds of distinction are invented, such as assigning to E all dreams that are mentioned, or different incidents of the narrative are parcelled between them, as though they were varying accounts of the same thing, whereas they are distinct items in a complete and harmonious whole. Genealogical tables, dates, removals, deaths and legal transactions or ritual enactments are as a rule given to P. Historical narratives are attributed to J and E, and are divided between them not by any definite criteria of style, but by the artifice of imaginary doublets or arbitrary distinctions, leaving numerous breaks and unfilled gaps in their train. The method itself is sufficient to condemn the whole process and to show that the results are altogether factitious. It could be applied with equal plausibility and with like results to any composition, whatever the evidence of its unity.

SECTION 10. GEN. 37:2-41:57.

1. Critical Partition of Chapter 37.

No name of God occurs in this chapter. It has, however, been variously divided, and it affords a good illustration of the ease with which a narrative embracing several incidents can be partitioned at the pleasure of the critic. Knobel,

the latest and most minutely elaborate of the supplementary critics, recognizes in Genesis only an Elohist Primary Document, P, which gives a comparatively trustworthy statement of facts, and a Jehovist Reviser, J, who incorporates with the preceding the legendary embellishments of later times. P's account, vs. 1-4, 23,27,28 (from "and sold," etc.), 31,32a, is that Joseph's reporting his brothers' misdeeds and his father's partiality for him so exasperated his brothers that they threw him into a pit, and then at Judah's instance sold him to Ishmaelites, who took him to Egypt; after this they dip Joseph's coat in blood and send it to their father. J adds from some other authority the prophetic dreams, Joseph's going in quest of his brothers, their conspiring against him, Reuben's proposal not to shed his blood but to put him in a pit (meaning, in the intent of the authority from which he draws, to let him perish there; but by inserting v. 22b, J converts this into a purpose to restore him to his father, and further introduces in the same vein vs. 29,30, Reuben's subsequent distress at not finding Joseph in the pit). J makes no mention of the adoption of Reuben's proposal, but this is to be presumed as Midianites pass, who draw Joseph out of the pit and sell him to Potiphar. Finally Jacob's grief is depicted at the sight of his son's coat, which was sent him.

The reigning critical fashion finds three documents in Genesis, P, J and E, though this chapter is parcelled between J and E, leaving to P only an insignificant fragment at the beginning. Vatke gives the entire chapter to E except one interpolation from J, vs. 25-27, and one clause of v. 28, (and soldsilver), which records the sale to the Ishmaelites as proposed by Judah. According to E, Joseph was carried off by the Midianites, who chanced to find him in the pit into which his brothers had thrown him. It does not appear from J that Joseph was ever put in a pit at all. So also Gramberg views the case from his peculiar division of the chapter, connecting v. 25 directly with v. 23; the brothers dissemble their spite against Joseph and sit down to their food, when they spy the Ishmaelites coming and resolve to sell him to them. Schrader enlarges the interpolation from J by vs. 23,24,31-35 with the effect of transferring the statement of Joseph's being put in the pit and of his father's grief from E to J. This still leaves the whole of the narrative prior to v. 23 with E, and nothing in J respecting the relation of Joseph to his brothers until suddenly, without a word of explanation, they are found deliberating whether to kill him or to sell him as a slave.

Wellhausen is too acute a critic and too ingenious in discovering doublets to suffer this state of affairs to continue. He remarks, *Comp. d. Hex.*, p. 53: "Verses 12-24 are preparatory to vs. 25sq., and are indispensable for both E and J. To be sure no certain conclusion can be drawn from this alone as to its composite character, but a presumption is created in its favor which is confirmed by actual traces of its being double." Acting upon this presumption he sets him-

self to work to discover the traces. It seems to him that "Here am I" is not the proper answer to what Israel says to Joseph, v. 13; and that v. 18 does not fit in between vs. 17 and 19. "They saw him afar off" implies that he had not yet "found them;" and "they conspired against him to slay him" is a parallel to v. 20. Verses 21 and 22 are also doublets, only instead of "Reuben" in v. 21 we should read "Judah," whose proposal is to cast him into the pit, v. 20, to perish without killing him themselves, while Reuben, v. 22, has the secret purpose of rescuing him. From these premises he concludes that while J is the principal narrator in this paragraph, as shown by Israel, v. 13, Hebron v. 14, and verbal suffixes *passim*, nevertheless 13b, 14a, 18, 22 and parts of vs. 23, 24, in which **אתו** repeatedly occurs instead of a suffix attached to the verb, belong to E and represent his parallel narrative.

In vs. 2b-11 he is less successful in discovering traces of twofold authorship. These verses are attributed to E, who deals more largely with dreams than J, and who, moreover, has **בן זקנים**, v. 3 as 21:2 against **ילד זקנים** 44:20 J; **כתנת**, v. 3, as vs. 23, 32 against **כתנת** J, and especially has **אתו** constantly, vs. 4, 5, 8, 9, instead of a verbal suffix in marked contrast with vs. 12sq. "With the sons of Bilhah," etc., v. 2, does not accord accurately with the preceding clause, and "he told it to his father and to his brethren," v. 10, deviates from the statement in v. 9; but he thinks these to be additions by a later hand and not from J. He has, however, one resource; vs. 19, 20, J, speak of Joseph's dreams, consequently J must have given some account of them, though it has not been preserved.

Dillmann proves in this instance to have had sharper eyes than Wellhausen, and has found the desired doublets where the latter could discover none. To be sure he uncereemoniously sets aside Wellhausen's criteria. He gives vs. 19, 20 to E (not J) in spite of repeated verbal suffixes which he will not recognize here as a discriminating mark, in spite, too, of **הלזה** which occurs 24:65 J, and nowhere else in the O. T.; and accordingly he does not allow the inference that J gave a parallel account of the dreams. But the coveted parallel is found by setting vs. 3, 4 as J's explanation of the hatred of Joseph over against that of E in vs. 5-11. According to J, his brothers hated him because he was his father's favorite; according to E, because of his ambitious dreams.* J says "they hated him," v. 4 **וירשאו**; E, "they envied him," v. 11 **וירקאו**. To be sure **שנא** occurs twice over in the E paragraph, vs. 5, 8, and with explicit reference to v. 4, clearly indicating the identity of the writer. But if any one imagines that such a trifle as this can disturb a critic's conclu-

* Dillmann explains the allusion to Joseph's mother, 37:10, whose death is mentioned, 35:19, by his favorite method of transposition, assuming that the statement of her death in E really occurred after this time, but R for the sake of harmonizing with P, inserted it sooner. But it remains to be shown that Leah could not be referred to in this manner after Rachel's death.

sions, he is much mistaken. Dillmann blandly says that the unwelcome clauses were inserted by R, and lo! they disappear at once. The word of a critic is equal to the wand of a magician. When he says that v. 5b is inappropriate where it stands because the actual recital of the dream follows, vs. 6,7, Delitzsch reminds him that such anticipatory announcements are quite usual, and cites 2:8. He says the same of v. 8b, because only one dream had yet been told, forgetting the numerous examples of the generic use of the plural.* כָּתַנָּה and בֶּן זְקֵנִים פְּסִים, v. 3, which Wellhausen adduces as characteristic of E, become with Dillmann indicative of J. Knobel remarks that v. 7 and 26:12 are the only two passages in the Pentateuch, in which the patriarchs are spoken of as cultivating the soil or otherwise than as nomads; they should therefore be ascribed to the same hand. The critics lay stress upon a point like this when it suits them; otherwise they quietly ignore it. Dillmann gives v. 7 to E; 26:12 to J.

Dillmann further finds a foothold for J in v. 2, by insisting that 2a and 2b are mutually exclusive and that the former should be given to P or E, and the latter to J. Delitzsch cannot see why in point of matter they may not have proceeded from the same pen, while in grammatical construction Gen. 1:2,3 offers a precise parallel.

Critics are divided in opinion as to the share which is to be allowed P in 37:2. By common consent they assign him the initial words "These are the generations of Jacob," i. e., an account of Jacob's family from the time of his father's death; and thus we have a P title to a J and E section. The majority also refer to him the following clause, "Joseph was seventeen years old," with or without the rest of the sentence, which then becomes utterly unmeaning and is out of connection with anything whatever. The only reason for thus destroying its sense by severing it from the narrative to which it belongs is the critical assumption that all dates must be attributed to P. But Nöldeke himself revolts at the rigorous enforcement of this rule. He says,† "The mention of the youthful age of Joseph suits very well in the whole connection as well as that of his manly age, Gen. 41:46, and of the advanced age which he attained, Gen. 50:26. These numbers also have no connection whatever with the chronological system of the Primary Document (P) any more than the twenty years' abode in Mesopotamia," Gen. 31:38,41.

It will not be necessary to proceed with the recital of the varying divisions of Kuenen, Kittell and Kautzsch, which are sufficiently indicated, p. 2.‡ The critics themselves have shown how variously the same narrative may be divided. And it must be a very intractable material indeed that can resist the persistent application of such methods as the critics freely employ. The fact that different

* Cf. Gen. 8:4; 13:12; 21:7; Num. 26:8; Judg. 12:7; 1 Sam. 17:43; Job 17:1.

† *Untersuchungen zur Kritik d. Alt. Test.*, p. 32.

‡ References not otherwise specified are to previous numbers of *HEBRAICA*.

versions of a story can be constructed out of a narrative by an ingenious partition of its constituent elements by no means proves its composite character. They may be purely subjective, destitute of any historical basis, and of no more value than any clever trick at cross-reading.

It is alleged, however, that there are certain glaring inconsistencies in this chapter, which cannot be otherwise accounted for than as the fusing together of discordant narratives. Four discrepancies are charged.

1. Verses 21,22 it was Reuben, but v. 26 it was Judah, who persuaded the brothers not to put Joseph to death.

2. Verses 25,27,28, 39:1, Ishmaelites, but vs. 28,36, Midianites took Joseph and brought him to Egypt.

3. According to different clauses of v. 28, Joseph was carried off secretly without the knowledge of his brothers, or was sold by them.

4. Verse 36, he was sold to Potiphar, but 39:1 (purged of interpolations), to an unnamed Egyptian.

These imaginary difficulties are of easy solution.

As to the first. It surely is not surprising that two of the brothers should have taken an active part in the consultations respecting Joseph, nor that the same two should be prominent in the subsequent course of the transactions. Reuben, as the eldest, had special responsibilities and would naturally be forward to express his mind: while Judah's superior force of character, like that of Peter among the apostles, made him prompt to take the lead, and there is no inconsistency in what is attributed to them. Reuben persuaded them not to kill Joseph but to cast him alive into a pit, cherishing the purpose, which he did not divulge to them, to restore him to his father. They accede to his proposal intending to let Joseph die in the pit or to kill him at some future time. To this state of mind Judah addresses himself, v. 26. The absence of Reuben, when Joseph was sold, is not expressly stated, but is plainly enough implied in his despair and grief at his brother's disappearance. The reply which his brothers made is not recorded; but there is no implication that they were as ignorant as he of what had become of Joseph. That they had a guilt in the matter which he did not share is distinctly intimated, 42:22; he must, therefore, have been fully aware that they did something more than put Joseph in the pit at his suggestion.

As to the second point. Ishmaelites in the strict and proper sense were a distinct tribe from Midianites, and were of different though related origin. It is, however, a familiar fact, which we have had occasion to observe before, that tribal names are not always used with definite exactness, VI., p. 208. And there is explicit evidence that Ishmaelites was used in a wide sense to include Midianites, Judg. 8:24, cf. 7:1sq; 8:1sq. Dillmann's objection that this belonged to a later period comes with a bad grace from one who places the earliest Pentateuchal documents centuries after Gideon. The absence of the article before Midian-

ites, v. 28, does not imply that they were distinct from the Ishmaelites before perceived, vs. 25,27. They were recognized in the distance as an Ishmaelite caravan, but it was not till they actually came up to them that the Ishmaelites were discovered to be specifically Midianites.

As to the third point. If the first half of v. 28 were severed from its connection the words might mean that Midianites drew Joseph out of the pit. But in the connection in which it stands, such a sense is simply impossible. And the suggestion that R had two statements before him; one, that Midianites drew Joseph out of the pit without his brothers' knowledge and carried him off to Egypt; the other, that the brothers drew him from the pit and sold him to the Ishmaelites; is to charge him with inconceivable stupidity or reckless falsification. There can be no manner of doubt how the author of the book in its present form understood the transaction. There is no possible suggestion of more than one meaning in the words before us. The invention of another sense may illustrate the critic's wit, but it has no more merit than any other perversion of an author's obvious meaning. And it derives no warrant from 40:15; Joseph was "stolen away" even though his captors bought him from those who had no right to dispose of him.

The fourth point can be best considered when we come to ch. 39.

2. Chapter 38.

Because the narrative of Joseph is interrupted by ch. 38, De Wette* inferred "that we have here a compilation, not a continuous history by one narrator." The charge of displacement has been regularly repeated ever since,† though obviously unfounded. Chapter 38 is entirely germane to the subject treated, and it belongs precisely where it is in the author's plan. He is professedly giving an account of "the generations of Jacob," 37:2, not the life of Joseph simply, but the history of Jacob's family. Joseph is necessarily thrown into prominence since the events which brought about the removal of the chosen race to Egypt were so largely connected with him. But the incidents of this chapter have their importance in the constitution of Jacob's family at the time of the migration to Egypt, 46:12, and in the permanent tribal arrangements of Israel, Num. 26:19sq. The writer conducts Joseph to Egypt, where he is sold as a slave. There he leaves him for a while until these facts in Judah's family are related, when he resumes the thread of Joseph's narrative precisely where he left off and proceeds as before. It is just the method that the best writers pursue in similar circumstances. So far from suggesting confusion or disarrangement, it argues an orderly well-considered plan.

* *Beiträge*, II., p. 146.

† Page 2, note †; p. 3, note *; p. 4, note ‡; p. 6, 5. 1).

The chronological objection is equally futile. If Judah's marriage occurred shortly after Joseph was sold, as is expressly stated, there is no reason why all that is recorded in this chapter may not have taken place within the twenty-two years which preceded the migration to Egypt. It implies early marriages on the part of his sons but not incredibly early.

A further objection is thus stated, p. 6: "It is not to be overlooked that according to this chapter, the custom of the Levirate is very old, antedating by centuries the law recorded in Deuteronomy; P would not have been guilty of such an anachronism." Where, it may be asked, is the proof that there is an anachronism? Genesis shows that in several respects the laws of Moses embodied or were based upon patriarchal usages; while, nevertheless, the modifications show that there has been no transference to a primitive period of the customs of a later time. The penalty which Tamar was threatened, was not that of the Mosaic law, in which Dillmann admits a reminiscence of antelegal times. The critics claim that the Deuteronomic law belongs to the reign of Josiah, yet the Levirate was an established institution in the days of the judges, Ruth, 4:10. How much the argument from silence, of which critics make so frequent use, amounts to in this case, may be inferred from the fact that such marriages, though their existence is trebly vouched for, are nowhere alluded to in the other Pentateuchal codes nor in the later history until the times of the New Testament, Matt. 22:14. It is gratifying to note the admission that P would not commit an anachronism. He is not mistaken then, in speaking of circumcision in the family of Abraham as opposed to any critical inferences, V., p. 250, "that its existence as a custom would seem to date from Moses' days," nor in assigning the Levitical law to the wanderings in the wilderness, nor in his detailed description of the sacred tabernacle which cannot be the reflection from the temple of Solomon thrown back upon the Mosaic age.

The suggestion, p. 3, note, that the "general purpose of this chapter is to indicate the origin of the house of David" assumes that the writer adopted a very unusual method of flattering the pride of a royal house. How displeasing it was to national vanity appears from the fact that the Targum converts Judah's wife from the daughter of a Canaanite to that of a merchant and later legends make Tamar a daughter of Melchizedek.

3. Chapter 39.

The critical partition is here rested partly on the ground of alleged discrepancies, partly on that of diction. It is said that there are varying representations of the purchaser of Joseph. Was he, 37:36, Potiphar, the eunuch of Pharaoh, captain of the guard, or was he simply an Egyptian, whose name and official position, if he had any, are unknown? He is nowhere called Potiphar in this chapter except in v. 1, but only Joseph's master, v. 3, his Egyptian master, v. 2,

or the Egyptian, v. 5. And nothing is said, outside of v. 1, of his standing in any special relation to Pharaoh or holding any office under the king; but mention is made of "all that he had in the house and in the field," implying that he was the owner of a landed estate. It is hence inferred that the words "Potiphar, the eunuch of Pharaoh, captain of the guard," do not properly belong to v. 1, but were inserted by R to make it correspond with 37:36; and that originally it simply read "an Egyptian," words which would be superfluous, if his name and title had previously been given. But neither does "Potiphar" occur in ch. 40, where the critics admit that he is intended by Joseph's master, v. 7, see also vs. 3,4. Royal body guards are not always composed of native troops, so that it may not have been a matter of course that their captain was an Egyptian. Knobel thinks that the statement is made in contrast with the Hyksos origin of the monarch. Or it may emphasize the fact that Joseph was not only a slave but a slave of a foreigner; the Hebrew servant, vs. 14,17, had an Egyptian master. But no special reason is needed to justify the expression. Goliath "from Gath from the ranks of the Philistines" is further called "the Philistine," 1 Sam. 17:23, and throughout the chapter is always denominated "the Philistine," without repeating his name. That Potiphar was married creates no real difficulty. It is a disputed point whether עֲרֵם is invariably to be taken in the strict sense of eunuch or may sometimes have the general meaning of officer. However this may be, Winer* refers to Chardin, Niebuhr and Burckhardt in proof of the statement that "even in the modern orient eunuchs have sometimes kept a harem of their own." There is positively no ground, therefore, for assuming an interpolation in v. 1. And the explicit statement of that verse annuls the critical allegation of variant stories respecting the person of Joseph's master.

It is further said that Joseph's master is in 39:20,21 distinguished from the keeper of the prison into which Joseph was put; whereas in 40:3,4,7 they are identical. But the confusion here charged upon the text lies solely in the mind of the interpreters. The narrative is perfectly clear and consistent. The prison was in the house of Joseph's master, 40:7, the captain of the guard, v. 3, who had supreme control over it, v. 4; and this corresponds exactly with the representation, 39:20. Under him there was a subordinate keeper charged with its immediate oversight, 39:21, who was so favorably disposed towards Joseph that he committed all the prisoners into his hands and let him manage everything in the prison. This is neither identical with nor contradictory to the statement, 40:4, that the captain of the guard appointed Joseph to attend upon two prisoners of rank from the royal household. It has been said that he waited upon them simply as Potiphar's servant, and that ch. 40, E, knows nothing of Joseph's imprisonment related by J, ch. 39, and moreover uses the term מִשְׁמָר *ward*, 40:3,4,

* *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*, Art. *Verschnittene*.

J, so 41:10 instead of **בית הסהר** *prison*, 39:20-23. But this result is only reached by expunging from the text without the slightest warrant every clause which directly declares the opposite, 40:3b,5b,15b; 41:14; cf. 39:20.

Wellhausen parcels the chapter between J and E, giving vs. 1-5,20-23 to the former on account of the repeated occurrence of **יְהוָה**, and vs. 6-19 to the latter because of **אלהים**, v. 9, (though this is the ordinary usage when Gentiles speak or are spoken to), and certain other expressions alleged to be characteristic of E. The result is that Joseph is in E falsely accused of a gross crime, but there is no intimation how the matter issues; and in J his master, who had the greatest confidence in him and was richly blessed for his sake, puts him in prison for no cause whatever. Wellhausen, moreover, finds traces of E in the J sections and of J in the E section. Dillmann admits the indivisible character of the chapter and refers the whole of it to J, but as the two following chapters are given to E, the consequence is that according to J, Joseph is put in prison and no information given how or why he was subsequently released; the next that we hear of him he is made viceroy of Egypt with no explanation of how it came to pass, see p. 10 (8) "How J brings Joseph before Pharaoh is not clear." The expressions commonly attributed to E, which are found in this chapter, are accounted for by Dillmann as insertions by R. This repeated occurrence of traces of one document in the limits of the other, and the allegation that the documents have been in various particulars modified by R, are simply confessions that the text is not what by the critics' hypothesis it ought to be. Words and phrases held to be characteristic of J or E in one place are perversely found in the wrong document in another place. So without revising and correcting their own previous conclusions and adjusting their hypothesis to the phenomena as they find them, the critics insist that the document itself is wrong, and who can there be to blame for it but R?

The following expressions regarded as characteristic of E, nevertheless occur in the J text of this chapter:

<p>Verse 4, אתו וישרת אתו as 40:4; Ex. 24:13; 33:11, repeatedly also in P; v. 6, יפה תאר ויפה מראה as 29:17; v. 7, ויהי אחר הדברים האלה as 15:1; 22:1; 40:1; 48:1; v. 21, ויתן חנו בעני as Ex. 3:21; 11:3. Varying constructions as הפקיר</p>	<p>in vs. 4,5, and of מַעֲלִיחַ trans. v. 2, but intrans. vs. 3,23 would be held to indicate different writers if they occurred in distinct sections. The diffuseness in v. 1, vs. 2-6, vs. 21-23 is such as is elsewhere claimed to be a mark of P.</p>
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4. Chapter 40.

This chapter and the two that follow are by the critics referred to E. Dillmann gives the following reasons in the case of ch. 40: "the dreams," but it is arbitrarily assumed that all dreams must belong to E, see VI., p. 171; "vs. 3a,4 presuppose Joseph not in prison as ch. 39, but the slave of the captain of the guard as 37:36; 41:12." Nothing is said or implied at variance with his imprisonment, which is explicitly affirmed, vs. 3b,15b. "I was stolen away," v. 15,

is not inconsistent with his being sold by his brothers; "the connection of ch. 41 with 40," is readily conceded, but involves no discrepancy with or separation from ch. 39. He offers no argument from language but "the avoidance of the verbal suffix, which distinguishes E from J," quietly ignoring the fact that he refused to admit this criterion in ch. 37. **אלהים** v. 8, is spoken to Gentiles; "and it came to pass after these things" cannot be claimed for E, 40:1, after having been given to J, 39:7. That vs. 1,5 have "the butler and the baker of the king of Egypt," while the rest of the chapter has "chief butler," "chief baker" and "Pharaoh," is no good reason for affirming that the former are insertions by R, when v. 1 is indispensable as supplying the reason for v. 2, and the office of the chief butler is simply called "butlership" **משקה**, v. 21. It can scarcely be thought that such arguments are of any weight in favor of critical division.

Nor is there an anachronism in the phrase "land of the Hebrews," v. 15. "Abram the Hebrew," was the head of a powerful clan, 14:13,14, recognized as such by native tribes of Canaan, 23:6, and his friendship sought by the king of the Philistines, 21:22sq. Isaac's greatness is similarly described, 26:13sq., 28sq. The prince and the people of Shechem were willing to submit to circumcision for the sake of friendly intercourse and trade with Jacob, and Jacob's sons avenged the wrong done their sister by the destruction of the city, ch. 34. The Hebrews had been in Canaan for two centuries and their presence was influential and widely known. There is nothing strange, therefore, in the fact that Potiphar's wife calls Joseph a Hebrew, 39:14,17, or that he could speak of the country whence he came as the land of the Hebrews.

5. Chapter 41.

The reasons alleged by Dillmann for assigning this chapter to E are the significant dreams which are of no more weight than those in ch. 40. Joseph is called "servant to the captain of the guard," v. 12, but he was also a prisoner, v. 14, which is evaded after the usual critical fashion, by erasing from the text the words "and they brought him hastily out of the dungeon" as an insertion from a hypothetical parallel of J; but even then his shaving himself and changing his raiment are an allusion to his prison attire, or why are not the same things mentioned when others are presented before the king? The references to ch. 40 (41:10-13, cf. 40:1sq.; 41:16, cf. 40:8), and unusual words common to both chapters (**פתרון**, **פתר**, **כֶּן**, **station**, **קֶצֶף**) point to the same author, but in no way imply that he was not the author of ch. 39 and 43 as well; **אלהים** in vs. 16,25,32,38,39 is in language addressed to Pharaoh or used by him; vs. 51,52 are the only instances in which **יהוה** could with any propriety be substituted for it, and even there **אלהים** is equally appropriate, for the reference is to God's providential blessings, such as men in general may share rather than to specific favor granted to one of the chosen race; **בלערי**, vs. 16,44, but once beside in Genesis,

14:24, referred by Dillmann to E, but by the majority of critics to an independent source, and twice more in the Hex., Num. 5:20; Josh. 22:19, P. The arguments for considering this chapter a part of the document E are accordingly lame and impotent enough.

We are further informed that this chapter is not a unit as it stands. It is essential for the critics to establish, if possible, the existence of a parallel narrative by J, which may have filled the gap in that document between Joseph's imprisonment and his elevation. Accordingly stress is laid upon some slight verbal changes in repeating Pharaoh's dreams, especially the words added to the description of the lean kine, v. 19, "such as I never saw in all the land of Egypt for badness," and v. 21, "when they had eaten up the fat kine, it could not be known that they had eaten them; but they were still illfavoured as at the beginning." And a vigorous search is made for so-called doublets. Wherever the writer does not content himself with a bald and meagre statement of what he is recording, but feels impelled to enlarge and dwell upon it in order to give his thought more adequate expression, the amplifications or repetitions which he employs are seized upon as though they were extraneous additions imported into E's original narrative by R from an imaginary parallel account by J, just as a like fulness of expression in other passages is at the pleasure of the critics declared to be indicative of the verbose and repetitious style of P.

The dreams vs. 2-7 are repeated, vs. 18-24 in almost identical terms, only in a very few instances equivalent expressions are employed, viz.: *חָמָר* v. 18sq. for *חָרָה* v. 2sq. (but see 29:17 E, 39:6 J); *רָק* v. 19 for *רָק* v. 3; *חָלָא* v. 22 for *חָרָא* v. 5 (but see v. 7). The alleged doublets are, v. 31, parallel to v. 30b; v. 34 *עָשָׂה* *יַעֲקֹב*; 35b to 35a; vs. 41, 43b, 44 to v. 40 (Joseph's rule is stated four times, so that repetition cannot be escaped by parcelling it between E and J); v. 49 to v. 48; vs. 55, 56a to 54b (the universality of the famine repeated three times including 57b). While it is claimed

that these indicate two narrators, Dillmann admits that there are no criteria by which to distinguish which is E and which J. The further occurrence of words in this chapter which according to critical rules should belong to P, e. g., *חָרָם* vs. 8, 24 in the Pentateuch besides only Ex. 7:11, 22; 8:3, 14, 15; 9:11, all P; *פָּקֵדוֹן* in O. T. besides only Lev. 5:21, 23, P; *קָמִין* v. 47 in O. T. besides only Lev. 2:2; 5:12; 6:8, and the corresponding verb only Lev. 2:2; 5:12; Num. 5:26, all P, leads one to doubt the value of criteria in other cases which the critics can thus disregard at pleasure.

On the whole, then, the critical partition of chs. 37-41 rests upon alleged inconsistencies in the narrative which plainly do not exist as the text now stands, but which the critics themselves create by arbitrary erasures and forced interpretations. The literary proof offered of the existence of different documents is of the scantiest kind. There are no indications of varying diction of any account. And the attempt to bridge the chasms in the documents by means of a supposed parallel narrative, from which snatches have been preserved by R, attributes an unaccountable procedure to him, and falls to pieces at once upon examination.

There are three staple arguments, by which the critics attempt to show that there was in the sources, from which R is conjectured to have drawn, a second

narrative parallel to that in the existing text. Each of them is built upon a state of facts antagonistic to the hypothesis, which they ingeniously seek to wrest in its favor by assuming the truth of the very thing to be proved.

1. Facts, which are essential to the narrative, could not, it is said, have failed to appear in either document; it must be presumed, therefore, that each narrator recorded them.

But the perpetual recurrence of such serious gaps in the so-called documents, which the critics are by every device laboring to construct, tends rather to show that no such documents ever really had any separate existence. That these gaps are due to omissions by R is pure assumption with no foundation but the unproved hypothesis which it is adduced to support; an assumption, moreover, at variance with the conduct repeatedly attributed to R in other places, where to relieve other complications of the hypothesis he is supposed to have scrupulously preserved unimportant details from one of his sources, even though they were superfluous repetitions of what had already been extracted from another.

2. When words and phrases, which the critics regard as characteristic of one document, are found, as they frequently are, in sections which they assign to the other, it is claimed that R has mixed the texts of the different documents.

But the obvious and natural conclusion from the fact referred to is, that what are affirmed to be characteristic words of different documents, are freely used by the same writer. The allegation that R had anything to do with the matter, is an assumption which has no other basis than the hypothesis which it is brought to support. It is plain that any conceit whatever could be carried through successfully, if every deviation from its requirements was sufficiently explained by referring it to R.

3. Whenever a thought is repeated or dwelt upon for the sake of giving it more emphatic expression, the critics scent a doublet, affirming that R has appended to the statement in one document the corresponding statement contained in the other.

But here again the agency of R is pure assumption based on the hypothesis in whose interest it is alleged. That a writer should use more amplitude and fullness in describing matters of special moment is quite intelligible. But why a compiler like R should encumber the narrative by reduplicating what he has already drawn from one source by the equivalent language of another, or why, if this is his method in the instances adduced, he does not consistently pursue it in others, it does not appear.

What are so confidently paraded as traces or indications of some missing portion of a critical document are accordingly rather to be esteemed indications that the documents of the critics are a chimera.

1. LANGUAGE OF P.*

OLD WORDS.

(1) אלה תלדות see V., p. 152.

The following words not in the list VI., p. 2, might with propriety have been urged as belonging to P by critical rules.

דָּבָר, 37:2, only besides in Hex., Num. 13:22; 14:36, 37 P.

דָּבָר, with acc. pers., 37:4, only besides Num. 26:3 P.

שָׁעִיר עִזִּים, 37:31, only besides in Hex. in the ritual law, where it occurs repeatedly, Lev. 4:23; 9:3; 16:5; 23:9; Num. chs. 7, 15, 28, 29; nowhere else in O. T., except Ezek. 43:22; 45:23, where it is borrowed from the Pentateuch.

41:50 has the same fulness of expression which in 16:15; 21:3 is said to be a mark of P.

2. LANGUAGE OF J.*

OLD WORDS.

(1) נָשָׂא עִינָיו וגו' explained above under Section 5, Language of J. (2) בָּשָׂר (=relative) Sect. 8, Lang. of J. (3) וְתוֹרֵר V., p. 155, (35). (4) יָסַף Sect. 2, Lang. of J. (5) רָע בְּעֵינַי Sect. 6, Lang. of E. (6) לִבְלֹחִי V., p. 155. (7) הִכָּה Sect. 4, Lang. of J. (8) נָא Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (9) יְהוּה see Preliminary Remarks, No. 3. (10) נָדַי Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (11) צָעִיר Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (12) מִיָּה V., p. 155. (13) כִּי-עַל-כֵּן always referred to J. (14) פָּן V., p. 155. (15) מִנְכִּי repeatedly in both J and E and once in P, V., p. 174, 6:17. (16) פָּרִץ Sect. 8, Lang. of J. (17) מַצְלִיחַ Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (18) מָצָא V., p. 175, 6:5-8. (19) כָּנָל Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (20) חֹשֶׁב Sect. 2, Lang. of J. (21) חֹשֶׁב 15:6; 38:15 J; 31:15; 50:20; Num. 23:9 E; Lev. 7:18; 14:4; 25:27, 31, 50, 52; 27:18, 23; Num. 18:27, 30 P, besides occurring frequently in P in a derived sense. (22) חֹשֶׁן 39:9 J; 20:6; 22:12 E; 22:16 R; all in Hex. (23) יְפֹה-מְרֹאֶה 12:11; 39:6 J; 29:17; 41:24 E; all in Hex. (24) תַּפְּשׁ 4:21 J; 39:12; Josh. 8:8, 23 J; Num. 5:13; 31:27 P; all in Hex. except Deuteronomy.

NEW WORDS.

(1) טָרַף 37:33b, 44:28b, 49:27 J; Ex. 22:12 E. Derivatives טָרַף adj., Gen. 8:11 J; טָרַף (poetic) Gen. 49:9 J; Num. 23:24 E; טָרַף

Gen. 31:39; Ex. 22:12, 30 E; Lev. 7:24; 17:15; 22:8 P.

(2) נָכַר HI. recognize, 37:32, 33; 38:25, 26 J; 27:23; 31:32; Deut. 33:9 E; 42:7, 8b, the critics give v. 7 to J, v. 8 to E.

RARE AND POETIC WORDS.

Words that a writer scarcely ever uses afford of course no indication of his ordinary style.

(1) נָטָה עַר 38:1 this construction does not occur again in O. T.

(2) פָּתַח עֵינָיו 38:14; the "entrance to Enaim" does not chance to be spoken of elsewhere, but פָּתַח is of repeated occurrence in J, E and P; it is used precisely as here, Josh. 20:4 P.

(3) הִתְעַלָּף 38:14; nowhere else in O. T. in this sense.

(4) עֲרִבּוֹן 38:17, 18, 20; nowhere else in O. T.

(5) בֵּית הַדְּסֹהַר 39:20, 21, 22, 23 J; 40:3, 5 claimed to be insertions from J in an E context; nowhere else in O. T.

(6) הִתְנַכַּל 37:18; nowhere else in Hex.; the P^{rel} occurs Num. 25:18 P.

(7) אֶרְוָה 37:25; nowhere else in Hex.

(8) זִנּוּנִים 38:24; nowhere else in Hex.

(9) בָּצַע 37:26 J; Ex. 18:21 E; all in Hex.

(10) קִרְשָׁה 38:21b, 22; all in Hex. except Deut. 23:18.

3. LANGUAGE OF E.*

OLD WORDS.

How utterly the critics have failed to make out a separate diction for E appears from the fact that every one of these words with a solitary exception occurs likewise in J or P; and

the great majority of them have been previously adduced as characteristic of J.

(1) חָלוּם is by rule referred to E, yet it occurs Num. 12:6 J (according to Dillmann) Sect. 6, Lang. of E. (2) נָא see Lang. of J (immedi-

* The numbers are those of HEBRAICA, Vol. VI., No. 1, and the following references are to explanations already made.

ately preceding) No. 8. (3) מִנְיָ Lang. of J, No. 15. (4) טָרַם V., p. 155, Lang. of J. (5) שְׁלַח 37:19 E; 24:65 J; all in O. T. (6) הִלּוּחַ Sect. 6, Lang. of J. (7) מִלְּוִיִּם see Preliminary Remarks, No. 3. (8) כְּדוּעַ Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (9) שִׁים V., p. 154, Lang. of J; שִׁית 41:33; 46:4 E; 3:15; 4:25; 30:40; 48:14,17, J, all in Genesis; besides other passages it is found in Ex. 7:23, which Dillmann refers to E, Jülicher to J, and Wellhausen to P. (10) בְּלַעְרִי 41:16, 44 E; 14:24 E (Dillmann), but other critics an independent source; Num. 5:20; Josh. 22:19 P. (11) בְּתוּחָלָה Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (12) רֶק Sect. 3, Lang. of J, 6:5-8. (13) כְּחוּל הַיָּם 41:49 E section, though Kautzsch and others cut out this clause and give it to J; 22:17 R or J; 32:13 J; Josh. 11:4 D; all in Hex. (14) חֶדֶל 23:5; 41:49 E; 11:8; 18:11; Ex. 9:29,33,34; 14:12 J; Num. 9:13 P. (15) תַּעֲרָה 20:13; 21:14; 37:15; Ex. 23:4, Sect. 6, Lang. of E. Absolutely the only one in this entire number, which happens not to be found in any but an E section. (16) אִפְּרָה 37:16 E, nowhere else so spelled in Hex., as אִפְרָא see Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (17) יַפֶּת מְרֵאָה 29:17; 41:2,4 E; 12:11; 39:16 J. (18) פָּעַם V., p. 155, Lang. of J; פָּעַמִּים in Hex. only 27:36; 43:10 J; Num. 20:11 E, where Dillmann suspects that it was inserted by R.

NEW WORDS.

(1) בָּקַשׁ 31:39; 37:15,16; Ex. 10:11; 33:7 E; 43:9,30; Ex. 2:15; 4:24 J; Ex. 4:19 J (Dillmann), E (Wellhausen); Josh. 2:22 JE; Josh. 22:23 E; Lev. 19:31; Num. 16:10; 35:23 P.
(2) מִרְחוֹק 22:4; 37:18; Ex. 2:4; 20:21; 24:1 E; Ex. 20:18 J (Dillmann).
(3) הִצִּיל 31:9,16; 37:23; Ex. 3:8; 5:23; 18:4,8, 9,10b; Josh. 9:26; 24:10 E; 32:12; 37:21; Ex. 2:19; 12:27 J; Josh. 2:13 JE; Ex. 6:6; Num. 35:26; Josh. 22:31 P.

(4) מָאֵן Ex. 22:16b; Num. 20:21; 32:13,14 E; Gen. 37:35; 39:8; 48:19; Ex. 4:23; 7:14; 10:3; 16:23 J; adjective, Ex. 7:27; 9:2; 10:4 J.
(5) שָׂאֵל 37:35; 42:38; 44:29,31; Num. 16:30, 33 J.
(6) קָרִים 41:6,23,27 E; Ex. 10:13b; 14:21 J.
(7) עָמַל 41:51 E; Num. 23:21 E (Dillmann), J (Wellhausen).
(8) שֹׁכֵר trade in grain, 41:56,57; 43:2,3,5,10 E; 42:6,7; 43:2,4,20,23; 44:25; 47:14 J.
(9) נָכַן 41:32; Ex. 8:22; 19:11,15 E; Ex. 34:2; Josh. 8:4 J.
(10) אִשְׁכָּל 40:10; Num. 13:23,24 E; Deut. 32:32 J.

RARE AND POETIC WORDS.

(1) פִּתְרוֹן 40:5,8,12,13; 41:11 E; all in O. T.
(2) שָׁחַט 40:11 E; all in O. T.
(3) צִנְמוֹת 41:23 E; all in O. T.
(4) חִפְשׁ 41:34 E; all in O. T.
(5) אֲבָרַךְ 41:43 E; all in O. T.
(6) קָמֵץ 41:47 E; so Fuerst, but according to Gesen. קָמֵץ, Lev. 2:2; 5:12; 6:8 P, from קָמַץ, Lev. 2:2; 5:12; Num. 5:26 P.
(7) אָלַם bind 37:7 E; אֶלְפָּה 37:7 (four times) all in Hex.
(8) אֶחוּי 41:2,18 E; all in Hex.
(9) זָעַף 40:6 E; all in Hex.
(10) שָׂרִיג 40:10,12; all in Hex.
(11) כֵּן post 40:13; 41:13 E; with slightly modified sense applied to the base or support of the laver, Ex. 30:18 and repeatedly in P.
(12) כְּרִיא 41:2,4,5,7,18,20 E; all in Hex.
(13) שָׂרַף 41:6,23,27 E; all in Hex.
(14) פָּעַם (with רִיחַ) 41:8 E; all in Hex.
(15) רוּיָח HI. 41:14 E; all in Hex.
(16) שָׁנָה (as verb) 41:32 E; all in Hex.
(17) נָשָׂה 41:51 E; all in Hex.
(18) רָבַר 41:42 E; all in Hex.

SECTION XI. GENESIS 42:1-46:34.

1. Chapter 42-44.

The critics tell us that ch. 42, which records the first journey of Jacob's sons to Egypt is by E, and chs. 43, 44, their second journey is by J. Yet the second journey implies the first and is filled throughout with numerous and explicit allusions to it. It was, 43:2, after they had eaten up the corn already brought

that their father urged them to go again. All then, turns upon Joseph's having required them to bring Benjamin, vs. 8-11. Repeated reference is made to the money returned in their sacks, vs. 12,15,18-23; 44:8, and to Simeon's detention, vs. 14,23. Jacob's sense of bereavement, v. 14, corresponds with previous statements, 42:36; 37:34,35. Joseph speaks of their father and youngest brother, of whom they had previously told him, vs. 27-29. They bow before him in fulfilment of his dreams, vs. 26,28. Joseph orders their money to be replaced in their sacks, 44:1, as before. And Judah's touching address to Joseph, 44:18-34, recites anew the circumstances of their former visit together with their father's grief at the loss of Joseph. It is difficult to see how two parts of the same narrative could be more closely bound together.

Nevertheless it is maintained that all these allusions to what took place in the former journey are not to the record given of it in ch. 42, but to a quite different narrative; that a careful consideration of chs. 43, 44 will show that they are not the sequel of ch. 42, but of a parallel account by J, which no longer exists indeed, inasmuch as R did not think fit to preserve it, but which can be substantially reconstructed from the hints and intimations in these chapters themselves, and must have varied from that of E in several particulars. R is here as always the scape goat on whose head these incongruities are laid, though no very intelligible reason can be given why he should have constructed this inimitable history in such a disjointed manner. And it is likewise strange that the discrepancies between the two narratives so strenuously urged by Wellhausen and Dillmann seem to have escaped the usually observant eye of Hupfeld, who makes no mention of them. As Ilgen, De Wette and Gramberg had raised the same difficulties before, Hupfeld's silence can only mean that he did not deem them worth repeating. Knobel, though ready enough to undertake a critical division elsewhere, insists upon the unity of chs. 42-45, and maintains that the charge of inconsistencies is unfounded. The same judgment, one would think, must be formed by any candid person. The alleged discrepancies are the following:

1. In J, 43:3, it is Judah, whereas in E, 42:37, it is Reuben, who becomes surety for Benjamin's safe return.

But these do not exclude each other. Why should not more than one of Jacob's sons have sought to influence him in a case of such extreme importance to them all? If Reuben had pleaded without effect, why should not Judah renew the importunity, as the necessity became more urgent? It is here precisely as with the separate proposals of Reuben and Judah, 37:21,28, which, as we have seen, the critics likewise seek, without reason, to array against each other. Reuben's allusion, 42:23, to his interference in that instance implies that his remonstrance was not heeded, and that his brothers were responsible for Joseph's death, which he sought to prevent. As the critics represent the matter this was not the case. At Reuben's instance they put Joseph in a pit instead of shedding his

blood. Now if, as the critics will have it, Midianite merchants found him there and carried him off in the absence of the brothers, the latter had no more to do with his disappearance than Reuben had. Reuben's unresisted charge that the rest were guilty of Joseph's death, in which he was not himself implicated, finds no explanation upon the critics' version of the story. It is only when the sundered parts of the narrative are brought together, and it is allowed to stand in its complete and proper form, that Joseph was sold to the Ishmaelites at the suggestion of Judah, while Reuben supposed him to be still in the pit, that his words have any meaning. No difficulty is created by Reuben's speaking of his blood as required. The brothers imagined him to be no longer living. Judah, who counselled the sale, speaks of him as dead, 44:20. By selling him into bondage, they had as they thought procured his death.

It is further claimed that

2. J knows nothing of Simeon's detention related by E, 42:19,24. Judah nowhere alluded to it in arguing with his father, 48:3-10, when he might have urged the prospect of releasing Simeon as an additional reason for their speedy return; nor does he refer to it in his address to Joseph, 44:18-34.

But the supreme interest on both these occasions centered about Benjamin. Would his father consent to let him go? Would Joseph allow him to return to his father? These were the questions quite apart from the case of Simeon, so that in dealing with them there was no occasion to allude to him. But Simeon is directly spoken of twice in ch. 48. When Jacob is starting them on their return he prays, v. 14, "God Almighty give you mercy before the man, that he release unto you *your other brother* and Benjamin." And, v. 23, when they reach the house of Joseph, the steward "brought Simeon out unto them." These explicit allusions to Simeon's imprisonment are evaded by declaring them to be interpolations from E. The argument for suppressing them may be fairly stated thus: because Simeon is not referred to where there is no occasion for speaking of him, therefore the mention which is made of him in the proper place cannot be an integral part of the text. In other words, whatever the critics desire to eliminate from a passage, is eliminated without further ceremony by declaring it spurious. If it does not accord with their theory, that is enough; no other proof is necessary.

The further allegation that 42:38 is not the direct reply to v. 37, because Simeon is not spoken of in it, is futile on its face; for as Reuben makes no allusion to him in his proposal, there is no reason why Jacob should do so in his answer. Nevertheless the critics tell us that E's narrative is abruptly broken off at 42:37 and left incomplete. No response is made to Reuben at all; and we have no means of knowing whether Jacob acceded to his request, or on what terms. Instead of this R introduces an irrelevant verse (v. 38) from J, which in its original connection was a reply to something quite distinct from the words by

which it is here preceded. All this confusion (where in reality no confusion exists) is created by the critical necessity of assigning v. 38 to J since the words "if mischief befall him, ye shall bring down my gray hairs with sorrow to the grave" are identical with 44:29,31 and must obviously be from the same writer.

3. "In ch. 42 Joseph will by detaining Simeon, compel the brothers at all events to come back again with or without Benjamin; in ch. 48sq., on the contrary, he forbids them to come back, if Benjamin is not with them. In ch. 42 they are treated as spies, at first they are all put in prison together and then only set free on bail to bring Benjamin, and thus confirm the truth of their declarations; but in ch. 48sq., they do not go back to Egypt from the moral obligation of clearing themselves and releasing Simeon, but wait till the corn is all gone and the famine constrains them. The charge that they were spies was not brought against the brothers at all according to 48:5-7; 44:18sq.; it was not this which induced them, as in ch. 42, to explain to Joseph, who and whence they really were, and thus involuntarily to make mention of Benjamin, but Joseph directly asked them, Is your father yet alive? have ye another brother? and then commanded them not to come into his presence again without him."*

All this is only an attempt to create a conflict where there is none. One part of a transaction is set in opposition to another equally belonging to it. One motive is arrayed against another, as though they were incompatible, when both were alike operative. When Joseph told his brothers that they must verify their words by Benjamin's coming or be considered spies, 42:15,16,20,34, he in effect told them that they should not see his face again unless Benjamin was with them. They delay their return until the corn was all used up, because nothing less than imminent starvation will induce Jacob, who has already lost two sons, to risk the loss of his darling. That Joseph directly interrogated them about their father and brother is not expressly said in ch. 42; but as the entire interview is not narrated, there is nothing to forbid it. The critics do not themselves insist on the absolute conformity of related passages unless they have some end to answer by it. The words of Reuben as reported 42:22 are not identical with those ascribed to him 37:22; and nothing is said in ch. 37 of Joseph's beseeching his brothers in the anguish of his soul, as 42:21. Jacob's sons "in rehearsing their experience to their father...omit his first proposition to keep all of them but one and their three days' imprisonment, and add that if they prove true, he would offer them the trade of Egypt."† Judah, in relating the words of his father, 44:27-29, does not limit himself to language which, according to 48:2sq., he uttered on the occasion referred to. In these instances the critics find no discrepancies within the limits of the same document but count it sufficient that the general sense is pre-

* Wellhausen, *Comp. d. Hezateuche*, p. 56.

† VI., p. 15.

served. If they would but interpret with equal candor elsewhere their imaginary difficulties would all melt away.

4. A discrepancy is alleged regarding the money found in the sacks. According to 48:21 J, the discovery was made at the lodging on their way home, but according to 42:35 E, after their arrival home and in the presence of their father.

It is to be observed, however, that these are not variant statements of the historian. In the former passage he is repeating what the brothers said to Joseph's steward, which makes a material difference. The historian's own account of the matter clears up the difficulty entirely. One of the brothers, on opening his sack at the lodging, 42:27sq., found his money and reported the fact to the rest, whereat they were greatly alarmed. But it was not until they emptied their sacks after reaching home, v. 35, that they and their father ascertained to their alarm and to his that each of them had brought his money back. In making their apology subsequently to Joseph's steward, it was of no consequence for them to relate in detail just when and where these successive discoveries were made. The one important fact was that they all found their money in their sacks, and they link this with the first discovery, which so excited them at the lodging. Their statement, though not minutely accurate, was yet for their purpose substantially true.

The critics, however, refuse to accept this obvious explanation. They claim that 42:27,28 does not belong to E's narrative, but has been inserted by R from an assumed parallel account by J. If these verses are excluded from E's text, he makes no mention of any discovery at the lodging. J alone speaks of money being found there; according to E, they first find their money all together at home. It is further alleged, 42:27,28 has been altered by R. In its original form as a part of J's text, it must have corresponded with 48:21, and have stated that not one of the brothers merely but all of them found their money in their sacks at the lodging. If one opened his sack to give his ass provender, must not the rest have done the same and made the same discovery? and especially as they were so agitated by the fact that one had found his money in his sack, would not the rest have made instant search in theirs? But all this conjectural reasoning does not change the fact. The statement of the history is that one found his money at the lodging and all found theirs when they reached home. Whether both these items belong to the same document or not, there is no conflict between them. And the critics can scarcely be accorded the privilege of changing the text *ad libitum* for the sake of creating a discrepancy where there is none and thus manufacturing an argument for variant narratives and separate documents.

An argument is brought from the language of these verses to confirm these critical assertions; but it is altogether inconclusive.

According to Dillmann **האחד** 42:27 means *the first* in order, implying that the rest subsequently did the same; it rather denotes *the one* who performed the action referred to, definitely conceived as 2 Kgs. 6:3,5. It is claimed that the language of these verses is that of J, as shown by **מספוא**, **מלון**, **ממתחת**. **מספוא** *fodder* and **מלון** *lodging-place* are the proper words to express these ideas and cannot be regarded as characterizing any particular writer. The former is used four times in the Hex., twice in this narrative, 42:27; 43:24, and twice in the story of Abraham's servant, 24:25,32. The latter also occurs twice in this narrative, 42:27; 43:21, and in two passages besides in the Hex., Ex. 4:24; Josh. 4:3,8. More stress is laid on **ממתחת** *sack*, a word peculiar to this narrative, which is claimed for J, while E's word for the same is **שק**. The latter properly denotes the coarse material from which sacks and the dress of mourners

were made, and is then applied to anything made of this material. **ממתחת** from **מתח** to *expand* is the specific term for a bag or sack. The grain sacks are first mentioned 42:25, where the general term **כלי** *vessel* is used together with **שק**; then in vs. 27,28 **שק** together with **ממתחת**; in v. 35 **שק** alone, and thenceforward **ממתחת** as the proper and specific term is steadfastly adhered to in the rest of the narrative throughout chs. 43 and 44. That this affords no argument for sundering vs. 27,28 from their present connection and assigning them to another writer is obvious, since both **שק** and **ממתחת** occur there together; moreover **אלהים** in the last clause of v. 28 forbids it being assigned to J. Dillmann evades these difficulties by assuming that these verses have been manipulated by R, who inserted **שק** and transposed the unwelcome clause from its original position after v. 35. What cannot a critic prove with the help of R?

Further proof that ch. 42 is from E and chs. 43, 44 from J is sought from the language of these chapters, but with no great success.

E calls Benjamin **יִלָּד** 42:22, but J **נער** 43:8; 44:22-24. J, however, likewise calls him **יִלָּד** 44:20, and uses the same word repeatedly elsewhere, e. g., 32:23; 33:1-14 (9 times), while E uses **נער** with equal frequency, 14:24; 21:12-20 (6 times), ch. 22 (5 times), etc., etc.

E says **יַעֲקֹב** 42:1,4,20,26, but J **יִשְׂרָאֵל** 43:6,8, 11. Dillmann undertakes to carry consistently through the rule laid down by Wellhausen,* but which through the fault of R he admits has not been strictly observed,† viz., that after 35:10 J calls the patriarch Israel, E calls him Jacob, but his sons the sons of Israel, while P continues to speak of Jacob and the sons of Jacob. Whence results this curious circumstance; P 35:10 and E 32:29 (so Dill.) record the change of name to Israel but never use it; J alone makes use of it and he does not record the change at all. There is a singular inconsistency likewise in the conduct of R. P alone mentions the change in the names of Abraham and Sarah, 17:5,15, but R is so concerned to have the documents uniform in this respect

that from this point onward he alters these names in J and E to correspond with P; why does he not here in like manner bring P and E into correspondence with J? And it is only by palpable forcing that Dillmann succeeds in uniformly assigning **יִשְׂרָאֵל** to J; see e. g. 45:27,28; 46:1,2; 47:27; 48:2,8,11,21. Wellhausen, Kautzsch and other critics abandon the attempt as hopeless. At this period of transition when the family is branching out into the nation these two names seem to be used interchangeably, the distinction lying purely in the writer's point of view. The patriarch is called by his personal name Jacob when he is regarded strictly as an individual; he is called Israel when he is regarded as the head and representative of the chosen race, cf. 46:8.

E says **שק**, **ממתחת** for *sack*; explained above.

E says **האיש אדני הארץ** 42:30,33; J simply **האיש** 43:3,5,6,7,13,14; 44:20. The full phrase "the man, the lord of the land" was necessary at first in order to indicate the person in-

* *Competition des Hezateuchs*, p. 59.

† Page 60.

tended; its constant repetition afterwards would be cumbrous. In like manner "the man who was over Joseph's house," 43:14,19 is simply called "the man," v. 17. The plur. const. *אֲנִי* is used in a singular sense but once besides in the Pent., 39:20, where it is attributed to J.

E has *כְּשֶׁמֶר* 43:17,19 as 40:3,4,7; 41:10, while J has *בֵּית הַסֹּהֵר* 39:20-33; but the latter also occurs in an E context 40:3,5, only the clause containing it is cut out and assigned to J because of this very phrase.

E has the prolonged form of the fem. plur. suf. *כְּלָנָה* 42:36, as 21:29; 31:6; 41:21; but J has the same *יְהִימָנָה* for *יְהִימָן* 30:41.

צִדָּה 42:25 E as 45:21; Josh. 9:11; but so J 27:3; Ex. 12:39; all in Hex. except Josh. 1:11 D.

צָרָה 42:21b⁴ E; but so J Deut. 31:17,21; all in Hex.

זָכַר 42:9 E as 40:14b⁴,23; 41:9; Ex. 30:8(7), 24; 23:13; but so J Ex. 13:3; 32:13; Lev. 26:42 (three times), 45(7); Num. 11:5; 15:39,40, and P 8:1; 9:15,16; 19:29; 30:22; Ex. 2:24; 6:5; Num. 5:15(7); 10:9(7); all in Pent. except Deut.

אֶכֶל is claimed for J, 43:2,4,20,22; 44:1,25 in distinction from *כָּר* E 41:35,49; 42:3,25; 45:23; but the former occurs in E 41:35b⁴,36,45b⁴; 42:7,10; 47:24 unless the clauses containing it are arbitrarily severed from their context.

יָרַד and *הוֹרִיד* are said to be used by J of going to Egypt 27:25; 39:1; 43:11,15,20,22; 44:21,23,24, but *הֵבִיא* by E 37:23; but *יָרַד* is so used in E 42:2,3 and *בָּוא* in J 42:5; cf. 43:1.

The divine names give no help to the critics in these chapters. *אֱלֹהִים* occurs once in E 42:18, but three times in J 42:28; 43:29; 44:16 and *שְׁדֵי אֱלֹהִים* once in a J context 43:14, E is in-

voked to relieve the difficulty in 42:28 and 43:14; while in 43:29; 44:16 the critical principle is abandoned, which traces the occurrence of *אֱלֹהִים* to the particular document in which it is found, and it is confessed that its employment is due to the distinctive usage of the word itself. *אֱלֹהִים* is used because Joseph is addressed, who is acting the part of an Egyptian governor. This of course accounts equally for 42:18, where Joseph is the speaker. In 42:28 the implied contrast is between divine and human agency, cf. 4:25. In 43:14 the special appeal is to God's omnipotence.

The attempt to establish a parallel narrative to ch. 42 for J and to chs. 43,44 for E rests on very slender grounds. Snatches of the former are suspected in 43:2a,4b,6,7,10,27sq.,38, and of the latter in 43:14,23b. 42:2a is alleged to be superfluous beside 1a, which it is not; 4b is given to J because of *אֱלֹהִים* and *קָרָא*, though these are found as well in E; v. 6 because of *שְׁלִיט* which occurs nowhere else in the Hex., and notwithstanding the plain allusion to Joseph's dreams in the last clause; "he knew them but made himself strange to them" in v. 7 because of the repetition in v. 8, which, however, is for the sake of adding a contrasted thought, and the removal of this clause leaves the following words, "spake roughly unto them," unexplained, so that Dillmann finds it necessary to transpose them after 9a; v. 10 because of *אֶכֶל*, though this is equally found in E; vs. 27sq.,38 for reasons already sufficiently discussed; 43:14,23b are cut out of their connection and given to E, because they flatly contradict the critical allegation that J knows nothing of Simeon's imprisonment and that he never says *El Shaddai*.

2. Chapter 45.

This chapter is mainly assigned to E on the ground of alleged discrepancies with what precedes and follows. How, it is said, could Joseph ask, v. 3, whether his father was yet living after his own previous inquiry, 43:27,28, and Judah's speech, 44:18-34, as reported by J? The suggestion only shows how utterly this cold and captious criticism is out of sympathy with the writer and with the whole situation. Joseph's heart is bursting with long suppressed emotion. He had asked about the old man of whom they spake. He can maintain this distance

and reserve no longer. With the disclosure "I am Joseph," his first utterance follows the bent of his affections, "How is my father?"

Again it is objected that Pharaoh had bidden Joseph bring his father with his household to Egypt, promising him the good of the land, 45:17,18; yet, 47:1, Joseph announces their coming to Pharaoh, as though he had never heard of it before; they petition, v. 4, to be allowed to dwell in Goshen, and Pharaoh grants it, v. 6, without any allusion to his previous invitation and promise.

But there is no implication in this last act that the first had not preceded it. All proceeds quite naturally in the narrative. At the first intimation of the presence of Joseph's brethren Pharaoh asks them to Egypt to share the good of the land, assigning them no residence, and only offering subsistence in this time of scarcity. Upon their actual arrival Joseph notifies Pharaoh of the fact and presents his brethren to him with the request that they may dwell in Goshen as best suited to their occupation. And when this is granted he presents his aged father to the king. All is as consistent and natural as possible.

While the grounds of division are thus flimsy, there are various passages in the chapter which are clearly at variance with the hypothesis of the critics, since what they allege to be criteria of distinct documents whether in language or in the contents of the narrative are here inseparably blended. Their only resource here as elsewhere is to interpret these damaging clauses as insertions by R, which they accordingly cut out of their proper connection and assign to J as though they were scraps taken from a supposed parallel narrative of his.

Verse 1a is given to J because of **הַתְּאֵפֶק**. only besides in Hex. 48:31 J, but 1b closely connected with it to E because of **הַתּוֹרֶעַ** only besides in O. T. Num. 12:6 E.

Verse 2 is declared superfluous in its connection beside v. 16. But it is not. The action progresses regularly. Joseph's weeping was heard by those outside, v. 2, but the occasion of it became known subsequently, v. 16.

Verse 4b, the sale of Joseph into Egypt is in the wrong document; of course excision is necessary.

Verse 5 is a singular medley; no two successive clauses can be assigned to the same document. The first clause **תַּעֲצֹבֵי** J as 6:6; 34:7; the second, **יָחַר בְּעֵינֵיכֶם** only besides in O. T. 31:36 E; the third, sale of Joseph J; the fourth, **אֱלֹהִים** E.

Verse 7a repeats 5b, but **אֱלֹהִים** occurs in both, compelling the critics to give both to E and so confess that repetition is not proof

of a doublet, or else, as Kautzsch proposes, to change one **יָחַר** to **אֱלֹהִים** and throw the blame on R.

Verse 10, Joseph's naming Goshen as their place of abode is implied in 46:28 J, where Jacob goes directly thither. It is hence severed from its connection and given to J in whole or in part, while its minute enumeration of particulars is such as is elsewhere held to characterize P in distinction from both J and E.

Verse 13 is assigned to J because of **הַדּוֹרִי** as 39:1, and because it repeats v. 9; so v. 14 because of **נָפַל עַל צוּאָרֵי** as 33:4; 46:29, while v. 15, a part of the same scene is given to E. Wellhausen by comparison with 33:4 tries to establish a diversity between J and E in the construction of **נֶשֶׁק**, a conclusion which Dillmann thinks "weak in its feet."

Verse 28 is the response to v. 27, but one verse has "Jacob" and must be assigned to E, while the other has "Israel" and is given to J.

It is apparent here as in many other cases that the assignment of verses and clauses is simply the enforcement *nolens volens* of an arbitrary determination of the critics. No one would dream of sundering these mutually unrelated scraps from the rest of the chapter, with which they are closely connected, but for the application of alleged criteria which the critics have devised in other places in framing their hypothesis. These are carried rigidly through at whatever disturbance of the connection or havoc of the sense, because to abandon them would be to give up the hypothesis. The very least that can be said is that this mincing work, to which the critics find themselves compelled to resort to so great an extent in Genesis and increasingly so in the books that follow, lends no support to the hypothesis, but is simply a dead weight upon it. The hypothesis is plainly not an outgrowth of this and similar chapters, but is obtruded upon them, and the only question is how much lumber of this sort it can carry without signally breaking down.

Elohim occurs four times in this chapter, vs. 5,7,8,9, in the address of Joseph to his brothers. As he is no longer acting the part of an Egyptian, he might have spoken of Yahweh as consulting for the welfare of the chosen race. But Elohim is equally appropriate, since the prominent thought here and throughout the history of Joseph is that it is God not man who guided the course of events, v. 8; 50:20.

3. Chapter 46.

Verses 1-5 are assigned to E except 1a which is given to J because of "Israel" and "took his journey" וַיֵּסֶע. This affords an opportunity for creating a discrepancy. Jacob starts in E, v. 5, from Beersheba, in J from some other place, presumably Hebron, 37:14, and takes Beersheba on his way. It scarcely need be stated that the discrepancy is purely the result of the critical partition, and has no existence in the text itself. In v. 2 "Elohim" and "visions of the night," E,* conflict with "Israel" a mark of J. The difficulty is adjusted by erasing the unwelcome name and tracing its insertion to R.

Verses 6,7 are attributed to P for reasons already considered, VI, p. 191. P's last generally acknowledged statement† is, 37:1, that, in contrast to Esau's removal to Mt. Seir, 36:6-8, Jacob dwelt in the land of Canaan. And yet here follows without a word of explanation the removal of Jacob and his family to Egypt; and it comes out in subsequent incidental allusions that Joseph was already settled there and married into a priestly family, 46:20,27, that he was high in favor with Pharaoh, and it was he who gave his father and his brethren a possession in the land of Egypt, 47:7,11. But how all this came about P does not

* The repetition of the name and the answer וַיֵּסֶע as Gen. 22:11; Ex. 3:4 is also claimed for E; but Gen. 22:11 can only be assigned to E by manipulating the text and expunging וַיֵּסֶע.

† Two isolated and unexplained statements of Joseph's age, when tending flocks, 37:2, and when standing before Pharaoh, 41:46, are given to P by some critics and denied to him by others.

inform us. The critics are greatly exercised to account for so egregious a gap as this. Kayser suggests that P was theoretical rather than historical; Nöldeke, that R omitted P's account because it was contradictory to E and J; others, because it agreed with theirs. And yet elsewhere R is careful to preserve even the smallest scraps of P, though they are quite superfluous beside the more extended narratives of E or J, e. g., 19:29, and if we may believe the critics he is not deterred by inconsistencies.

The list of Jacob's family, vs. 8-27, is a critical puzzle. It is in the style of other genealogies attributed to P, and has expressions claimed as his, viz., Paddan-aram, v. 15, "souls," vs. 15, 18, 22, 25-27, "came out of his loins," v. 26. And yet it has its doublets in P, Ex. 1:1-5; 6:14-25; Num. 26:5 sqq.; Israel, v. 8, is a mark of J; and, as Kayser affirms, it has too many allusions to J and E to admit of their being explained as interpolations. Thus, v. 12, "Er and Onan, etc.," refers to 38:9 J; v. 18, "Zilpah whom Laban gave to Leah," and v. 25, "Bilhah whom Laban gave unto Rachel" to 29:24, 29* E; vs. 20, 27, Joseph's marriage and sons to 41:50-52 E.†

But it is alleged, VI, p. 12, that "P's statistics seem inconsistent with the prophetic stories." This is based on the assumption, which even Wellhausen† repels, that every individual person named in the list was born before the migration into Egypt. Such an inference might indeed be drawn from 46:8, 26 strictly taken. But to press the letter of such general statements into contradiction with the particulars embraced under them is in violation of the evident meaning of the writer. So 46:15 rigorously interpreted would make Leah to have borne thirty-three children to Jacob in Paddan-aram, one of whom was Jacob himself. Zilpah, v. 18, and Bilhah, v. 25, bare their grandsons as well as their sons. Benjamin is included, 35:24, 26, among Jacob's sons born in Paddan-aram, though his birth near Ephrath is recorded but a few verses before. The numerical correspondences of the table, a total of seventy, the descendants of each maid precisely half those of her mistress (Leah 32, Zilpah 16, Rachel 14, Bilhah 7) suggest design and can scarcely be altogether accidental. And a comparison of Num. 26 leads to the belief that regard was had to the subsequent national organization in constructing this table and that its design was to include those descendants of Jacob from whom permanent families or tribal divisions sprang rather than those who chanced to have been born before the descent into Egypt. It need not surprise us, therefore, if we find a few names of those who were still in the loins of their fathers, Heb. 7:9, 10, at the time of the migration. It is no departure from the

* It is with the view of quietly evading this difficulty that Wellhausen and Dillmann absurdly sunder these verses from the rest of the chapter and give them to P.

† Also v. 15 Dinah to 30:21, if Kayser and Schrader are correct in referring ch. 34 entire to J.

‡ *Composition d. Hexateuchs*, p. 51: "This list once and again bursts through the historic bounds of Genesis." Critical consistency requires this admission from those who assign 37:2 and 41:46 to P, VI, p. 1, or this document will be in conflict with itself.

usages of Hebrew thought to conceive of unborn children as included in the persons of their parents, 46:4b.

This view of the design and character of the list relieves it of all difficulty that four sons are ascribed to Reuben v. 9, but only two 42:37; that, v. 12, Hezron and Hamul, grandsons of Judah, are included as substitutes for his two deceased sons; and that, v. 21, ten sons of Benjamin are named, though, 43:8; 44:22, etc., he is called נָעֵר;* nor does it matter that some of those who are here spoken of as sons of Benjamin were really his grandsons, Num. 26:40; 1 Chron. 8:3,4.

The divine names in this chapter are grouped together in the opening verses, vs. 1-3. "The God of his father Isaac," v. 1, and "the God of thy father," v. 3, together with the worship at Beersheba are in evident allusion to the altar built there by Isaac and the divine manifestation and promise there made, 26:23-25, though it is at variance with critical theories that E should thus refer back to J. Had God revealed himself, v. 3, as "Yahweh, the God of thy father," it would have seemed eminently appropriate. But "the God of Isaac" is a designation equivalent to Yahweh. And there are special reasons for using the term הָאֵל from its association with the name Israel here significantly employed, from its allusion to 35:11, where the promise was given on his return to Canaan, which is now emphatically repeated as he is about to leave it, and from the meaning of הָאֵל the *Mighty One* with its assurance, just then specially needed, of omnipotent protection and blessing, and a like assurance is involved in אֱלֹהִים v. 2, the God of creation and of universal providence.

4. LANGUAGE OF P.†

OLD WORDS.

(1) רָכֹש see VI., p. 117. (2) רָכַש VI., p. 117.

(3) אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן VI., p. 117. (4) וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת Sect. 7, Lang. of P. (5) פָּרֶן אֶרֶם Sect. 7, Lang. of P.

5. LANGUAGE OF J.‡

OLD WORDS.

(1) שֶׁבֶר *trade in grain*, Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (2) קָרָא *meet, befall*, 42:38; 49:1 J; 42:4 (so Dill.); Ex. 1:10; 5:3 E; Lev. 10:19 (later additions to) P. קָרָה Gen. 24:12; 27:20; 44:20; Num. 11:23 J; Gen. 42:29; Ex. 3:18; Num. 23:3 sq., 15 sq. E; Num. 35:11 P. (3) נָכַר *HI. recognize*, Sect. 10, Lang. of J. (4) שָׁמַל Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (5) לֹלָא Gen. 43:10 J; לֹלִי Gen. 31:42 E; Deut. 32:27 J, all in Hex. (6) פָּעַם Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (7) מָפֹאֵם Sect. 10, Lang.

of E. (8) אֱמֹלִי Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (9) בְּתַחֲלָה V., p. 151, note. (10) קָדַר Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (11) נִשְׁמָ עֵינַיִם Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (12) שֵׁם V., p. 154. (13) חֲלִילָה Sect. 6, Lang. of J. (14) עָתָה V., p. 155. (15) נָא Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (16) חָרָה Sect. 2, Lang. of J. (17) עָצַב V., p. 155. (18) מִקְנֶה Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (19) עֵבֶר Sect. 6, Lang. of J.

NEW WORDS.

(1) אִמּוֹן 42:38; 44:29 J; 42:4 (so Dill.); Ex. 21:22,23 E.

* נָעֵר the *youngest*, 42:13,15, etc., denotes relative not absolute age, and has no reference to size. Rehoboam is called נָעֵר *young*, 2 Chron. 13:7, when he was upwards of forty years of age, 12:13. Though Benjamin was tenderly treated as the youngest of the family and Jacob's darling, it must not be inferred that he was still in his boyhood.

† The numbers are those of HEBRAICA, VI., p. 11.

‡ The numbers as VI., p. 14.

- (2) אָבֶל see above under ch. 42-44.
 (3) מְלֹחַן see above under ch. 42-44 (on 42:27,28).
 (4) טָף 42:8; 47:12,24; 50:8 J; 45:19; 46:5; 50:21; Ex. 10:10,24; 12:37; 32:16,17,24,26 E; Num. 14:3,31; 16:27 JE; Gen. 24:29 R; Num. 31:9,17,18 (later constituents of) P.
 (5) הַתְּמָהְמָה 19:16; 48:10; Ex. 12:39 J; all in Hex.
 (6) זְמֶרֶת 48:11 J; Ex. 15:2 E; all in Hex.
 (7) בִּי 48:20; 44:18; Ex. 4:10,18; Num. 12:11; Josh. 7:8 J; all in Hex.

RARE WORDS.

- (1) שְׁלִיט 42:6 J, all in Hex.; "besides only Aram. and in late books, but it may here be a

technical word traditionally preserved, since it agrees remarkably with *Salatis* or *Saltis*, the name of the first ruler of the Hyksos in Egypt," Dillmann.

- (2) קִשּׁוֹת 42:7 J; 42:30 E; fem. plur. nowhere else.
 (3) מִמְתָּחוֹת see under ch. 42-44 (on 42:27,28).
 (4) יָנוֹן 42:38; 44:31 J; all in Hex.
 (5) עֶרֶב 48:9; 44:32 J; all in Hex.
 (6) תְּמָה 48:33 J; all in Hex.
 (7) מִשְׁנָה 48:12 J; all in O. T.
 (8) מִטְמוֹן 48:23 J; all in Hex.
 (9) כֶּמֶר 48:30 J; all in Hex.
 (10) הַתְּמָפֶק 48:31; 45:1 J; all in Hex.
 (11) מִשְׁמָחַת 48:34 (three times) J; all in Hex.
 (12) עָמַס 44:13 J; all in Hex.

6. LANGUAGE OF E.*

OLD WORDS.

- (1) שֹׁבֵר *buy* grain, Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (2) חָלֶם referred to E by rule. (3) עֶלְכֵן Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (4) יָלָךְ V., p. 164, Lang. of J. (5) מְלֹחַן explained above. (6) שִׁם V., p. 154, Lang. of J. (7) מִנְכִּי Sect. 5, Lang. of J.

NEW WORDS.

- (1) מְרַנֵּל 42:9,11,14,16,30,31,34 E; Josh. 2:1; 6:22,23 JE; verb רָנַל Josh. 7:12 *bis* J.
 (2) מִשְׁמָחַר 40:3,4,7; 41:10; 42:17,19 E; Lev. 24:12; Num. 15:24 P; all in Hex.
 (3) צָרָה see under ch. 42-44.
 (4) שָׁכַל 31:38; 42:36; 43:14; Ex. 23:26 E; Gen. 27:45 JE; Lev. 26:22; Deut. 32:25 J; all in Hex.
 (5) נִבְהַל 45:3; Ex. 15:15 E; all in Hex.
 (6) כִּלְכַּל 45:11; 47:12; 50:21 E; all in Hex.
 (7) חוּס 45:20 E; all in Hex. except Deut.

- (8) טִיב 45:18,20,23 E; 24:10; Ex. 33:19 J; all in Hex. except Deut.
 (9) רָגַן 45:24; Ex. 15:14 E; all in Hex. except once in Deut.

RARE WORDS.

- (1) בָּרַר 41:35,49; 42:3,25; 45:23 E; all in Hex.
 (2) כְּנָיִם 42:11,19,31,33,34 E; all in O. T.
 (3) כֶּחֶן 42:15,16 E; all in Hex.
 (4) חֵי (in an oath) 42:15,16 E; all in Hex.
 (5) רַעְבוֹן 42:19,33 E; all in Hex.
 (6) מִבֵּל 42:21 E; 17:19 P; all in Hex.
 (7) צָרָה 35:3; 42:21 *bis* E; all in Hex. except Deut.
 (8) מְלִיץ 42:23 E; all in Hex.
 (9) צָרוּר 42:35 *bis* E; all in Hex.
 (10) מַחֲדָה 45:5 E; Lev. 13:10,24 P.
 (11) טָעַן 45:17 E; all in O. T.
 (12) חֲלִפּוֹת 45:22 *bis* E; all in Hex.
 (13) פִּוֹן 45:26 E; all in Hex.

SEC. 12. 47:1—50:26.

1. Chapter 47.

The critics here again try to produce two divergent accounts by their usual method of making the part stand for the whole, and arranging successive incidents against each other as though they were variant reports of the same transaction. Joseph first presents five of his brethren to Pharaoh, that they may state their occupation and have an appropriate residence assigned them. He then pre-

* The numbers as VI., p. 16.

sents his father *causa honoris* for a formal interview.* This is all natural enough. But the critics will have it that there was but one presentation, viz., of the brothers, vs. 2sq. J, or of the father, vs. 7-11 P. Then the words "as Pharaoh had commanded," v. 11, with their evident allusion to vs. 5,6, make it necessary to sunder these verses;† vs. 5b,6a are given to P and vs. 2-5a,6b retained for J, whereupon it is urged as the result of this dissection that what J calls, v. 6b, "the land of Goshen" P calls, v. 11, the land of Rameses, though this latter expression occurs but once and is an equivalent designation drawn from the chief city of the district.

Moreover v. 12 must be assigned to E as the fulfilment of the promise, 45:11, though E had not recorded the arrival in Egypt. This deprives the contrasted passage, vs. 13-26, of its proper connection and the difficulty is to find out where it belongs. The criteria of J and E are so intermingled in it that Dillmann thinks it necessary to assume that it was written by J on the basis of a previous narrative by E, which may originally have stood immediately after 41:55, and that it has been worked over by R.‡ Wellhausen takes it to be part of a supposed narrative by J parallel to that of E in ch. 41.

Verse 27b must be assigned to P as it has his characteristic expressions, notwithstanding the fact that it is duplicated by Ex. 1:7 P in violation of the critical rule so urgently enforced elsewhere, and notwithstanding the fact that it must then be severed from 27a, with which it is closely connected, (since "Israel" and "land of Goshen" are marks of J), and attached to v. 11.

The mention of Jacob's age§ and the term of his residence in Egypt, v. 28, is plainly preparatory to vs. 29-31, his charge to Joseph respecting his burial; but as he subsequently gives a like charge to all his sons, 49:29-33, a doublet is once more assumed, and the former given to J, and the latter to P.

Thus a well arranged, well connected narrative is torn to shreds, set at variance with itself, and thrown into confusion for the most trivial and inconclusive reasons.

* The critics say, VI., p. 20, that Jacob as the head of the clan ought to have been presented first. They may settle that matter with the historian, or if they please with R. The sons were the active members of the family, and the reason given in the narrative itself for the order of procedure is sufficient, cf. 34:5,11,13.

† The proposal to substitute the LXX. for the Massoretic text of 47:5,6, VI., p. 19, would certainly not be made by an unbiased critic. Dillmann's motive in it is obvious enough. The LXX. have here, as so frequently elsewhere, rearranged the text for reasons of their own, which in this instance are quite apparent. In order to bring Pharaoh's answer into more exact correspondence with the request of Joseph's brothers, 6b is made to follow immediately after v. 4, and then a clause is inserted to prepare the way for v. 5.

‡ 47:26 J manifestly alludes to E 41:34. This and many similar facts, e. g., 46:28 J linked to 46:5 E, are consistent with Dillmann's view that J was acquainted with E, but not with that of Wellhausen that they were entirely independent.

§ The inconsistencies charged, VI., p. 20, have already been answered, VI., p. 206.

2. Chapter 48.

This chapter fares no better. The continuous narrative of Jacob's blessing the sons of Joseph is parcelled into fragments. "After these things," v. 1, is a mark of E, but as the preceding record is not from E, it is hard to tell what is referred to. "Israel" is a sign of J; 2b must accordingly be cut out from the connection to which it belongs, and be tacked on to the previous chapter. El Shaddai and other critical marks require that vs. 3-7 should be given to P; it thus becomes a disconnected fragment severed from its appropriate introduction and from the rest of the scene, in which it has its proper place. The remainder of the chapter is sadly split up by the alternate recurrence of "Israel," a mark of J, and "Elohim," a mark of E;* and after all the aid of R has to be invoked to account for Israel in vs. 8, 11, 21, where the critics themselves shrink from adhering to their own test.

"The composite character of this chapter" is thus argued, VI, p. 25: "(1) 48:1 = 47:29"; but they belong to different occasions. "(2) v. 8 says Israel saw the children of Joseph, while 10a tells us, he could not see"; but if "Israel" is a mark of J, vs. 8, 10a and 11 belong to the same document, moreover while he saw Joseph's sons he could not tell who they were. "(3) vs. 15sq. break the story of the crossing of the hands"; they merely complete the statement of Jacob's action before proceeding to say how Joseph interrupted it. "(4) v. 20a = 19"; not so, v. 19 is an explanatory statement to Joseph, v. 20 the formal blessing pronounced upon his sons. The following "differences" are alleged: "(1) according to E, Jacob is sick in his last days; not so in J. (2) J alone has the story about Joseph's oath. (3) J alone has the anecdote about the crossing of hands. (4) According to E, Joseph only receives Jacob's blessing, no other of the children, as J gives in ch. 49. (5) Jacob's blindness is known only to J." This simply amounts to saying that if a narrative be divided into two or more parts, one part will not contain what is found in another part.

By the same species of legerdemain Wellhausen and Dillmann claim that 48:22 is at variance with 34:25, 26, and in the next breath confess that it agrees with vs. 27-29.

The following divine names occur in this chapter: El Shaddai, v. 3, with allusion to 35:11; Elohim, vs. 9, 11, 20 with reference to general providential blessings; **האלהים** "the God, before whom my fathers Abraham and Isaac did walk, the God who fed me all my life long," is but a paraphrase of Yahweh; Elohim, v. 21, Jacob dies, but God will be with his descendants.

* Wellhausen, who here shows himself less heroically consistent than Dillmann, gives vs. 3-7 to P, but all the rest of the chapter to E, affirming that it shows everywhere the peculiarities of E and that Israel can no further be considered a mark of J.

3. Chapter 49.

49:1-27 is referred to J, not as composed by him, and consequently not on grounds of diction and style, but as a pre-existing writing incorporated in his work, which is inferred from previous allusions to what is here said of Reuben, v. 4, cf. 35:22, and of Simeon and Levi, vs. 5-7, cf. 34:30. It is especially urged that the latter conflicts with 48:22 E, where Jacob says to Joseph, "I have given thee one portion (שָׁכֶם) above thy brethren, which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow." It is said that Jacob could not have spoken of the capture of Shechem by his sons, which he so severely reprobated, as though it were his own act. This difficulty has been long felt and there have been various attempts at explanation, e. g., that 'לקחת' took was a prophetic preterite (Tuch), or that Shechem is not referred to, but some other district whose capture is not recorded (Kurtz), or that the allusion is to Jacob's purchase, 33:19, which he may subsequently have had to defend by force of arms. Kuenen supposes the same allusion, and proposes to read "not with my sword and with my bow." Josh. 24:32; John 4:5 and the word שָׁכֶם show that some transaction at Shechem is referred to. While Jacob deprecated and sharply censured the action of his sons, it nevertheless was the act of the clan of which he was the head; but the property so acquired he gives not to those who participated in the deed, but to Joseph as a mark of special favor, and an earnest of his future inheritance in the land of promise.

The critics try to fix the age of this blessing of Jacob on the assumption that it is a *vaticinium post eventum*. Tuch refers it to the time of Samuel when the tribe of Levi was in ill-repute; Ewald to that of Samson the famous judge from the tribe of Dan, Knobel to the reign of David, Wellhausen to the period of the schism and the rival kingdoms of Judah and Joseph. Dillmann seeks to make it all square with the time of the judges. But the fact is that it is impracticable to find any one period, when this blessing could have been composed with the view of setting forth the existing state of things. The sceptre in Judah found no adequate fulfilment until the reign of David; and from that time forth the consideration enjoyed by the tribe of Levi was such that it could not possibly have been spoken of in the terms here employed. So that Kuenen in despair of finding any one date for the entire blessing supposes it to be made up of brief sayings which circulated in the tribes to which they severally related. But the censures passed upon the first three evidently prepare the way for that of Judah. The prominence given to Judah and Joseph are clearly intentional, not accidental, and several of the blessings would be insignificant or unmeaning, if taken by themselves and disconnected from the rest.

The structure and contents of this blessing make it impossible to explain it as a *vaticinium post eventum*. What is said respecting Levi compels to the

assumption that it is pre-Mosaic. A dispersion resulting from their priestly rank could not after that be spoken of as a sentence for the misdeed of their ancestor. The whole blessing is only comprehensible as utterances of the dying patriarch, modified by personal reminiscences, by insight into the characters of his sons and by their very names, with its ejaculation of pious faith, v. 18; and as a forecasting of the future which found its fulfilment at separate epochs and in unexpected ways, and which, while clear and sharp in a few strongly drawn outlines, is vague in others, and has no such exactness in minute details as suggests actual historical experience.

The mechanical rigor with which Dillmann adheres to the text furnished by the name "Jacob" appears from his sundering v. 1a from its connection and linking it with vs. 28b-33, which is given to P as the alleged doublet of 47:29-31, though this in reality describes a different scene. The emphatic iteration in vs. 29-32 as in the original account of the transaction referred to, ch. 28, shows the stress laid by the writer on this initial acquisition of a permanent possession in the land of Canaan.

The divine names **אל** and **שׁר׳**, both suggestive of omnipotence, occur in v. 25; and **יְהוָה** in v. 18, where Jacob gives expression to his own pious trust.

4. Chapter 50.

We are told that there are two distinct and varying accounts of Jacob's interment, VI., p. 20, J's vs. 1-11, 14, conducted by Joseph with great pomp and an immense retinue, and P's vs. 12, 13, in which all his sons and no others take part. J's narrative is the play of Hamlet with Hamlet left out. He gives no account either of the death (49:33 P) or the burial. Joseph goes with a great company to bury his father: he comes back after burying his father; but of the actual burial nothing is said. The only account of that is in the verses that are cut out and assigned to P. Kautzsch finds a doublet in 10b and insists that there are three distinct places of interment representing as many variant narratives, the threshing-floor of Atad, Abel-mizraim, and the cave of Machpelah; only it so happens that this last is the only place at which any burial is spoken of. Joseph's report of his father's language, 50:5, does not precisely correspond with 47:30: but as both passages belong to J, no fresh argument for partition can arise, however it is to be explained.

Verses 15-26 are assigned to E on account of the repeated recurrence of Elohim, notwithstanding the two-fold statement of age, vs. 22, 26, such as is always elsewhere given to P, and two phrases which R is credited with having inserted from J, "spake to their heart," v. 21 as 84:3, and "the land which he sware to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob," v. 24; in the passages assigned to E no promise is given of the land of Canaan to any one of the patriarchs. The proof of unity arising from these frequent cross-references from one document to

the other can only be evaded by using the critical knife and invoking the agency of R.

P records the death and the interment; J the embalming, the funeral procession and the return from the grave; E the subsequent apprehensions of Joseph's brothers and his generous treatment of them. And yet these extracts from separate works, as they are said to be, match as perfectly as though they had come from the same pen, and the continuity of the narrative is as accurately preserved.

The divine names are, v. 17, "the God of thy father," which sufficiently identifies the God whom they served, and Elohim, vs. 19, 20, 24, 25, where the contrast is each time that of the human and the divine.

5. LANGUAGE OF P.*

- (1) *יָצָא* 47:8, 23, but once beside in Hex. 25:7 P. (2) *אָחִיזָה* Sect. 5, Lang. of P. (3) *פָּרָה* Sect. 2, Lang. of J. (4) *אֵל שַׁי* Sect. 5, Lang. of P. (5) *נָתַן* (for *שָׁם*) V., p. 152. (6) *מִכְפֹּלָה* Sect. 8, Lang. of P. (7) *יָלַד* HI, Sect. 2, Lang. of J. (8) *פָּדָן* Sect. 7, Lang. of P. (9) *הָאֶסְכָּף אֵל עָם* Sect. 7, Lang. of P. (10) *נָוֶה* Sect. 3, Lang. of P (6:17). (11) *מִכְפֹּלָה* Sect. 8, Lang. of P.

6. LANGUAGE OF J.

The words attributed to J with scarcely an exception occur also in E.

OLD WORDS.

- (1) *עָבְדִּין* Sect. 6, Lang. of J (also in E). (2) *נָם* with pers. pron., Sect. 6, Lang. of E. (3) *נָם-נָם* 24:25, 44; 43:8; 44:16; 46:34; 47:3, 19; 50:9; Deut. 32:25 J; Gen. 32:20; Ex. 12:31, 32; 18:18; Num. 22:25 E; Num. 18:3 P. (4) *עָתָה* V., p. 155, repeatedly in J and E, also in P 48:5. (5) *נָא* Sect. 5, Lang. of J (also E and P). (6) *שָׁם* V., p. 154 (also E and P). (7) *מִקְנָה* Sect. 5, Lang. of J (also E and P). (8) *כָּלֵכֵל* Sect. 11, Lang. of E. (9) *טָף* Sect. 11, Lang. of J (also E and P). (10) *שֶׁכֶר* *trade in grain*, Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (11) *הִבְהָה* Sect. 4, Lang. of J (also E). (12) *נָהַל* Sect. 8, Lang. of J (also E). (13) *מִדְכָּה* V., p. 153 (also E and P). (14) *רָק* Sect. 3, Lang. of J (also E). (15) *עֶלְכֵן* Sect. 5, Lang. of J (also E and P). (16) *הָן* 15:3; 27:11; Ex. 5:5; 8:22; Num. 23:9 E; Ex. 6:12, 30; Lev. 10:18, 19; Num. 17:27 P; Num. 31:16 (latest constituents of P). (17) *מִצָּא חֵן* Sect. 3, Lang. of J (6:5-8). (18) *עֲשֵׂה חֶסֶד* Sect. 7, Lang. of J (also E). (19) *מִנְכֵי* Sect. 5, Lang. of J (also E, once P). (20) *שֵׁשׁ* Sect. 8, Lang. of J (also E, once P (Well.) Ex. 7:23). (21) *בְּעֵינֵי* Sect. 6, Lang. of E. (22) *מָאֵן* Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (23) *נָדַל* Sect. 4, Lang. of J (also E, once P Num. 6:5). (24) *קָרָא* happen Sect. 11, Lang. of J (also E and P). (25) *מָא* also E and P Ex. 12:44, 48; Num. 20:6; Josh. 22:31. (26) *מִרְוֶה* also E and P Num. 5:18, 19, 22, 24, 27. (27) *קֶשֶׁה* also E and P. (28) *טָרַף* Sect. 10, Lang. of J (also E). (29) *רִבֵּץ* Sect. 2, Lang. of J (also E). (30) *דִּין* Sect. 5, Lang. of J (also E). (31) *מִרְוֶה* Sect. 6, Lang. of J (twice in Hex.). (32) *כִּרְוָה* 26:25; 50:5 J; Ex. 21:33; Num. 21:18 E. (33) *מִכְלָל* 50:10, 11 J; 27:41 JE; Deut. 34:8 P all in Hex. (34) *יְהוָה* explained above. (35) *שָׁטָם* 49:23 J (not composed by him); 27:41 JE; 50:15 E; all in Hex.

NEW WORDS.

- (1) *נָצַן* (or *יָצַן*) 30:38; 33:15; 48:9; 47:2 J; Ex. 10:24 E; all in Hex. (2) *כִּטְוָה* 47:31; Ex. 7:28 J; 48:2; 49:33 out of an E and P context and ascribed to J; all in Hex. (3) *נָרַן* 50:10, 11 J; Num. 18:27, 30 P; Num. 15:20 S (Dill.), Editor of Lev. 17-26 (Well.); all in Hex. except Deut. (4) *תִּכָּן* 48:17 J; Ex. 17:12 E; all in Hex.

* The numbers are those of VI., p. 19.

† Nos. 27-31 are based on Gen. 49, which was not composed by J and does not represent his diction.

RARE WORDS.

- (1) מרעה 47:4 J; all in Hex.
 (2) אָפֶס 47:15,16 J; all in Hex.
 (3) כָּחַר to conceal 47:18; Josh. 7:19; all in Hex. in this sense.
 (4) גִּירָה 47:17 J; all in Hex.

- (5) רָמָא 47:23 J; all in Hex.
 (6) חֲנֹט 50:2,3 J; 50:26 E; all in Hex.

* Ἀπαξ λεγόμενα.

- (1) לָהֶה 47:13 J; all in Hex.
 (2) זָקַן 48:10 J; all in O. T.
 (3) שָׁכַל Pl. 48:14 J; all in O. T.

7. LANGUAGE OF E.*

The words attributed to E with scarcely an exception occur also in J.

- (1) אֱלֹהִים explained above. (2) חֹכֶן Sect. 8, Lang. of J. (3) שִׁים V., p. 154 (Lang. of J.). (4) אֲנֹכִי Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (5) שָׁטַם Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (6) נָשָׂא *forgot* Sect. 8, Lang. of J. (7) נָא Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (8) חָשַׁב Sect. 10, Lang. of J. (9) כָּלְכַל Sect. 11, Lang. of E. (10) נָחַם Sect. 2, Lang. of J. (11) טָף Sect. 11, Lang. of J. (12) דָּבַר עַל לֵב Sect. 9, Lang. of J.

NEW WORDS.

- (1) שָׁלִים 50:23 E; Ex. 34:7 J; Ex. 20:5 JE; Num. 14:18 R; all in Hex. except Deut.

RARE WORDS.

- (1) פָּלַל Pl. 48:11 E; all in Hex.
 (2) דָּנָה (verb) 48:16 E; all in Hex.
 (3) גָּמַל (Qāl) 50:15,17 E; all in Hex.

CONCLUSION.

We have now completed the critical study of the Book of Genesis and may pause at this point, while we sum up in a few words the results of our investigation. The critics claim that the alternation of divine names in this book is best accounted for by the assumption that Genesis is compiled from different documents, each using its own particular term for God; and when the partition is effected on this basis, each is found to have all the marks of separate authorship, its own peculiar diction and style, its own plan and purpose, and a conception of the history and of religious truth peculiar to itself. How far does the reality correspond with the claim which they make?

The interchange of divine names can, as we have seen, be readily accounted for in every instance from the significance and general biblical usage of the names themselves, while it cannot be brought into harmony with the hypothesis of the critics. In repeated instances Yahweh occurs where by the hypothesis it ought not to be, as 15:1,2; 17:1; 20:18; ch. 22; 28:21, and if Dillmann is right in referring ch. 14 to E, in 14:22. Elohim and El Shaddai also occur in inconvenient places, 4:25; 7:9; 48:14, and require the separation of what is most closely united, as 38:5,11; ch. 48, etc., etc.

In spite of the utmost efforts and the most ingenious devices it is impracticable to make out the continuity of the documents. By dint of picking out available clauses here and there and sundering them from their proper connection a shift is made to carry J along through the flood, and P through the early history of Abraham, R's conduct in preserving these scraps being explained by his reluctance to omit even the most insignificant portion of his sources. But this has to

* The numbers are those of VI., p. 24.

be abandoned in the lives of Isaac, Jacob and Joseph, where the most enormous gaps confessedly occur in each of the so-called documents. And everywhere in fact it appears that one document implies or expressly alludes to what is stated only in another; so that Dillmann maintains that J made use of E, and Jülicher that P drew upon both J and E; and indeed an unbiased consideration of the facts shows that they are all so closely bound together by mutual references and implications as well as by conformity of plan and purpose, that they cannot by possibility have been independently conceived and written.

In the attempt to establish the separateness of the documents large use is made of what the critics are pleased to consider parallel narratives, but which are not such in fact. Gen. 2 is treated as though it were a second account of the creation, when it is really a sequel to Gen. 1 preliminary to the fall, Gen. 3. God's subjective purpose to send the flood, 6:7, is confounded with his declaration of that purpose to Noah, 6:13, his acceptance of Noah's sacrifice, 8:20-22, with his consequent covenant with Noah, 9:1 sqq., as though these were identical repetitions implying different narrators; and so in numberless instances. Successive parts of the same transaction, or different elements entering into its constitution (e. g., the human and the divine, 30:37 sqq.; 31:7 sqq., or different motives for Jacob's journey, 27:42 sqq., 46, or for the hatred of Joseph, 37:4,8) are converted into variant accounts of the same thing when in fact they are mutually consistent and supplementary. This has been carried by Wellhausen and Dillmann to the utmost extravagance by means of so-called doublets, every emphatic repetition or enlargement being so considered and held to be an indication of some imaginary parallel of which only these occasional snatches survive.

Parallels are further found in totally distinct events, which differ in the actors, times, localities and circumstances, but have some general and easily explained resemblance. The resemblances are first paraded in proof of identity, and then the differences as so many discrepancies in the several accounts. Discrepancies are further multiplied by isolating passages and needlessly interpreting them at variance with their connection, every evidence of consistency being arbitrarily thrown out of the text as a harmonizing addition by R, e. g., 7:7-9; 13:1; 15:7; 16:8-10; 26:1,15; 35:9, etc., etc.

The most capricious and inconsistent conduct is attributed to R, such as is an impeachment of both his honesty and good sense. He is held responsible in fact for everything that is at variance with the requirements of the hypothesis. And on the supposition that such a person really existed and did the work ascribed to him, it is quite impossible to form any intelligent notion of his methods or his aims. We are told that in some places he carefully preserves minute fragments of his sources, though they are a superfluous repetition of what has already been more fully stated in the language of other documents, and yet elsewhere he freely omits large and essential portions of them. In some

places he preserves unchanged what is represented to be plainly antagonistic, while in other places he is careful to smooth away discrepancies, and to give a different turn to variant passages by transpositions or by insertions of his own. He sometimes keeps his documents quite distinct in language and form, at others he effaces their peculiarities or blends them inextricably together. All these offices must be assumed by turns in order to carry the hypothesis safely through; but whether such a bundle of contradictions was ever incarnate in any actually existing person, the only proof of his existence being that these contradictory things are alleged about him, every one may judge for himself.

The diversity of diction and of religious conception, which is claimed for the so-called documents is as fallacious as the other arguments urged in proof of their separate existence. Formidable lists of words and phrases are massed together as the peculium of this or the other document. And the first impression produced by marshalling so vast an array naturally is that this is a very significant circumstance indeed. But it only needs a patient examination of these details with the lexicon and concordance, and a careful scrutiny of their real bearing, to show that they are absolutely devoid of significance for the purpose for which they are adduced.

Words are not to be mechanically counted but intelligently estimated. They are signs of thought; and that the words vary with the thought to be expressed implies no diversity of writers. A writer does not forfeit his identity because he uses words in one place which he has no occasion to employ in another. A very large number of words occur in J and E which are not found in P, and a considerable number in P which are not in J and E; but the reason is obvious. It should be observed at the outset that the words credited by the critics to particular documents require not a little sifting. A thorough examination shows that many of them recur in other documents likewise, or are of very rare occurrence even in that document to which they are assigned, and consequently are either not peculiar to it or not characteristic of it. These are plainly of no moment from any point of view.

But besides this, all that is assigned to P in Genesis, ch. 1-11, apart from genealogies is the creation, 1:1-2:3, and what is regarded as his account of the deluge in chs. 6-9. The great proportion of the words here classed as peculiar to P occur in no other P section of Genesis; then why should it be accounted strange, if they are not found in any section of J? They belong to the description of grand and world-wide events affecting all orders of animated beings; and why should they be expected to recur in narratives of the every-day life of individual men? The terms for God's covenanting with Noah recur when he covenants with Abraham. Those that respect the sex and species of animals recur in the ritual prescriptions dealing with such subjects. But many more technical terms of the ritual are to be found in J, Gen. 1-11, e. g., נֶפֶשׁ *soul* (=

person), קדם *east*, זהב *gold*, אבן שחם *onyx stone*, צלע *rib*, לחם *bread*, עפר *dust*, כתנת *coat*, עור *skin*, כרובים *cherubim*, מנחה *offering*, חלב *fat*, צאן *flock*, נשא פנים *lift up the face* (4:7), חטאת *sin*, פתח *door*, ארר *curse*, ען *bear iniquity*, פני יהוה *face of Yuhweh*, אהל *tent*, מקנה *cattle*, נחשת *brass*, כחל *iron*, טהור *clean*, יונה *dove*, זית *olive*, מזבח *altar*, העלה *offer*, עולה *burnt offering*, ריח ניחח *sweet savour*, יין *wine*, ערורה *nakedness*. This list of words common to the J section of Gen. 1-11 and to the ritual law, and which are not found in the P portion of these chapters and for the most part in none of the sections assigned to P in Genesis, might be yet further increased. It shows, if critical arguments have any value, that the former has as much claim as the latter, or even a greater claim to be regarded as of one piece with the ritual law. The J sections of these chapters really offer more points of contact with the diction of the ritual law than the P sections do. And in respect to the genealogies, it has already been pointed out, V., p. 162, that ch. 5 is as closely bound to chs. 2-4, J, as to ch. 1, P.

In the rest of Genesis, chs. 12-50, two chapters are assigned to P, viz.: chs. 17 and 23, the former recording the institution of circumcision, in which the phrases of the ritual law are to be expected, the latter the purchase of the cave of Machpelah with legal precision and formality. The promises of ch. 17 and the transaction of ch. 23 are repeatedly referred to, and, as is natural, in language borrowed from these chapters. Apart from these chapters and passages based upon them, P is confined to genealogies or brief statements for the most part of the patriarchs' removals, or of their ages or death. The entire narrative portion is given to J, or divided between J and E. Of course the words and phrases appropriate to such matters as are assigned to P are found in P; and such as are appropriate to ordinary narratives are found in J and E. With such a distribution of the material it could not be otherwise. It requires no assumption of a diversity of writers to account for it. In one chapter only, ch. 34, the critics are compelled by the allusion to circumcision to allow P a share in the narrative, and the result is instructive. The diction of P is there indistinguishable from that of J, and the critics are utterly at sea as to the lines of demarcation. It has further been shown that the paragraphs recording the removals of the patriarchs are more closely linked to J than to P; that ch. 17, P, is indissolubly connected with the preceding and following chapters of J, of which it is an indispensable link, and that it owes all its alleged peculiarities to its position in this ascending series; and that the statements of the ages of the patriarchs cannot all be referred to P without doing the utmost violence to the connection. In fact the critics are in the habit of playing fast and loose with a criterion which at times is their sole or chief dependence, and at others is disregarded entirely. While they profess to trace documents in a great measure by the connection of their several parts, they in numerous instances sunder what is most intimately bound together

by necessary implications or express allusions, thus nullifying their own principal clue and invalidating their own conclusions.

The two forms of the divisive hypothesis in chs. 12-50 are tossed on the opposite horns of a dilemma. The supplementary critics, who recognize but one Elohist and accordingly regard E as a part of P, can establish no criteria, by which to distinguish it from J. The documentary critics, who find two Elohistes by separating E from P, leave for the latter only incoherent and unrelated fragments torn from their proper connection, which are without reason assumed to have once constituted a distinct document.

Between J and E scarcely any discrimination is attempted in point of diction beyond יהוה of one and אלהים of the other. The "special characteristics," whether in thought or language, by which E is said to be distinguished from J are considered, V., p. 171, and shown not to be distinctive at all. The alleged theological differences between P and J are also considered, V., p. 182, and shown so far as they actually exist to be involved in the meaning and usage of the divine names. Do not the facts of the case accordingly compel to the conclusion that the divisive hypothesis has no rational basis whatever in the Book of Genesis?

It has been my object throughout this discussion, so far as it has now proceeded, to examine with candor and thoroughness all the arguments in favor of a critical division of Genesis. I feel, as I stated in my first paper, no antecedent repugnance to such a division, if it can be fairly proved and apart from the revolutionary and destructive consequences, which are ordinarily deduced from it. But so far as I can see, the case is not proven. In spite of all the critical clamor, and the scholarly names arrayed on the side of the divisive hypothesis, I see no good ground for abandoning the old traditional belief of the unity of Genesis. And if the divisive hypothesis cannot maintain itself on literary grounds in Genesis, it cannot do so anywhere. In the historical portions of the Pentateuch that follow and in the Book of Joshua the analysis proposed by the critics is far more complicated, and simply amounts to forcing through a hypothesis considered as already established. It very plainly gathers no strength as it proceeds.

In the legislative portion of the Pentateuch the question turns no longer upon literary criteria, but upon an entirely different principle: are the institutions and enactments of the Pentateuch the growth of ages or the product of one age and of a single mind? It is here that the battle of the Mosaic authorship must be fought. Meanwhile the investigations thus far conducted justify at least a negative conclusion. We have examined the so-called anachronisms of the Book of Genesis, and find nothing which militates against its being the work of Moses. It is plainly designed to be introductory to the law. And if that law was given by Moses, as has always been believed and as the Scriptures abundantly declare, then Genesis, too, was his work.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF GEOGRAPHY.

BY PROFESSOR RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL, PH. D.,

Columbia College in the City of New York.

II. CANDELABRUM SANCTORUM AND LIBER RADIORUM OF GREGORIUS
BAR 'EBHRĀYĀ.

In continuation of my contribution to No. 3 of the *Mittheilungen des Akademisch-Orientalistischen Vereins zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1890), I publish here two further short texts on geography by the same author. The first is taken from M'nārath Qudhṣā¹, and is intended to accompany and to explain the chart I published in the *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, May, 1888, 16sqg.²

For the first text three MSS. were available:

B. Ms. Berlin, Sachau 81: fol. 37a.—of the year 1403.³

P. Ms. Paris, Syriac 210 (Ancient Fonds 121); fol. 36a.—of the year 1404.⁴

C. Ms. Cambridge University Libr., Syriac 21; fol. 29a—in a good Jacobite hand, if I remember aright, of the XVth century.⁵

Although this text, with the exception of the last section on *fountains and rivers*, runs parallel with §§ 3-6 of the text published in the *Mittheilungen*, it seems to be of sufficient interest to deserve publication by itself. One section on the river *Sambation*, I have omitted entirely, as it is found word for word in the following extract.

For the second text I have had also three MSS. at my disposal.


B. Ms. Berlin Sachau 85; fol. 14b.—probably of the XVIIIth century.

P. Ms. Paris Syriacque 213 (Ancient Fonds 129); fol. 10a.⁶

O. Ms. Bodleian Or. 467; fol. 16b.—of the year 1576.⁷ This text covers, substantially, the same ground as the two preceding ones. We can see from this how it was that BE. was able to compile so many works.

I have printed the texts as I have found them in the MSS. It is impossible.

¹ Cf. *HEBRAICA*, III., p. 249.

* In the Cambridge MS. the map is much more distinct. A good many additional names can be made out. I only note (*Proceedings*, p. xvii., 22) that the line must read .

اسمہ ازدا مہدا و لہجہ سہدا مہدا ازدا حمہدا .

* Cf. *A list of Plants* p. 3. Neither of the other two MSS. contain the list.

⁴ Zotenberg, *Catalogue*, p. 161.

⁵ Prof. W. Robertson Smith, chief librarian in 1889, was kind enough to allow me the use of this MS.

⁶ Zotenberg, *loc. cit.*, p. 164.

⁷ Payne-Smith, *Catalogue*, Col. 557.

in many cases, to prefer the reading of one MSS. to that of another. For that reason I have burdened the foot-notes with a full list of variants. Emendations, when necessary, have been put into the translation or have been especially mentioned in the notes.

The spelling of the proper names has caused some difficulty. When I have suspected a Greek original, I have given the name in Greek; where an Arabic, in Arabic. When the name is current in Syriac literature, I have given the usual English equivalent. In giving the Greek originals, I have scrupled to depart from what I have found in my dictionary; though, at times, the Syriac text seems to intimate a different reading, e. g.:

Τιβερίας—ܬܝܒܪܝܐ, though one MS. has ܬܝܒܝܬ with *a*.

Apamaea—ܐܡܝܬܐ.

Mareotis—ܡܪܝܬܐ.

Κάκκασος—ܟܐܟܟܐܣܐ, where one MS., however, seems to have read 'ܟܐܝܐ.

Νύσης—ܢܝܫܐ. One MS. has ܢܫܐ which perhaps = ܢܫܐ (*Nusos*).

Στῆλαι—ܣܬܝܠܐ in acc.

Ἀδρίας—ܐܕܪܝܐ ending in *os*. One MS. has *as*; but the *Adscensus Mentis* also has *os*.

Εἰβορία—ܐܝܒܐܪܝܐ.

Μαιῶτις—ܡܝܐܘܬܝܐ.

The whole subject of the Syriac transcription of Greek needs a special investigation—for which Duval's *Bar Bahtul* gives ample material.

The notes I have made as few and as short as possible. The necessary information and verifications will be found in the foot-notes to the translation in the *Mittheilungen*. There, in the introduction, I have spoken of the authorities from whom BE. seems to have taken his information. I am able to add two more names here. The one is the celebrated Abū-Raiḥān Muḥammad Ben 'Aḥmad Albērūnī, the Herodotus of India. Compare, e. g., the extracts cited by Qazwīnī I., p. 104, 17, p. 147, with the account of the 'Ωκεανός as given by BE. and the corresponding parts in the *Mittheilungen*. Whether BE. knew of Bērūnī outside of the citations in Qazwīnī I am unable to say. The second source is Aristotle in his *Μετεωρολογικά*. In the last section of the first extract, on *fountains and rivers*, I have shown the dependence in a number of cases. By what means BE. became acquainted with this work, I am not now in a position to explain. The fact itself is interesting.

ON THE POSITION OF THEIR SEAS AND THEIR BAYS.

That all-encircling sea which is outside of the whole habitable world and surrounds the whole earth is called 'Ατλαντικός and 'Ωκεανός. Some call its western

side alone Ὠκεανός. Of this a narrow mouth opens in the western corner to the inside, that which is called the strait of Hercules. There, also, are the στήλας, i. e., the pillars of Hercules. This mouth, then, flowing towards the east, widens, forming that bay of the Ἀδριας Sea which is the *Sea of the Romans* and the *Sea of the Syrians*. From this bay a tongue goes and becomes narrowed. It passes along the wall of *Constantinople*, and is called the *Sea of Pontus*. Thus, to the south of the Ἀδριας Sea lie *Alexandria* and *Egypt*. To the north of it are *Constantinople* and *Ρώμη* and the whole land *Francia*. In it are celebrated islands which are fully known to us, as *Κύπρος*, *Σάμος*, *Χίος*, *Ρόδος*, and *Σικελία*. To the east of it are the lands of Syria and those of this our sea.

The Ὠκεανός Sea, which is outside of the Herculean pillars, its flowing going towards the south, passes by the lands of the western Arabs, and by that *Silver mountain* and (those) *Moon mountains*, from whose caves spring the waters of the river *Νεῖλος*, and by the lands of the *Abyssinians*, and by the lands of the *Nubians*, i. e., by the whole land of the Cushites. At the end of this land there stretches out from it a certain small bay towards the north, opposite Egypt, which is called the *Sea of Reeds*, as if it were the end and termination of the *great sea*.⁸ In it passed the children of Israel on foot and Pharaoh was drowned. On account of the multitude of mountains and rocks in this bay, ships are unable to ride in it—except, perhaps, at day along its banks. That great sea from which this bay proceeds is called the *Red Sea*. And this, flowing towards the east, passes along the lands of *Sh'bbha* and *Saba*, and along that land which is simply called *the South*. There are trees and frankincense. At the end of this land the sea which is called *Red*, forms a large bay towards the north, that which is called *Persian Gulf*. On the western side of this gulf is a city which is called *Basra*, and the whole land of *Babel* and *Seleucia*, and *Ctesiphon*. On its northern side are all the lands of the Persians. On its eastern side are the lands of the Indians.

The all-encircling sea, also, which is outside of this bay, flowing towards the east, passes along the lands of the Indians. At their end it forms a bay to the north which is called the *Sea of the Indians*. To the west of this sea are the lands of the Indians; to the east are the lands of the Tibetans. After them come the lands of the Chinese. To the north of it are the lands of the Huns, i. e., Turks, who are the Mongolians, it being their primitive land from which they have gone forth. The all-encircling sea outside of this bay, going further to the east, passes the well-known islands of the Indians, called *SRNDIB*, and another which is called *Qamîr*⁹ and the other islands and mountains, from which are brought and

⁸ Cf. Payne-Smith, col. 2377, where K. has the same derivation. The last Syriac word there is, of course, *قلمس*.

⁹ I cannot substantiate this pronounciation. Yāqūt, i., p. 21, 11, gives *Qumatr*; Reinaud, *Relation des voyages*, etc., text, p. 94, Sprenger, *El-Mas'udî's Meadows of Gold*, p. 186, Dimiṣqī, *Cosmographie*, p. 19, 2, give *Qumār*. BE. can have reference only to Cape Comorin, Ptolemaeus,

exchanged these sharp and costly and aromatic spices, قرنفل, النجوج, فلغل, etc.; and also precious stones, βάκινθος, etc.¹⁰

And so, stretching from east to north, it passes the lands of the Tibetans and Chinese and the land of the Huns which we have mentioned, and the land of the Iberians and many lands which are waste, and mountains which are inaccessible. It passes, then, by a great and black mountain which is in the north, and along the plains of the Caspians and the land of the Alanes. There it forms a bay from north to south, that which is called WRNG¹¹ in the language of that place. So, stretching from the north towards the west, it passes along the lands of the Scythians and the cities of the Bulgarians, and all Francia and the land of Andalus of the Arabs, where in our days the Franks rule. It comes to an end near the pillars of Hercules, from where it had commenced. Thus, the whole inhabitable world becomes like unto an island within the all-encircling sea, which encompasses the earth as a crown does the head or a girdle the loins.

From this chart which we have drawn, one can look at the inhabited world as in a vision, it being divided into seven κλίματα. (One can also see) the position of every land and every sea inlet which is derived from that all-encircling sea. In the land of the Iberians there is one lake which exists of itself, and stands in no connection with the all-encircling sea—so that one commencing at some well-known place on its banks and going all around it, would be able to reach the place where he commenced¹² were it not for that great river, which is called ATL, which pours its waters into this lake. This lake, on account of its greatness and extent, is called in books and in common parlance a sea and not a lake. Ptolemaeus calls it Ὑγκανία Sea. In our days they call it خزر. To the west of this sea is the gate of Iron,¹³ and the plains of the Caspians and Sharwān and Taberistān; to the south Great Armenia; to the east the lands of the Iberians; to the north that great and desolate black mountain which is at the end of the earth,¹⁴ i. e. EN.

ON LAKES.

Lakes are those (seas) that do not unite with that great sea Ὠκεανός. They are many in the habitable world. But those which are known to us are as fol-

Geogr., vii., 1, § 9, Κομαρία ἄκρον καὶ πόλις. Qazwīnī i., p. 171, 9. Etbe, *Kosmographie*, p. 502. Masūdī (Sprenger, *loc. cit.*) says expressly that it is not an island! The confounding of this name with that for Cambodja (Ibn Khordādhbeh, ed. de Goeje, p. 68, 13) is well-known. See Yule, *The Book of ser Marco Polo*, ii., p. 318.

¹⁰ Reinaud, *loc. cit.*, p. 79qq.

¹¹ Cf. PAOS, May, 1888, p. xviii, note 13. Dimīšqī, p. ۱۳۳, 18. Yāqūt, i., p. 20, 16. Peschel, *Geschichte der Erdkunde*, p. 106.

¹² Qazwīnī, i., p. ۱۰۵, 7.

¹³ Pliny, vi., 2, § 11.

¹⁴ Warren, *Paradise Found*, 1858qq.

lows: the lake of *Apamaea*,¹⁵ and that of *Tiberias*,¹⁶ and that which is called *Μαρεώτις*(ς)¹⁷ near Alexandria, and that lake of *Genessareth*¹⁸ where—as they say—are no fish because its waters change three times a day. From it wells up pitch in the form of a bull without a head.¹⁹ Not by iron nor by stone can it be split or broken. It can only be soluted by stagnant waters and menstrual blood. And (there is) that lake in Armenia which is called *Arkistia*, i. e., *Argish* and other lakes which are in *Adhorbigān* and in the lands of Persia, and countless others.¹⁹

ON FOUNTAINS AND RIVERS.

Above we have spoken of two kinds of vapors²⁰—one dry and cloud-like, the other volatile and moist. Each one of them is either above the earth or within it. That cloud-like one above the earth produces winds and moves the air. (The one) within the earth moves and shifts the earth and produces earthquakes according to its strength. That volatile one above the earth, i. e., in the air, causes rains and snowfalls, etc.; within it [i. e., the earth] it causes fountains to flow. Those vapors, however, which are within the earth, if they possess sufficient power to rend the earth and their fullness is great, produce rivers.²¹ But if their fullness is small, they produce fountains. If they are between the two, they form pools. In case they have not sufficient power to rend—if they flow, they are called rivulets; if they do not flow, wells. Most fountains flow from the north on account of the great mountains which are there.

¹⁵ Strabo, xvi., 2, § 10 (ed. Kramer, p. 289, 7.) The spelling of the name—with a *waw*—is very curious.

¹⁶ We have here the unusual form ending in *ως* instead of *ίας*.

¹⁷ Strabo, xvii., 1, § 7.

¹⁸ There is evidently some mistake here, as BE. has just mentioned the Lake of Tiberias! In his *Adscensus Mentis*, he says the same of the Cherith (1 Kgs. xvii., 3, 5, cf. *Mittheilungen des Acad.-Oriental. Veretns*, No. 3, p. 36, I believe that is also the correct reading here. Cf. also Aristotle, *Meteorologica*, ii., 3, § 39. ZDPV., ii., p. 113sq.

¹⁹ I have only now (September) had a chance to look into Guy le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*. On p. 66, I see that the Persian traveler, Nāsir-i-Khusran (1047) makes a similar remark. Le Strange (ibid., p. 66) refers me to Josephus, B. J., iv., 8, § 4—a passage which I ought not to have overlooked when I wrote *Mittheilungen*, etc., p. 36, note 2. Evidently BE. has drawn on Josephus for his description of this lake. The passage reads: τρις γάρ ἐκάστης ἡμέρας τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἀλλάσσειαν, . . . τῆς μέντοι ἀσφαλτον κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη Βώλους μέλανας ἀναδέωσιν, αἱ δὲ ἐπινύχονται τό, τε χῆμα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ταύροις ἀκεφάλοις παραπλήσιαι. . . . ἕως ἂν ἐμμηνίω γυναικῶν αἵματι καὶ οὐρῷ διαλύσωσιν αὐτήν, οἷς μόνοις εἵκει. Cf. also Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xv., 1, pp. 732, 736.

²⁰ Arist. *Meteor.*, ii., 4, § 1. Περὶ δὲ πνευμάτων λέγωμεν, λαβόντες ἀρχὴν τὴν εἰρημένην ἡμῖν ἤδη πρότερον. ἔστι γὰρ δύο εἶδη τῆς ἀναθυμιάσεως, ὥς φαμεν, ἡ μὲν ὑγρὰ, ἡ δὲ ξηρά. Cf. *ibid.*, § 5. Lagarde, *Analecta Syriaca*, p. 141, 13sq. Sprenger, *El-Mas'ud's . . . Meadows of Gold*, p. 231. Qazwini, i., p. 189.

²¹ Cf. Olympiodorus to Aristotle, *Meteor.*, i.; xii., § 11. Κρηνῶν καὶ ποταμῶν τὸ ἀπὸ γῆς ἔχειν τὴν ἀρχὴν διάφορον διὰ τὸ πόσον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ποταμὸς ἀπὸ μεγάλης πηγῆς, ἡ δὲ κρήνη ἀπὸ μικρᾶς. (*Meteor.*, ed. Ideler i., p. 252.)

Many are the fissures in the mountains. They are like the pores of a sponge.²² From every side waters flow from them downwards. And that rivers which are very great arise from great mountains²³ is seen from the fact that 'Αράξης²⁴ the great river comes down from Mount Παρνάσσος which is in Asia.²⁵ From this mountain, also, comes the 'Ινδός, that one which is greater than all (other) rivers. The river φάσις flows from Mount Καύκασος²⁶ and runs into the Πόντος. And that this mountain is higher than all the summer mountains of the east²⁷ is known from the fact that only during the middle third of the night is the sun invisible.²⁸ From Πυρρήνη, the mountain in the west, flow the Ταρτησσός and the 'Ιστρος, the great rivers. From the mountains of the Scythians flow rivers which are very great. From among the Cushites commence the rivers Αιγών and Νύσης.²⁹ From that silver mountain rise the rivers Χρεμέτης³⁰ and Νείλος. *Pishōn*, as the Pentateuch testifies, is that river which waters the land of the Indians which is called *Hawilā*. *Gihōn*, i. e., *Nile*, is the river that waters the land of the Cushites and Egypt and the west. It is also called "*the Black*." The *Tigris*, narrow and rushing, waters the land of Persia and the north; and the *Euphrates* waters the land of *Babel* and *Maishān*, i. e., *Bagra*.

Ray. The whole inhabited world—as if it were an island—is encircled by the sea 'Ωκεανός, that (sea) which commences at the *Islands of the Blessed* and at

²² Arist. *Meteor.*, i.; xiii., § 12. Οἱ γὰρ ὀρεινοὶ καὶ ἱψηλοὶ, τόποι οἷον σπόγγος πικνὸς ἐπικρέμ-
αμενος.

²³ Arist. *Meteor.*, i.; xiii., § 11. Καὶ πλείστοι καὶ μέγιστοι ποταμοὶ ῥέουσιν ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων
ὀρών. *Ibid.*, § 14. Οἱ μέγιστοι τῶν ποταμῶν ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων φαίνονται ῥέοντες ὀρών.

²⁴ Arist. *Meteor.*, i., xiii., § 16. 'Εκ μὲν οὖν τούτου ῥέουσιν ἄλλοι τε ποταμοὶ καὶ ὁ Βάκτρος καὶ
ὁ Χοάσπης καὶ ὁ 'Αράξης.

²⁵ Arist., *Meteor.*, i.; xiii., § 15. 'Εκ μὲν οὖν τῇ 'Ασίᾳ πλείστοι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Παρνασοῦ καλουμένων
φαίνονται ῥέοντες ὄρους καὶ μέγιστοι ποταμοί, τοῦτο δ'ομολογεῖται πάντων εἶναι μέγιστον ὄρος τῶν
πρὸς τὴν ἐν τὴν χειμαρὶν. Cf. Olympiodorus, *loc. cit.*, p. 248. Ptolemaeus, *Geogr.*, V., ch. xiii.,
§§ 3, 6, 9. On Parnassus-Paropamisus, see in addition to *Mittheil. des Acad. Orient. Veretns*, No. 3,
p. 37, note 3, Ideler's note in vol. I., p. 452 of his ed. of the *Meteorologica*.

²⁶ Arist., *Meteor.*, i.; xiii., § 17. 'Εκ δὲ τοῦ Κανκάσου ἄλλοι τε ῥέουσι πολλοὶ . . . καὶ ὁ Φάσις.

²⁷ I have translated literally. The expression "ἱσαὶ madhnehā qatāyē" = τῶν (i. e., ὀρών)
πρὸς τὴν ἐν τὴν θερινήν. Cf. Arist., *Meteor.*, i.; xiii., § 17. 'Ο δὲ Καύκασος μέγιστον ὄρος τῶν
πρὸς τὴν ἐν τὴν θερινήν ἐστι καὶ πλήθει καὶ ὕψει. See also Olympiodorus *ad loc.* (*loc. cit.*, p. 248)
and Alexander (*Ibid.*, p. 253).

²⁸ Arist., *Meteor.*, i.; xiii., § 18. Σημεῖον δὲ τοῦ μὲν ὕψους ὅτι ὁράται καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν καλουμένων
βαθέων καὶ εἰς τὴν λίμνην εἰσπλέοντων, ἐτι δ'ἡλιούται τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτοῦ τὰ ἄκρα μέχρι τοῦ τρίτου
μέρους ἀπὸ τε τῆς ἐν καὶ πάλιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας.

²⁹ Cf. *Mittheilungen*, etc., p. 38, note 3.

³⁰ Cf. *Ibid.*, note 4. The text must be corrected accordingly. I have corrected the *Bēh*,
which the MSS. have into a *Kāph*. The same correction must be made *Mittheilungen*, etc., p. 38
and *Ibid.*, note 6. Cf. Arist., *Meteor.*, i.; xiii., § 21. 'Ομοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν Λιβύην . . . ὁ τε
Χρεμέτης καλούμενος, ὃς εἰς τὴν ἐξω ρεῖ θάλατταν, καὶ τοῦ Νείλου τὸ ῥεῦμα τὸ πρῶτον, ἐκ τοῦ
'Αργυροῦ καλουμένου ὄρους. Cf. also Ideler's note *ad loc.*, p. 465.

that (island) in the west which is called *Γάδειρα*.³¹ It goes outside of the whole earth to the south and passes the *Moon mountains* from which springs the *Nile*. It encircles the *Abyssinians* and the *Nubians*, forming the *Sea of the Berbers*, whose length is 500 miles, and whose breadth is 100 miles. It goes further, forming the *Red Sea*—that which becomes narrow and reaches in length 400 miles; its greatest breadth, which is the *Sea of Reeds* where the Israelites crossed, being 200 miles. It goes further, encircling the wilderness of *Pārān*, forming the *Sea of the Elamites*, where the *Euphrates* and *Tigris* empty; the length of which (sea) is 1400 miles, its breadth 500. It goes further, encircling all *Persia* and *India*, forming the *Sea of the Indians*, the length of which is 1600 miles. In it are 1370 islands—one of which is called *Tīrani*³² or *Sarandīb*. It is very great, 1300 miles being its circumference. In it are high mountains and many rivers. From it are brought the red *τάκινος* and scarlet color.³³ It goes further, encircling the east, forming the *Sea of the Chinese*. It goes further, encircling the north, passing along the desolate mountains of the *Huns* and the lands of the *Bulgarians* and *Scythians*, and *Alanes*, forming the *Sea γαλατικόν* in which are nineteen islands of *Βορρτανία*. It encircles *Francia* and joins again with the *Isles of the Blessed* and *Γάδειρα*.

Ray. Here a narrow mouth [strait] opens which is seven miles in breadth where are the *στήλας* or pillars of Hercules. It enters and passes in the midst of the inhabited world, reaching towards the east a distance of 5000 miles in length and 800 in breadth, forming that sea of us western people which is called *Ἀδρία*, in the north of which is *Ῥώμη* and *Francia* and *Βυζάντεια* and all *Εἰρώπη*. And in its southern part which is called *Σικελικόν*³⁴ are *Abessynians*, *Nubians*, *Berbers*, and *Egypt*, and *Alexandria*, and all *Λιβύη*. And in its eastern part which is named *Sea of the Syrians*, is *Tyre* and *Sidon* and all *Asia*. In this are five large islands, the smallest of which is *Κύπρος*, the circumference of which is 200 miles; and *Σαρδων(ία)* 300; and *Σικελία* 500; and *Κρήτη* 300; and *Κέρνως* 350; and five small ones, *Ῥόδος*, *Κυμανός(?)*³⁵, *Σάμος*, *Εύβοια*, *Χίος*, and 252³⁶ others which are not designated.

Ray. The sea *Πόντος* is in the land of the *Scythians*. Its length is 1300 miles up to *Trebizond*.³⁷ Its breadth is 300. From this a narrow tongue passes along

³¹ Pliny, iv., 36.

³² P. reads *Tīrani*!

³³ Cf. Lagarde, *Rudimenta Mythologiae Semiticae*, etc., p. 48. *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 27, 3. Gesenius, *De Bar Ab*, i., p. 22sq. Sachs, *Beiträge zur Sprach- und Alterthumsforschung*, ii., p. 23. Fleischer in Levy's *Neu.-Heb. und Chald. Wörterb.*, p. 725—all of which Kohut, *Aruch Completum*, vi., p. 91, should have cit. d.

³⁴ I. e., τό *Σικελικόν πέλαγος*. This reading must be restored in the text.

³⁵ The reading is quite plain here. I can only suggest that we have here again a mistake—for *Cus*. See other readings for the same name *Mithellungen*, etc., p. 33, note 3.

³⁶ In the *Adversus Mentis* (text, p. 820) hower 250.

³⁷ Written *Trabizonda*; cf. the Arabic form *Yākūt*, i., p. 306.

the wall of Βυζάντιον,³⁸ and pours into the 'Αδρίας sea. North of this is placed the Μαιώτις, the sea of the *Caspians*, i. e., of the QNYA. Former men called it 'Υγκανία or of the *Iberians*. In our days it is called خزر Sea. From it a river-tongue empties into the Πόντος Sea, as the Πόντος Sea does into the 'Αδρίας, and the 'Αδρίας into the 'Ωκεανός.

Ray. Lakes are called such as do not unite with the great sea, as the lake of *Apamaea*, *Tiberias*, and Μαρεώτις(ς) which is near *Alexandria*, and that one which is void of fish, *Genessareth*; and that one of ARKSTIA, i. e., ارجيش;³⁹ and that of خوارزم; and many others. The Μαιώτις alone, on account of its size, is called a sea and not a lake.⁴⁰

Ray. *Pishōn* is that one which waters the land of the Indians which is called *Hawilā*. The *Gihōn* is the Νείλος, which waters the land of the *Cushites* and Egypt and is called *Shihōr* (black); and the *Tigris*, narrow and quick, watering *Persia* and the north. The *Euphrates* waters *Babel* and *Maishān*.

Ray. In *Spain* there is a river which flows only during six hours every day. And there is there a river which for six years⁴¹ is completely dry, and in the seventh sends down much water. There is there a river which does not carry down water, but dry sand, which comes down with much force and is impassible in a ship or on foot. On the Sabbath day its flowing is withheld.⁴²

³⁸ Yāqūt, l., 500, 2.

³⁹ Yāqūt, l., p., 513, 5.

⁴⁰ In the *Adscensus Mentis* he says this of the Πόντος; but see *Mittheilungen*, etc., p. 35, note 5.

⁴¹ The text has Š'nin; but we must read Š'nin, hours. Cf. *Mittheilungen*, etc., p. 12, 19.

⁴² In addition to *Mittheilungen*, etc., p. 38, note 5, cf. Josephus, *B.J.*, vii., 5, § 1. Guy le Strange, *Palastine under the Moslems*, p. 57.

[illegible]

٤٥B	٥٥P	٥٥CP
٥٥P	٥٦P>	٥٥C
٥٥B	٥٥CP	٥٥C
٥١B	٥٥P	٥٥B
٥٥P>	٥٥C	٥٦C
٥٥C	٥١C	٥٥P
٥٥P>	٥٥C	٥٥P
٥٥P>		

NOTES ON THE PUBLICATIONS CONTAINED IN VOL. II. OF EBERHARD SCHRADER'S KEILINSCHRIFTLICHE BIBLIOTHEK.—I. THE INSCRIPTIONS OF SENNACHERIB.*

BY REV. W. MUSS-ARNOLT, PH. D.,

Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

The notes in this number of *HEBRAICA*¹ will be confined to Dr. Bezold's transliteration and translation of the Sennacherib Inscriptions. I will, by no means, lay stress on minor points, such as, e. g., Col. I. 3, of the *Taylor-Cylinder* where *migir ilâni rabûti* should rather be read *miķir ilani rabuti* from *aķaru* to be *precious* (see Maspéro's *Recueil des travaux*, II. 82); there are many graver mistakes and blunders, which ought to be corrected. We will begin with the so-called *Taylor-Cylinder*, published in I R. 37-42.

COL. I.

5. epeš usâti, Bezold (following Hoerning's rather antiquated rendering) translates, (Sennacherib) *who restores order*, while in reality it means *he who renders support, help*, cf. LT., p. 142, rm. 2;² II R. 39, 44-5; ZA. IV. 11, 15, where

* Transliterated and translated by Dr. Carl Bezold (pp. 80-119).

¹ A review of the first eighty pages will be found in the *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society* for May, 1890.

² To save space I have employed the following abbreviations, which will also be used in the *Assyrian-English Lexicon*, on which we are at present engaged.

DR. = Delitzsch, *The Hebrew Language* (London, '83).

DK. = " *Die Sprache der Kanaanäer* (Leipzig, '84).

DR. = " *Wo lag das Paradies?* (Leipzig, '81).

DP. = " *Prolegomena* (Leipzig, '88).

DS. = " *Assyrische Studien*, I. (Leipzig, '74).

HN. = Haupt, *Das Babyl. Ninrod-Epos* (Leipzig, '84).

HT. = " *ASKT*.

LS. = Lyon, *Sargon-texte* (Leipzig, '83).

LT. = Lotz, *Tiglath-Pileser I.* (Leipzig, '80).

ZB. = Zimmern, *Babyl. Husepsalmen* (Leipzig, '85).

I R. etc. = *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vols. I.-V., prepared for publication by H. C. Rawlinson (London, 1861sq.). See my *Rawlinson Bibliography* in Johns Hopkins Univ. Circ., No. 72, (April, '89), p. 60sq. I R. 37, 40 = I Rawlinson, plate 37, line 40.

BAS. = Delitzsch's and Haupt's *Beiträge*, I. (Leipzig, '89).

Guy. = Guyard's *Notes de lexicographie assyrienne*.

KAT. = *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (Eberhard Schrader. Giessen, '83).

KB. I. and KB. II. = I. and II. Volume of Eberhard Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*.

PSBA. and TSBA. = *Proceedings, or Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* (London).

ZA. and ZK. = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (Vols. I.-V. 1886sq.) and *Keilschrift-forschung* (Vols. I. and II., 1884 and 1885).

ZDMG. = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Leipzig).

Asrb. = Asurbanipal; Asrn. = Asurnaciṛpal; Esarh. = Esarhaddon; Nebuchadn. = Nebuchadnezzar (I R. 53sq.); Senn. = Sennacherib; Tigl. Pil. = Tiglath-Pileser (I R. 9-16).

ana epeš usât dumki is correctly rendered by *to give gracious help*; ib., p. 14, 18 illika usâtuka *he came to thy assistance*; the noun usâtu is derived from asû (Hebr. אָסוּ) *to support, to help*; cf. u-su-u III R. 70, 74; whence asû *physician*, IV R. 32, 34; ZK. II. 4 and ZA. IV. 437; asîtu and isîtu *pillar, column, properly support, prop.*

5b stands in parallelism with 5a; Bezold reads alik tappût aki and translates *who walks at the side of the law* (fortunately adding a query). Hoerning read alik maḥar na-a-ki-i *who walks at the head of the sacrificers*; also see LT., p. 171; Ls., p. 68, below, corrected the text and read alik tappu-ut a-ki-i, translating it by *he who comes to help the weak*; Latrille, ZK. II. 341, approached another step nearer to the true reading, connecting a-ki-i with akû; while J. Oppert in ZA. II. 329 has alik tab-bu-ut akî *qui va les sentiers de la renumération*; cf. also *Proceedings of the Berlin Academy*, 1888, p. 756 (C. Bezold). The reading and translation akû (not akû!) *weak* is the most natural; but neither tappût nor tabbût nor dabbût is correct; the noun is by all Assyriologists derived from the Akkadian tab *two*, whence Assyrian tappu *companion, partner*.³ I believe that tappût (with 𐎶) is the correct reading for our passage; tappût stands for taṭpût from a verb taṭapu = Hebr. טָטַף *to surround, to encircle for protection*,⁴ alik tappût akî is *he who goes to surround for protection the weak*; alik tappût occurs as syn. of nararu *to assist* and rêḡu *to help*, in II R. 39, 3-6.

6. saḥiru damḡâti *who undertakes what brings luck to him* (Der Glück-verheissendes unternimmt, Bezold); but translate *a frequenter of sanctuaries, a regular church-goer*, from saḥaru *to turn to, to frequent*, cf. ZK. II. 302; damḡâti plural of damiḡtu, are *sanctuaries, properly places of grace*, (ašrâti) damḡâti.

8. Ad la'iṭ cf. I R. 7, No. 9b, ina multate'a inašepe'a nešu ezzu; Asrn. I. 19 mula'iṭ ekḡuti, translated by Lhotzky and Peiser *burning the proud, rebellious*, following Ls., p. 62 ad l. 22; also see I R. 27. 13a; liṭu *hostage*.

9. mu-ṣab-ri-ḡu za-ma-a-ni, *who crushes the enemies* (Bezold), but muṣabriḡu does not mean *crushing*,⁵ but *he who hurls his thunderbolts against his enemies*.⁶

12. elī gimir a-ṣib pa-rak-ki u-ṣar-ba-a (iḡu) kakkê'a *und hat grösser als aller (andern) Bewohner eines Throngemaches meine Waffen gemacht*. (Bez.); translate *over all the priest kings gave he me the victory*; parakku is of course to be derived from the Assyrian verb paraku *to set aside, to separate, to dedicate*, by no means borrowed from an Akkadian noun; we have thus in Assyrian the same as in Greek τέμενος from τέμνειν, Latin templum for tempuslum from the same root tem; parakku is the sanctissimum, ZA. II. 182-4; IV R. 61,

³ Ht. 66, 1sq.; V R. 37, 30 and 39, 61; 39, 36 we have tappatu followed by ṣirritu, Hebr. צָרָר (Lagarde. *Götting. Gelehrt. Nachrichten*, '82, 393-408; II R. 33, 76 ed.).

⁴ Dh. 20, 2 of. מִטְפֵּף Ex. XIII. 16; Deut. VI. 8 and XI. 18; Dr. 46; Nöldeke in ZDMG. 40, 723 line 6 and note 3.

⁵ *Crushing* would be mu-ṣap-ri-ḡu from פָּרַק, cf. pariḡtu *violence*, Esarh. II. 47; Del. in LT. 186; also see ZA. II. 364sq. where our passage is translated, *he who does violence to his enemies*.

⁶ ZA. II. 216sq.; also ZA. IV. 108, 25 where we read mu-uṣ-ta-ab-ri-ḡu za'a-ri-la; ad zamanu *enemy* = nakru, cf. e.g., V R. 64, 37b; ZK. II. 260, 37 and IV R. 46, 14, b, where we have to read za-ma (not ba!) -nu limnu a *wicked enemy*.

42a; cf. ašar parakki II R. 28, 44a, and ašib parakki II R. 35, 51-2; V R. 35, 28; ZA. v. 59, 7.

15b and II 44 *er hat unter meine Fuesse unterworfen* are by no means specimens of classical German; it ought to be either *Assur hat meinen Fuessen unterworfen*, or *Assur hat unter meine Fuesse geworfen*.

16. malke šibḡuti stolze(?) *Herrscher, proud(?) rulers* (Bezold). I do not think that there can be much doubt as to the meaning of šibḡu or rather šipḡu.⁷

17. dadmešunu izzibu is a Hâl sentence, a fact overlooked by the translator. Kima su-din-ni (iḡḡuru) ni-gi-iḡ-ḡi ediš ipparšu ašar la'-a-ri like the *Sudinni-birds they fled lonely into the clefts to an inaccessible place*; sudinnu is explained by Pinches in *PSBA.* 7, Feb. '82, p. 56 as *falcon*, see also *TSBA.* VII. 86; the proper translation of this passage is, *like a falcon, the bird (living) in the clefts they fled at once(!) to an inaccessible place*.

The etymology of nigigḡu has not yet been found; it evidently is derived from gaḡaḡu = kaḡaḡu to *cut off, to separate*; nigigḡe are the *clefts*;⁸ nigigḡu is a form like ni-ḡu-(šunu) *excrement* Senn. VI. 21, from a stem נִגַּע aḡû; nindanu II R. 7, 27-7 cf. *BAS.* I. 163, above; *ZDMG.* 43, 199; nangigu II R. 20, 31 d; nakrutu = ri-e-mu (רָחַם) V R. 21, 63ab, cf. ukarri *I was troubled*, from כָּרַח, thus properly *trouble, sympathy for some one, then grace*; nargitu a bowl, II R. 29, 76d; V R. 28, 12. I will not mention našaddu, *favorite, beloved*, because it is explained as a Nîph'âl-formation, ZA. II. 111 and 116, rm. 1; *ZDMG.* 43, 200, No. 9; *DP.* 97; nor nanniru *enlightener* (Asrb., Smith 126, 78) and nannaru Asrb. v. 37-8 which Jensen *ZDMG.* 43, 499, No. 7, explains as standing for nanmiru and nanmaru with progressive assimilation; also *BAS.* I. 166, No. 7; *KB.* II. 252.

19. ad ina mahrie girre'a in the first of my campaigns, not in my first campaign (as Bez.) see ZA. II. 268 rm. 4.

22. I should really like to know where Bezold has found the phonetic reading ki-ras-su for karašu *encampment*; kiras is the ideogram for karašu.⁹

24. (iḡu) ḡu-um-bi really means *freight-wagons*, notwithstanding the query of Bezold, cf. ZB. 81-2; it stands for ḡubbu, Hebr. צָב, see DH. 20, 12; Asrb. VI. 22 mentions (iḡu) ša ša-da-di (iḡu) ḡu-um-bi *KB.* II. 205) and x. 85 ina (iḡu) ḡu-um-bi (MEŠ) (*KB.* II. 233). The last ideogram in l. 24 is not to be read parê, but šuhḡupate or šuhḡupate = *mulae* (Sb. 44; II R. 4, 677, Arab. bigal) from the Akkadian šugub, while parû = *mulus*; cf. P. Haupt in *Andover Rev.*, July, '84, p. 97.

⁷ Ht. 26, 541 ša-pa(l)-ḡu; šapḡu *proud, mighty*, occurs in Tiglath-Pileser I. 68 and 89, III. 88 and V. 35 as an equivalent of la magire; also see *ibid.*, II. 69 and VIII. 82; V R. 20, 14 ef. and 40 gh.; ina šipḡi occurs in Asrn. II. 106 (cf. *KB.* I. 88-9).

⁸ ZB. 54-5; Guy. §116; in Ht. 31, 714 = V R. 21, 11b it is preceded by ḡurru (from ḡararu, to be narrow; Senn. III. 75 ḡur-ri not ḡa-ri as Bezold reads), and followed by nigigḡu kak-kari. The plural is either nigigḡâtî, II. R. 19, 49-50b; or nigigḡe; Ht. 92-3, II. 38-40 nigigḡi bitî, the בִּיתִּי בִּיתִּי (Ps. CXXVIII. 3); giḡḡu *clefts*, we find in Hn. 24, 9; II R. 45 (No. 2) 5, and cf. ZK. II. 6, rm. 1; Senn. IV. 54 mentions the city of Bit-giḡḡi; Asrb. VIII. 88sq. we read: the soldiers marched birit iḡe rabutî (through immense forests), gi-iḡ-ḡe (through clefts); Del. in ZK. II. 94sq. translated through thorns(?) and Jensen *KB.* II. 220-1 reads (kanû) iḡḡi through iḡḡu reed.

⁹ Ht. 31, 711; Del. *Schrifttafel*, No. 81 and 173; DK. 9, rm. 4; Guy. §96 (begin.); II R. 65, Col. I. 20; III R. 13, 11b; Senn. III. 71, v. 23 and 29.

29. Read ša-šu (Hebr. שש) instead of bušu and compare my notes in *Proc. Am. Or. Soc.*, May, '90; *BAS.* I. 12, rm. 2; 160, rm. 1 and 314 rm. 1; instead of makkuru (Bezold *treasures* (?) *BAS.* I. 12, rm. 2, etc., reads makkuhu but makkuru also occurs; cf. *ibid* 160; makkuru is to be derived from מכר to buy, whence also dam-ka-ru or rather tam-ka-ru a *field-laborer*, a *slave*, properly *one that is bought*; the usual derivation from an Akkadian DAM-GAR does not hold good.—ad zinniṣāti libbi ekallišu see *PSBA.* (8 Nov., '81) p. 12; *KAT*.² 300 and 304.

30. (ameluti) rab-kussî(?) amelu) man-za-az pa-ni the *chamberlains*(?) the *body servants*(?); so Bezold. *Zb.* 46, rm. 2, shows that we have to read (ameluti) mutire the *vassals*; cf. IV R. 44, 46 and 61a; 62, 50a, also mu-tir II R. 51, 31b; *ZK.* II. 321; the mu-tir pûti are mentioned in II R. 31, 66ab, *BAS.* I. 203, 9; see also Senn. III. 72 where Bezold (following Sayce) reads itti (ameluti) kur-bu-ti šepi'ia, while the true reading is itti (ameluti) mutir pûti šepe'ia properly: *with those who hinder the access to my feet* (i. e., to me). The manzaz pani are not different persons from the mutire, as Bezold thinks, but are the same; manzaz pani stands in apposition to mutire and means the *highest magnates*, properly *those holding the seat before me*, a collective expression like the Arabic Diwân. After the mutire are mentioned, according to Bezold, the (ameluti) LUL and the (zinniṣati) LUL, the *male and the female servants* (? *musicians* ?); our translator simply follows Hoerning; see also Col. III. 38-9. The ideograms have to be read nâre u narâti, the *young men and women*.¹⁰

31. The siḫirti ummanîšu are *all his tradesmen, all the artisans*, not *all his troops*, which would be siḫirti ummanâtešu; notice also siḫirti gen. for constr. state (siḫrat).

32. muttabbilut ekalluš ušeçamma, and *I led away(!) the portable things of his palace* (Bezold); but that would be unutu muttabilti ekallatišu, as we have in *Asrb.* VI. 19; Jensen *KB.* II. 205 *Geraeth, das in seinen Palaesten gebraucht wurde*. How can we reconcile Bezold's translation with such passages as *Tigl. Pil. Col. I. 15* ilani rabûti mu-ut-ta-bi-lu-ut šamê u erçiti the *great gods, the guardians of heaven and earth* (*KB.* I. 16, 17); also IV R. 14 (No. 3) 8; *ZA.* I. 403; the line evidently means: *I led away the guardians of his palace*.

37. The Ur-bi are discussed by *DY.* 305; also see II R. 39, 48 gh.; *Asrb.* III. 65 and *KB.* II. 292.

47. Translate *all these* (previously mentioned) *Aramean tribes, rebellious ones, I conquered at once* (mithariš, not *in open battle*); mithariš is a syn. of iṣteniš, cf. *Rev. d'Assyriologie* II. 13, 14.

61. Ten quarts of wine (10 *Maass Wein*) is Bezold's translation of X imeri (içu) karani; but imeru is not a quart, but a קרן, properly a *donkey's load*; see *LT.* 149; *Zb.* 6, rm. 2; *ZA.* I. 89, 90; IV. 371 sqq.

Bezold, more than the other contributors, uses a great many unnecessary queries, which could easily have been avoided by a careful study of other

¹⁰ It would do the compiler of the convenient *Babylontisch-Assyrische Literatur* no harm to read *K.* 2051, registered on pp. 209 and 284 of his book; nor would it hurt the editor of *ZA.* to read *Evett's* remarks in *ZA.* III. 328 or the notes in *ZA.* II. 413.

texts; thus *rîmanîš attagiš* (nagašu) l. 69 really means *I scaled like a wild bull*.¹¹

76. We read *I destroyed with fire* E-EDINA kul-ta-ri, mušabešunu; Bezold translates *their huts (and(?)) tents, their dwelling-places*; but explain: *I destroyed with fire the E-EDINA* (the Akkadian for the Assyrian) kultari, *their dwelling-places*; kultaru being but the Assyrian translation of the Akkadian E-EDINA (properly bit-çiri); see also KB. II. 216 ad Asrb. VIII. 121 where Jensen has the correct rendering.—*tiṭalliš ušeme* means *I made like, I reduced to flames*.

COL. II.

7. pân niriġa utirma Bezold: *I turned my yoke*; Col. IV. 78, he simply gives, *I turned around*, also see IV. 2; translate, *I turned the face of my team*.

37. *King Elulæus* ana ru-uk-ki (rûḫi) ḳabal tamtim innabitma ma-ti-šu emid, *he fled far away into the sea and I took away his country*; but I R. 43, 13 shows that we must read šadda-šu emid and translate: *he fled to a distant place in the zone of the sea and there took up his abode*; it is equivalent to eḫuz markita (Senn. Sm. 67, 18); ad šadda: *where, whereabouts*, see HN. 9 Col. III, 3; 11, 1 etc., also IV R. 52; it a syn. of šiddu, cf. ZA. IV. 8, 41; 10, 49. The foot-note on p. 91 ad Col. II. 47 is not correct. Ša Minḥimmu begins a new sentence and has to be rendered, *as regards Menahem*, etc.

64 and III. 28 Bezold reads nadan bilti kit(?)ri-e belutiġa emid-suma iṣâṭ abšâni, *the giving of my tribute of the submission to my lordship I put upon him and he became subject to me(?)*; in Col. III. 28 mandattu kitrie belutiġa is rendered *the tribute due to my lordship*; read kad-ri-e, a derivative noun of kadru, *present, gift*; and translate, *the giving of tribute, a present to my lordship, I fixed upon him and he now bears(!) my yoke*.

72. ana AN ḳil-li esiršu, so Bezold, adding in a foot-note, that Haupt's emendation of AN-ḳil-li to BAR-ḲILLI is thus done away with forever. Bezold is by no means the first to have noticed this; it has been corrected, among others, by Del. *Lesestuecke*³ XVI.; he makes, however, the additional mistake in considering AN an ideogram, while it is simply the constr. state of ânu enclosure, etc.¹²

77. ellamû'a si-id-ru šitkunu uša'lu (iḡu) kakkešunu, Bezold, *their battle array stood against me and they lifted up their weapons*. The correct rendering is: *they arranged their battle-array, appealing to their weapons*; cf. Col. V. 49, where Bezold—having P. Haupt's translation (*Andover Rev.*, '86) before him—translates the same phrase by *they let their weapons decide*.

I do not see why in a book like this library of cuneiform texts, published chiefly for the use of the "beginner and layman," bal-ṭu-su-un Col. II. 81

¹¹ *rîmanîš* a form like ḫuršaniš, abubaniš, Saṇṭaniš from rîmu *wild bull*, Hebrew רִמָּן or better רִמָּן , so first Houghton in *TSBA*. v. ('77) 326sq.; Dh. 6, 7; Dr. 15-17 and 23; *ZDMG*. 40, 742, 6; it is a syn. of arḫu (properly *the swift one*), lû (*the strong*) and pûru, Ht. 186; II R. 36, 106sq., nagašu ša alpī (*to climb like a bull*); = nagašu ša rîmī; s nagašu ša ameli; iḡguš = illik, *he went*, Del. *Lesestuecke*³, 142a.

¹² Compare an-bartum II R. 47, 156; an duraru Khors. 137 = an dunanu V R. 50, 58b, etc.; also ZA. IV. 10, 38 and Bezold in *Berl. Acad. Proc.* ('88) 756 rm. 3.

(literally in their condition of being alive, for *balṭut-šun*) should not be translated at all, but rendered in Col. IV. 35.

COL. III.

6. Read *la ba-ne* (not *ba-bil*) *ḫi-ṭe-ti u kul-lul-ti*, who had not committed sin and mischief; *ba-ne* is the constr. state of the ptc. *banû*; the singular being used for the plural as is often the case in such construct connections. *ḫiṭṭu* and *ḫiṭetu*, by the way, in royal inscriptions, always mean rebellion, this being the sin *κατ' ἐξοχῆν* against the king.

15. *ina šukbus aramme u ḫitrub šu-pi-i*. Bezold does not translate *arammu* and *šupû*. *arammu*, from *urim* *I built*, means *ramparts, walls*, thus we translate *by casting down, destroying the ramparts and by the attack of the šupî*, the latter being a machine for besieging a city; cf. *KB.* II., pp. 13, l. 16, etc.

16. *ina mit-hu-ḡu zu-uk šepâ* (Bezold *the hostile onslaught of... (?) u pilši niksi u kal-ban-na-ti*¹⁷) *almi, akšud*, etc. Bezold does not attempt to translate 16b. The line is very difficult. It says, *I surrounded so and so many cities ina mitḫuḡu zu-uk šepâ: with the attack (ZK. II. 281, 2) of my zuk šepâ; III R. 9 (No. 2) 7 has mit-ḫu-uḡ zu-u-ku šepâ*, see *KB.* II. 26, 7; Delitzsch's explanation of this expression as = *zuḡ šepâ: by the storm of their feet in Lesest.*³ XVI. is impossible. In the annals of Sargon, l. 49, we read of 300 (*amelu*) *zu-uk šepâ*; *ibid.* l. 124 we hear of the (*amelu*) *zu-uk šepaja li' my valiant zuk šepâ*. I believe with Winckler (*Sargon-texts*, p. 208) that it denotes a special kind of troops and consider *zuk* as the constr. state of *zukkû*, the Perm. Piel of *zakû* to be set apart, to be selected; they were the select, best foot-soldiers. *zu-ki* in connection with *narkabtu* is mentioned in the synchronous history, II R. 65, 8 (*KB.* I. 198) *Nabukudur-uḡurma narkabtu u zu-ki ana i-di birti ša (mat) Aššur ana kašadi illika*; Winckler and Peiser translate it by "*Leicht bewaffnete*," *light-armed soldiers*. The same word occurs in *Asrn.* III. 58, 60 and 63 (*KB.* I. 104-5), also in S. A. Smith's texts III. 47, l. 6, *amelu zu-ku ša ekalli*. Thus the (*amelu*) *zuk šepâ* were probably the same as the Latin *evocati*, and are equivalent to the *ḡâbe taḡazi'a gitmaluti* of Senn. IV. 9.

And now the king continues to describe how these warriors took the cities; above all (*ina*) *pil-ši*, by breaches, cutting through the walls which surrounded the cities;¹⁸ then *ina niksi* by slaughter, from the well known verb *nakasu* to cut down, to slaughter, *u ina kal-ban-na-ti* which seems to be a syn. of *kallabâti axes*, and a formation like *dalabanâti*, Nebuchadn. III. 52, from *dalabu*, syn. of *rapadu* and *šababu*, to enclose, to surround.

20. *The king Hezekiah I shut up in Jerusalem like an iḡḡuri ku-up-pi* (Bezold, *Kaefigvogel*), like a caged bird, he meant to say; this is the only passage

¹⁷ *Pilšu*, a breach, a fissure V R. 36, 24sq. from *palašu* to break through, Syr. *ܫܠܫܐ*, V R. 36, 28sq. It is a syn. of *šuplu*, hole, V R. 36, 25; II R. 29, 68 ab; ZK. II. 175, rm. 2; *Asrn.* III. 53—not II. 53 as Del. *Lesest.*³ XVI. has it—and III. 111; Salm. Balawat, Col. V. 1 *kima šelibi ina pilši uḡi like a fox in (his) hole he went off (KB. I. 136)*; Delitzsch and Peiser do not translate it; Lyon, *Manual*, p. 103, reads *bilšu* and says *some instrument or method of attack*; *apluš*, I mutilated, *Asrb.* IX. 106; cf. also *KB.* II. 229 and Senn. v. 68 (*niše*) *pagrešunu upalliša clearing my way with difficulty through the corpses*, a passage left untranslated by Bezold.

in the historical inscriptions where the word occurs. It is the permansive of the P^{re}l of קוף, with a passive meaning, like kuššudu (*KAT*² 209, rm. 4), etc.¹⁴

21-3. The ḥalḡani, here, are not so much *the fortresses*, as the *approaches*. —ma aḡie abulli maḡazišu utirra ik-ki-pu-uš, Bezold renders this *and those who came out of the gates of his city, I made them return again*. I believe this to be an entirely wrong translation and render it thus: *and whosoever* —(*driven by hunger and famine*)—*came out of the gates of the city, I increased his sufferings, made him suffer still more*.¹⁵

31. Translate *the Urbi and his other faithful warriors*, instead of *the Urbi and his brave(?) warriors*.

33. iršû belâti *they surrendered their arms(?)*, so Bezold; translate *they allowed terror to take hold of them*; ad beltu *fright, terror*, see DP. 32, Hebr. בָּהַל, Aram. בָּהַל *to be confounded, frightened*.

35. The gu-uḡ-lu stone is mentioned in V R. 32, 27c and ZB. 45, DP. 132 have some notes on it.

36. The kussû nîmedu is a *portable chair*, from עֶמֶד, so already Norris in his dictionary; according to ZA. III. 327 it is simply an epitheton ornans of kussû, see Senn. III. 76 and IV. 8 where kussû and kussû nîmedu are used promiscuously. In our passage Bezold translates *a throne chair*; IV. 8 simply a *throne* and on p. 115 (I R. 7, No. VIII. 2) *an elevated, high throne*!

37. ušu or ešu *wood*; the editor of ZA. might have referred at least to ZA. III. 328 and IV. 108, rm. 3, etc.; while the urkarenu *wood*—left also untranslated by all the contributors to KB. I. and II.—is the Syr. אֶשְׁקֵרָא *box wood* (cf. irtanu for iştanu V R. 31, 40); Tigl. Pil. Col. VII 17; Ls. p. 84; *Americ. Journ. of Philology*, VIII. 279; Ball in *PSBA* ('89) 143-4; II R. 45, 47, etc.

47. There is no need to query *messenger* as translation of rakbu, if one knows II R. 39 (No. 5) 47 gh where ra-kab(!) occurs as a syn. of mâr šipri; also see Asrb. II. 100; ZA. III. 312, 58; Winckler, *Sargon-texte*, p. 226, s. v. rakbu.

48-49. kima aḡçari ediš ipparšidma ul innamir ašaršu, Bezold *he fled lonely like an... nobody saw whither*; but innamir is a Niph'āl and the whole line is to be rendered *like a bird*—aḡçari a byform of iḡçuri—he *fled at once, and his trace was seen no more*. This is followed by pân nirîia utirma and translated by Bezold, *that fellow I had (now) subdued!!* while its meaning is the same as in Col. II. 7-8, IV. 78, etc., *I turned the face of my team, I returned*.

¹⁴ See Sb. 132 where we read SA-PA-RA (strangely alike saparu *net*) = ku-up iḡçuri *a bird cage*; also ZA. III. 132 (No. 5) l. 2 iḡu ku-up-pi and panât ku-up-pi.

¹⁵ u-tir-ra stands for ut-tir-ra cf. uttir Tigl. Pil. Col. VI. 35 and 104 (= Heb. הִתִּיר, Arab. وَفَّرَ) *I increased*; ikkibuš (so and not ikkipuš!). Var.-šu, means *his suffering*; ikkibu stands for ik'ibu from כָּאֵב; const. state ikkib e. g., IV R. 10, 33, 46; Ht. 119, 6; is a syn. of maruštu; cf. also II R. 60, 13c ik-ki-bu-u-a(!) *my lamentation, my suffering*; ZA. IV. 240, 11 ikkib ilani; *KAT*¹ 72; ZB. 67; ZA. III. 236 sq.; in ZA. II. 326, rm. 1. Pinches, following Jensen (*ZA*. I. 12 sq.) derives it from the Akkadian EN-GIB; but Jensen, *ZDMG*. 43, 202, corrects his former statement and says ikkibu stands for nikkibu and this for mikkibu cf. Hebr. כִּכְאֹב; so also are formed, according to Jensen the nouns ikrebu, *pruner*; immeru, *lamb*; iptenu *meal*; and ipṭeru, *manumission*.

53. Translate *the war cry of my powerful soldiers*, and 55sq. *render he gathered the (statues of the) gods, ruling his country* (cf. DP. 195) *into their shrine* (i. e., šubtešunu Guy. § 38), *embarked them and fled like a bird to the city Nagitu in the swamps, at the border of the sea.* DY. 324.

60. Bezold omits to render u-tir-ma *I returned*, etc.

62. There can be no doubt as to the reading na-mur-ra-tum; it is a well known word, meaning *fury*; from namaru *to be furious, ferocious*, cf. Syr. ithnamer *to be furious*, nimru *panther*, etc. Guy. § 103, p. 95; ZA. II. 116, rm. 2; HEBRAICA, III. 227; namurratka ezziti ZA. IV. 8, 46; also see DP. 184;¹⁶ Col. III. 71-IV. 7 is a parenthesis, IV. 8 is closely connected with III. 70.

72. Read itti (ameluti) mutir pûti šepeia (II R. 31, 66b) na-aç-ku-ti; see PSBA. I. (April, '84), p. 151; ZK. II. 243; çâbe taḥazia la gamiluti are not *my undestructable army* but *my unrelenting warriors (who give no pardon)*; anaku kima rîmi eḳdi pa-nu-uš-šu-un aḩbat means *I, myself, like a strong wild ox took their lead*, i. e., *of the soldiers*, not *bot ich wie ein Wild ochse ihnen (den Feinden) die Stirn*.

75. Translate *clefts, ravines, dangerous torrents at the slope of the mountains I crossed in a chair* (aš-tam-diḩ for aštaddiḩ cf. Senn., Smith 104, 31 šunu ana Urukḩ uštamdḩu); ad mi-li-ē see KAT. 2 565; Syr. meli'a *flood*.

78sq. ašar birkâ manaḩtu išâ çir aban šadi ušibma translate, *wherever my knees had a resting place*, i. e., *wherever I could walk*.

80. me sunâdi kaçuti ana çummi lu ašti, Bezold and others, *the water of the cold mountain springs I drank for my thirst*. I suppose it never occurred to them that such was no hardship, but rather a most refreshing drink in an eastern country; the passage really means *and even turpid, warm water I drank for my thirst*. I was satisfied even with such a miserable drinking water; cf. Jeremias, *Leben nach dem Tode*, p. 96, rm. 4; J. Halévy in ZA. II. 437 sq.

COL. IV.

9-10. Translate *my veterans accomplished under great difficulties* (šunuḩiḩ) *the entrance into the steep, narrow passes*; cf. Heb. בקעה valley, Syr. بَقْعَا, Arab. buḩ'atun from a root بَقَعَ *to split*, they were *passes full of seams and fissures*; ad l. 12, see II R. 32, 9; Ds. 73; Num. 23, 10.

30. multaḩtu, not translated by Bezold, is *a low rebel*; cf. I R. 27, 13a; see, however, Jensen ad Asrb. IV. 63 (KB. II. 191, rm.).

36. ina ešiti mâti Bezold—after Winckler—translates *through the occupation of the country*, but ešitu means *disorder, anarchy*. See DK. 5, 6; Guy. § 79. ZK. II. 83, Tiele translates, Šuzub, *who had taken advantage of the disorder and anarchy of the country to usurp the dominion of Sumir and Akkad*.¹⁷ Also HEBRAICA, II. 218.

¹⁶ An entirely different stem is namaru *to be clear, to be pure*, which may be an old Niph'al formation of 'amaru.

¹⁷ ešû, whence ešitu, is usually connected with Arab. غشى *to cover*; but better connect it with the Hebr. עשה *to make, to do*; ešû = *to un-do, to disturb*.

39. *šummanu*, cf. also Col. V. 74, *fetters*, from *šamû* to *enclose*, according to Delitzsch; a form like *ramānu*—40. *ad ša ida-šu isḥuru = kâta iḥbat = he helped*, see Zb. 25.

42 (beg.). Read *ellâti-šu* (not *elilâti(?)šu*) *his forces*, from *alalu* to *be strong*, whence also *allu*, *illu strong*; *usappihma* properly *I spread, I scattered*, KAT² 169, Ls. 62 and 59; *uparrir puḥuršu* does not mean *I destroyed him completely*, but *I broke down his army*.

48. (*ameluti*) *ḡâbe šu-lu-ti-ia*, not translated by Bezold, are *the warriors of my royal kingship*.¹⁸

52. Instead of *Rib(?) te-su-la-ai* read *dannat-Sula'a*, i. e., *Sula's fortress*; also see Col. V. 33.

56. (*maḥazu*) *Di-in-tu ša Sula'a* may be *the district of Sula'a*; cf. *medinatun*, properly *district*, from דִּין; 58. *ad ak-ka-ba-ri-na*; compare Hebr. עֶכְבֵּר *mouse*.

59. *naditu adi maḥazani ša niribi*, etc., is *the settlement* (from *nadû* to *settle, to locate*) *together with the cities at the entrance towards*. 62. *ad maḥazu ša naḡidâti* compare Hebr. נֶקֶד *shepherd*; and the *alum ša tarbit* (63) *is the city of the offsprings*.

ad 71. *sitti maḥazani ana dannati ušerib*, Bezold ought have remembered I R. 43, 40 *sitti niše matišu ana dannati ušeli*, cf. Senn., Smith, 112, 40.

75. Bezold's *arḫu tam-ḫi-ri*, left untranslated, should rather be *arḫu tamteri* (cf. *mi-iṭ-ru rain = מטר*); it is the month *Tebet*, the *rainy month*; cf. the parallel account in I R. 43, 42. In this month set in a *ku-uḡ-ḡu dannu* (var. *ku-uḡ-ḡu dan-nu ikšuduma*); Bezold and others render it *severe, cold weather*; *Proc. Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. XIII., p. xxxv, med. translates: *storm, tempest*. The best rendering is that of Jos. Halévy, *a great (unexpected) heat set in*; this weather brought about a heavy rainfall, *šamutum ma-at-tum u-šaz-ni-na* (*the heaven*) *poured down a mass of rain*; the parallel account in I R. 43, 43 reads *ša-mu-tum la zi-iz-tum illikma* (cf. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, I. 199 sq.; ZA. II. 434 sq.).

77. Read *zunne ša zunne* (var. *mê ša zunnê*) not *zunnûti* as Bezold has it, *rain upon rain poured down*; following this, Bezold and all Assyriologists, with the exception of Dh. 15, rm. 2, read *šalgu naḫli nadbak šaddi adura* and translate: (*It poured down rain upon rain*) *and snow. I feared the torrents and mountain rivers*. But this is wrong. Dh. 15 reads *raggu* (instead of *šalgu*) and I believe correctly; *rag-gu na-aḫ-li* belong together, as the parallel account proves, where we find *rag-gu na-ḫal-lum*; the *raggu naḫli nadbak šaddê* is *the fury of the torrents coming down from the (Elamitic) mountain-slopes*; cf. KB. I. 190, 10 *mid-bak šad-u*; BAS. I. 8, 15, rm. 13, and 175-6; ZDMG. 40, 733, 6 sqq.; Hebr. נֶרֶב.

80. *ina ki-bit* must be of course *ina ki-bit*, from *kibitu command*, and this derived from *kebû* to *speak, to command*.

¹⁸ *šulutu* from *ša'alu* to *decide, to rule*; cf. V R. 11, 11; Hr. 106, 11; Zb. 90.

COL. V.

4. aḥi-šu dub-(?)bu-us-su cf. *ZK.* I. 319; *ZA.* I. 392. Jensen considers the Assyrian borrowed from the Akkadian, referring to II R. 29, 63 ab, where we read Dub-uš-sa = dubussû; cf. also *ZA.* IV. 111, 127-8. Read ṭuppuš-su (for ṭuppuš-šu) literally *παῖς* = pinguis, *weak-minded*; Talm. ṭippêš, ad Ps. CXIX. 9, 70.

5. Translate *after Shuzub* (the Babylonian, mentioned in Col. IV. 35) *had been carried off*.¹⁹

6. Instead of mulluti limnuti read galle limnuti, *evil devils*,²⁰ they closed their abullani; so Bezold, but read abullate, abullu being of feminine gender; see, e. g., *ZA.* II. 127, 20 abullate-šu ša-ad-la-a-ti.

7. ik-bu-ut lib-ba-šu-nu ana epeš kamari(?) so Bezold; but read ik-pu-ud libbašunu ana epeš tuḫunti, *their heart planned the making of an insurrection*; ikpud preterite to ḫapadu: Hebr. קפר, to plan, cf., e. g., *KB.* II. 180 ad Asrb. III. 37; IÇ LAL is not kamaru, as Bezold says, but tuḫuntu, *resistance, fight, insurrection*, see HT. 41, 154; Psalm CXXXIX. 21 where we have to read וּמִתְקוֹמִים instead of וְיָבִיט, see Psalm XVII. 7.

8-9. Bezold: šuzubu (amelu) Kal-da-ai ra(?)..(?)dun-na-mu-u ša la i-šu-u bir-ki la...(?)pa-an (amelu) piḫât (maḥazu) Laḥiri (amelu) a-ra...ḫu mun-nab-tu a-mir da-me ḫab-bi-lu ċi-ru-uš-šu ipḫuruma; *they gathered around Shuzub, the Chaldean, a..., who had no tree of genealogy (Stammbaum), and who had fled before the governor of Lahiri, a blood... (?) a villain.*—The correct reading of these lines is šuzub (amelu) kaldâ²¹ ḫab-lum²² dunnamû,²³ ša la iṣû birki²⁴ ardu dagil²⁵ pân (amelu) piḫat (maḥazu) Laḥiri a-ra-aḫ-ḫu,²⁶ mun-nabtu, amir dame²⁷ ḫab-bi-lu²⁸ ċiruššu ipḫuruma, *around Shuzub, the Chaldean, the wicked, the base, who was a weakling, a vassal under the command of the governor of Lahiri, the fugitive, the deserter, the sanguinary villain they gathered.*

13. anaku ni-tum alme-šu-ma napšatuš usîḫa; some read ḡal-tum, *fight*, but the parallel passage Senn. Bav. 44 reads ni-i-ti almema

¹⁹ HEBRAICA, II. 218-20; Pinches in PSBA. 6 May, 1884. But see Del. *Assyr. Gram.*, p. 306.

²⁰ IV R. 2, 15 and 30; 7, 2; 29, 12; *ZK.* I. 296; *ZA.* II. 302, rm. 2.

²¹ Another person from the one mentioned in l. 5; cf. HEBRAICA, II. 218.

²² The traces point to ḫab-[lum].

²³ Compare II R. 28, 68c; *ZA.* IV. 23 bel. where it is compared to ulûlu, *the abject*; *ZA.* IV. 11, 20 ana mu-ur-ri pi-i-šu dun-na-mu-u i-ša-as-si-ka, *in the bitterness of his mouth the abject man speaks to thee*; it also occurs *ZA.* IV. 15, 16; cf. Arab. سَمِ to be vile, to be base.

²⁴ Bezold's translation is unquestionably wrong; P. Haupt in *Andover Rev.*, May, '88, translates *who was a coward, the cowardly bastard*, combining dunnamû and ša la iṣû birki; but birku must have been to the Assyrian the seat of physical strength; V R. 65, 84b, we read of strong oxen ša la in-na-ḫu birka-šu-nu *whose knees do not get tired*; also see IV R. 9, 38-9a; IV R. I, 39 ina birki amell; thus ša la iṣû birki means *who had no physical strength, was a weakling*; tarbit birkia is the offspring, product of my strength, Senn. Col. III. 64 and 78.

²⁵ After birki traces can be seen of the ideogram for ardu (*servant*) and dagil (*beholding*), thus correct into ardu dagil pân: *the servant beholding the face of, i. e., the vassal.*

²⁶ arakḫu an intensive form; cf. Talmudic arukḫa, רָקַק to run away.

²⁷ amir dame: *blood-thirsty, properly full of blood*; amir = Hebr. אִמֵּר.

²⁸ See, e. g., Esarh. Cyl. A. II. 45.

(KB. II. 116 below); *I surrounded them with a hostile force*;²⁹ and *I threatened his life* (literally, *I made narrow*).³⁰ The three stem consonants of nitum are נִטָּא.

14. lapân ḥat-ti u ni-ib-ri-ti innabit, *he fled on account of terror and need* (?); so Bezold; but read ni-ip-re-ti = nipretu from parû, Hebr. פָּרַע to cut off, Pŕěl uparri' Col. V. 77. See ZB. 93 and 104, rm. 1.³¹

15. Ki-i....ḡi-ru-uš-šu ba-ši-i cannot mean *Da aber ihm dort zu wider waren*, i. e., *As...they disgusted him* (Bezold), but *as they were behind him, followed him*—ri-kil-ti is not *misfortune* but *vile infamy*, Hebr. רָכִיל; instead of ḥab-la-tu can also be read ḡil-la-tu.

16. Is correctly translated by Bezold, having Professor Haupt's translation before him, but unfortunately Haupt did not add a transliteration, and this accounts for Bezold's reading i-ti-u-ma instead of the correct i-ḡi-šam-ma, from ḡāšû, iḡiṣ, *he hastened* (as Hoerning already has it).³²

19. My corrected copy of I R. reads ip-tu(!)-ma *they* (i. e. the Babylonians) *opened*.

22. u-še-bi-lu-uš da-'-tu, *they sent as a bribe* (queried by Bezold) is pretty certain; it is amusing to notice that only six lines below, the editor of ZA. translated the same word by *payment, wages*, without adding a query, evidently having, by this time, fully made up his mind about the meaning of da'tu. Jensen translates it by *gift, present* (KB. II. 186-7 ad Asrb. III. 13).³³

23. Bezold writes correctly di-ḡa-a *assemble*, from a verb דִּקַּע, but Col. III. 43 he reads ad-ki with a כ instead of ק, see also Del. *Lesest.*³ 139 rm. 6. Jensen's remark on p. 206 of KB. II. is correct, if he reads diḡû instead of dikû. There are two different verbs in Assyrian, dakû to overthrow, to crush, Hebr. דָּכָא, while to collect, to crumble, is daḡû or better deḡû (dikû) Hebr. דָּקַע cf. II R. 27, 17ab; Asrb. II. 129 and VIII. 71; Tigl. Pil., Col. V. 84, etc., ZA. II. 156, 17 id-ḡi-e.

30. e-ḡu-ra *he harnessed*, is perhaps connected with ma-ša-ru (*wheel*), see ad Col. V. 83, and compare the mašḡurim of Ezekiel. Del., *Assyr. Gram.*, §102, (p. 282) translates *he brought together*, from אָשַׁר to collect; also see LT. 117, 12 ašûšur = ašur = ešur; ZB. 39; ZA. II. 97, 16, whence eširtu temple and meširu members of the body, joints; BAS. I. 175.

38-9. Bezold reads sid(kid?)-ru ra-bu-u ik-ti-ra, *a great army(?) he collected*; Del. *Lesest.*³ 141, rm. 1, proposes ḡiḡru or ḡitru; but read kitru rabû iktera both, noun and verb, from the same כָּתַר which we met with in

²⁹ See V R. 19, 21 od; Senn. Sm. 94 ni-ti-iš il-ma'a tenû'a and p. 133 an-ni'-ma (Col. V. 66).

³⁰ See Asrb. II. 54 (KB. II. 168) and cf. sâḡu, properly *straths*; sîku, sîktu narrow; Hebr. הָצִיק. ḡ for D on account of p.

³¹ Nipretu stands for mipretu, this for mipra'tu and that for mapra'tu; it is a syn. of pi-rit-tum (from the same verb parû), haštu and šuttu = want, oppression; e. g., V R. 28, 33ab, see also KB. II. 190 and 192 ad Asrb. IV. 43 and 98, where also Jensen reads wrongly nibretu, but translates correctly *hunger*.

³² See II R. 7, 10-11 gh.; 27, 10ab = ga-ra-ru to run; 29 Rev. 5-6 gh. = šru to go; Hebr. רוּץ or רוּץ in Psa. 71, 12 and 90, 10; see Guy. 676; Dh. 63, 8; HEBRAICA, I., 179, 9; ZDMG. 40, 723, 4; also compare II R. 19, 45-46b, and IV R. 15, 59-61a.

³³ According to Delitzsch the three stem consonants are דָּקַע; ZA. IV. 10, 42 we read maḡir da'ti *he who takes a bribe*; also cf. Winckler, *Sargontezze*, XXII. rm. 3 and XXXV. ad p. 104, 39, ki da'-tu-u-ti id-din-šu.

Col. II. 75.²⁴ Bezold's *sidru* was perhaps prompted by *sidirtu*, of l. 48 which is the Hebr. שדר, an incorrect writing for סדר. Cf. also *Khors.* 127, *ik te-ram-ma*; Del. *Assyr. Gram.*, § 109 (p. 302) is wrong in connecting it with a verb קרא; Col. V. 48, see also Del. *Assyr. Gram.*, p. 242, *rm*.

39. Occurs an unpleasant mistake, which is not even mentioned in the 'addenda et corrigenda'; Bezold reads *gibšušun ru-u-uḫ* (*matu*) Akkadi *iḫbatunimma*, instead of *u-ru-uḫ*, as I R. plainly has it.

42. *ad ana aḫamiš* see Pognon's *Bavian*, p. 8; and for *in-nin-du* from עמר, see IV R. 7. 54a; Del. *Lesest.*³ 95, 10; ZK. II. 390; *puḫuršunu in-nin-du* does not mean *they united themselves into one force* (sie vereinigten sich zu einer Gesamtheit) but *their forces were arranged for a battle*.

43-4. *kima ti-bu-ut a-ri-bi ma'-di ša pa-an māt-ti mithariš ...tebrūni*, like a great swarm of locusts spreading over the country, they approached in a fighting mood (Bezold); but read *ša pān šatti*, at the beginning of the year, during spring-time (Haupt), and *mithariš* is = *at once*, a syn. of *išteniš*. See note to Col. I. 47; how will Bezold's translation suit the context of Col. VI. 12, where he does not know how to translate it? L.c. speaks of the horses whose riders had been killed in the battle, *ramanuššun ittanallaka mithariš utirra*, which means *they ran by themselves hither and thither and I brought them at once together* (to one place, so that they might not run away or do more harm).

45sq. *epir šepe-šunu kima zî kabti* (cf. Col. II. 11, IV. 68 = *im-bare* IV R. 19, 16a; 3, 27; Senn. *Bavian* 44, KB. II. 116, below. Del. *Lesest.*, *Schrifttafel*, No. 251; ZB. 94, II. 12-13) *ša dun-ni e-ri ia-a-ti pān šame rapšuti katim*, the dust of their feet was in front of me like a heavy storm-cloud, which covers the gray-colored (erz-farbene) space of the wide heavens; but *eri-ia-a-ti* is one word and l. 46 is to be rendered *which pregnant with mischief cover the face of the wide heavens*; *dunnu* = *mischief*; *erišti* refers to *eprêti* (so read for *zî kab-ti*) and is fem. plur. of the participle *erû* heavy, pregnant; see Hosea XIV. 1 and Ps. VII. 15 עֲרִישׁוֹתָי.

55. *attalbiša si-ri-ia-am ḫu-li-ia-am simat ḡi-il-ti apira rašû'a* (Bezold), but read *attalbiša si-ri-ia AM (=rîmi) ḫu-li-ia AM (rîmi)*, etc., and translate *my cuirass, covered with the hide of a wild bull and my helmet covered with the same material*; *ḫuli-ia* from *ḫalalu* 1) to excavate and 2) to be hollow.

60. (*iḡu*) *tartaḫu* is the javelin; *my fist* is *laḫ-tu-u-a* from *laḫātu*; cf. Asrb. II. 12 (KB. II. 166), etc.; Del. *Lesest.*³, p. 142; ZA. IV. 230, 10; Del. *Assyr. Gram.*, § 80, e.

61. *nakire limnuti* stands in apposition to *gimir ummanāti*, a fact not recognized by Bezold.

62. Offers one of the worst transliterations and translations. The correct text and translation is *zar-biš u-mi-iš al-sa-a kima Rammân aš-gu-um* *oppressed I roared like a lion, like Rammân (the thunder-god) I raged*. Bezold has it *šarpiš ūmeš alsâ*, *I advanced (against them) shining like silver*

* Jensen (KB. II. 164 *rm*. ad Asrb. I. 127) reads correctly *kitru*; also see Asrb. III. 186 and KB. II. 196 *rm*. to Asrb. IV. 98.

and like the daylight. zarbiš ūmeš alsâ is one of the best known expressions in the Assyrian inscriptions and ought to be known to Bezold.⁸⁵

63. ana šid-di u pu-ti does not mean *on front and flank*, but on *flank and front*; this seems at first an unnecessary remark, but as the book is intended principally for the use of such who cannot control the transliterations and translations, this transposition of front and flank must be misleading; the same applies to l. 82 sapinat raggi u ġêni *crushing foe and friend* (Bezold, *friend and foe*), if indeed ġêni means friend, good; and Col. VI. 52, where the Assyrian should be šede lamassi instead of lamassani šedani; for šiddu from šadadu, see V R. 20, 46 h.

64. kima tib meḥi šam-ri; the reading of šam is certain and needs no query; it has been settled long ago by Pognon in his *L'inscription de Bavian*, p. 75; Asrb. v. 95, we read agû šamru, *a wild flood* (KB. II. 200-1, and rm. 11); Tigl. Pil. Col. III. 57 where šam-riš occurs.

65. Read ina tukulti Ašur beli-ja.

66-7. Read suḥ-ḥur-ta-šunu aškun *I brought about their retreat, flight*; from saḥaru to *turn*; not ṣuḥḥurtašunu.

68. Read u-ša-ḳir (not kir) *I made precious, scarce, I thinned their ranks*; Ht. 50, 9, Šāph'ēl of aḳaru to be *precious*; see Haupt in ZK. II. 269.—gimri (ameluti) pagrešunu u-pal-li-ša uziziš; Bezold leaves this line untranslated. Render *through the mass of their (the enemies) corpses I cleared my way* (upalliša, see note ad Col. III. 16) *as if splitting it open*; uziziš must come from a verb azazu (according to J. Oppert = zâzu) corresponding to Hebr. אָזַז, whence תָּזִיז; others read tamziziš from mazazu.

71. tukultašu rabû stands in parallelism with ed-lum pitḳudu and muma'ir ġābešu, all three expressions referring to Humbanudaša and the suffix -šu to the king of Elam; adi (ameluti) rabutišu are his magnates.

72-3. Read ša paṭar šib-bi ḥuraḳi šitkunu u ina har-re (Asrb. II. 11; KB. II. 166) aḡ-pi instead of šimiri(?) as-pi, then continue ḥuraḳi ruk-ku-sa laḳ-te-šu-nu, which means: *whose girdle-dagger was embossed with gold* (= Asrb. II. 12; KB. II. 166-7) *and whose wrists were clasped* (rukkusa) *with double* (ašpi אֲשָׁפִי) *bracelets of massive gold*. DP. 69 reads ḥarre aspi ḥuraḳi; *Ring, Machwerk aus Gold*, from חֲרָר = יָצַר; cf. Hebr. חֲרָר.⁸⁶

77. See also ZK. 282, rm. 3.

⁸⁵ zarbiš is derived from zarabu, cf. Sc. 307, Ht. 21, 399 and 43, 51 (zurub libbi); II R. 28, 60 e; 34, 61 ab, etc.; Dh. 60, 56; Zb. 6 and 70; Hebr. זָרַב Job vi. 17; Syr. and Arab. زَرَب; zarbiš is found Ht. 123, 13; Zb. 53; also Ht. 51, 5; 59, 2 ibakki zarbiš *oppressed he wept*.—ūmeš like a lion, like a beast, cf. Zb. 117 (ad 56 rm. 1); V R. 21, 40 it occurs as a syn. of nešu; the plural is ūme, e. g., IV R. 5, 1-2a ūme muttakputu, etc.; another plural is ūmāmu, which is generally considered a singular formation from 𐎶𐎶𐎶; (so Ls. and Del. *Leeset.* index); the ūmām ġêri are the *beasts of the field* (Asrb. VIII. 109).—al-sa-a stands for aš-sa-a, preterite from šasû, a syn. of šagamu and ḥababu to *howl*, II R. 29, 17-19d; Sc. 316; IV R. 17, 8b al-si-ka *I call to thee*; Ht. 58, 15 ilšû šamû *the heavens roared*; II R. 51, 17 ilani mala alsû *the gods, as many as I call on* (cf. ZK. II. 313); ad alsî for aš-sî, see E. P. Allen in *Proc. Am. Or. Soc.*, October, 1898, p. OXII. and rm.

⁸⁶ See Col. VI. 3 and Asrb. II. 114qq; ḥarru *bracelet* from ḥararu; aḡpu *double*, we find in Ht. 91, 55; ZK. II. 39; Zb. 108; rukkusa, *clasped, bound*. Is a periphrastic P'él with passive meaning like kuššudu (iḡḡuru) *caged bird*, Col. VI. 19; Zb. 11; ZA. v., pp. 4 and 5. Bezold's interrogation mark after kuššudu = *caged* in Col. VI. 19 is entirely unnecessary; Col. III. 20 we had iḡḡuru ḳuppu; muḥḥuḡu *wounded and stamped*, ZA. v. 15; nukkusu *cut off* Asrb. iv. 74; KB. II. 123-3.

78. ša-mu-tum does not mean *heaven*, but *rain*, cf. Col. IV. 76; simani ܫܡܢܐ are *trophies*, see also Col. VI. 2; u mun-ni-šu-nu and *their arms*, I scattered over the wide field.

80-1. Bezold la-az-mu-ti mur-ni-iz-ki qi-mit-ti ru-ku-pi-ia ina da-me-šunu gabšuti i-sal-lu-u nari-iš; covered with dirt(?) my horses, the team of my chariot, waded in their (i. e., the enemies) thick blood, like as in a river; but translate with Haupt: *the spirited steeds of my chariot swam in the mass of their blood like a river god*.³⁷

82. sapinat rag-gi u çê-ni Bezold *crushing good and bad*; but raggu is certainly *bad*, and çênu is usually translated *good*. I am, more and more, inclined to translate çênu by *bad, evil* and consider it a syn. of raggu, as Guyard and others suggested;³⁸ III R. 38, 18b; Nebukadn. II. 28, ragga u çêni ušessi (from ܝܕܝ) *the bad and the evil I threw down, I removed*; Tigl. Pil. I. 8 mušepu çêni *who crushes the wicked* (from ܢܫܪ partic. šāph'el) in parallelism with çalpat ābi.³⁹

83. ša....da-mu u rûtu it-mu-ku ma-gar (ša?) ru-uš, *an der Deichsel(?) klebte Blut und Schmutz(?)* (Bezold); Bezold ought to have known that Prof. Haupt, in *HEBRAICA*, III. 110, corrected Hoerning and Sayce by reading ša....da-mu u par-šu ri-it-mu-ku ma-ša-ru-uš. But I do not agree with his translation, *my war chariot sank down to the nave in blood and filth*; narkabtu is a feminine noun, while ritmuku is a permansive Iftaal of ramaku, like šitkunu (l. 72) and the whole is to be translated, *blood and filth ran (or dripped) down its wheel* (whenever the chariot was in motion); ad mašaru wheel, cf. Haupt, *Sumerische Familiengesetze*, p. 72; *BAS.* I. p. 174 and *HN.* 42, 11.

84. Read kima ur-ki-ti (not ur-ki-ti).

85. sa-ap-sa-pa-ti *testicles* (so Haupt after Pinches); Lhotsky, *Dissert.*, p. 23, suggested *ear-lap*.

COL. VI.

4. *With sharp swords hu-za-an-ni-šu-nu u-par-ri'*, Bezold (following Haupt's suggestion) translates, *their noses I cut off*.—Now line 6 speaks of *the rest of his (the enemy's) magnates*. May not huzanni-šunu be a byform to hazānu *governor* (cf. aḡḡaru a byform to iḡḡuru, etc.). This would give the following rendering: *with sharp swords I cut down their governor*, and now line 6: *the rest of his magnates with N. my hands captured alive on the battle-field*.

13. Adi II Kas-pu, etc., begins a new sentence, which does away with Bezold's somewhat obscure objection against Prof. Haupt's translation, *until the*

³⁷ Read lasmuti ptc. plur. of lasamu *to gallop*, Zb. 54, rm. 3, properly *to stretch out oneself*, syn. of rapadu, cf. *HN.* 44, 55 and 43, 20; II R. 27, 46-7; V R. 19, 18 od, pariç ilasum *violently he rushes on*; also II R. 62, 15, 16 gh; IV R. 38-39 lasmu ša birkasū la innāḥā; a study of ZK. II. 343 will teach the editor of that periodical that he has to write mur ni-is-ki a *splendid horse, a charger*, see *LT.* 146-7; *Esrar.* IV. 53, *KB.* II. 134-5.—Isal-lu-u read išal-lu-u.

³⁸ See, e. g., Winckler, *Sargonitzis*, index, s. v., çênu.

³⁹ I believe that çênu *cattle, sheep* and çênu *bad, evil* are simply homonyms; çênu *cattle* is the Hebr. כֶּשֶׂן, Arab. ضأن; Aram.-Syr. ܟܝܢܐ; ܟܝܢܐ and modern Syr. uāna (cf. modern Arabic uakil for 'akil, etc., and Prof. Haupt, in *HEBRAICA*, I., 180, rm. 2), ܟܝܢܐ (çênu) is derived from ܟܝܢܐ (aḡā) *to lead out*, just as πρόβατον is from προβαίνειν (Paul de Lagarde).

fourth hour of the night it went on (then finally) I stopped the slaughter. Accepting this rendering, we have, of course, to read adi II kasbu MI (= muši) illi-ku dakšunu apruṣ, and not adi II kasbu⁴⁰ mi-il-li-ku, etc., as Bezold does. Also cf. BAS. I. 4.

16. ḥar(?) ba-šu *vehemence* (Bezold); some, ZB. 20, rm. 1, read mur-ba-šu; cf. Col. III. 47; V R. 21, 41a; IV R. 1, 1a, a form like muš-pa-lu *depth*.—lû being a syn. of rîmu, pûru and arḥu, its meaning *bull* is quite certain.—18. u-da-i-šu שׂוֹדֵי, cf. da'aštu; HN. 51, 10.

20. Read rather u-za-ra-pu; Bezold omits to translate kirib *the inside* (of their chariots); ad zarapu to *pour down*, etc., cf. Talmudic קִרְיָהּ, Syr. ܩܪܝܬܐ; cf. Ps. LXXII. 6; ad VI. 9, see Del. *Assyr. Gram.*, p. 366; ad I. 19, *ib.*, p. 246; and I. 22, *ib.*, § 120.

Col. VI. 25 to the end, containing the description of Sennacherib's buildings, will be treated in connection with a special article on I R. 43, 44, a very difficult, but important, inscription, which Bezold omitted with the exception of seven lines (I R. 43, 13-19), see KB. II. 118, 119. Almost every line of Col. VI. 26-74, as transliterated and translated by Bezold, calls for corrections or additional remarks; suffice it to notice, in passing, that

26. ana šub(?) -bat šarrutia must be read ana ri-met šarrutia; constr. state of rimêtu *dwelling*, from ramû to *dwelt*; see Col. II. 2 ušarmi *I settled*; Senn., Smith, p. 144; the ekallu ḳabal maḥazi ša Ninua is *the palace adjoining the surrounding wall of Nineveh*;—27. ana tabrâti, cf. Fleming, *Nebuchadn.*, p. 40.—28. the reading kutallu is quite certain; it is the Hebr. כְּתֹל, *wall*, and means here a *side-building*, which for the keeping in order of the train, etc., my fathers had built; cf. I R. 44, 55 and IV R. 52, 20b ina kutallišunu muššurat; and 53, 18-19b ana kutalli it-ti-eḥ-su (from niḥesu to *recede*); II R. 48, 50 cd.

32. Bezold's reading la nu-ku-lat! is very good; but translate *his workmanship* (epištāš) *was not tasteful*.—labariš ûme = *in the course of time*.

35. kirubû ma'du is a *great deal of building material*, Ls. p. 65; u-šal-li read u-sal-li. A comparison with Esarh. Cyl. A, Col. V. 6, (KB. II. 134) shows that it is = ḳaḳḳaru.

36. Instead of a-kut-tim-ma read a-ḥaz-tim-ma; see KB. II. 135, rm. ad Esarh. v. 6; while Winckler (KB. II. 148: Col. V. 10) prefers again akut-timma, see his note on p. 148-9; cf. also R. F. Harper, *AEI.*, 14, l. 6.

42. (abnu) pi-i-lu; the pilu-stone ought to be well known to Bezold after D. H. Mueller's article on it (*Sitzungsber. der Wiener Academie*). KB. II. 136, l translates *Quader-steine*. Cf. BAS. I. 171 rm., and 325.

46. Read tim-kal-li-e, enḳuti ana(!) mu-šab; 48. the šadu ellu is a *snow-capped mountain*, not simply a *high mountain* (as Bezold has it).

55. ad ibili ass, cf. Pinches in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XIX. ('87), p. 319, also cf. I Chron. XXVII. 30 אֲזַבִּיל; also see DP. 124, rm. 2.

⁴⁰ Concerning kasbu, I notice that all the contributors to KB. I. and II. consider it an Assyrian noun, with the sole exception of Jensen, who believes it to be an ideogram: KAS (GAL) GID and says, KB. II. 202, rm. 5, "so wohl sumerische Aussprache = Weg-lang. Im Assyrischen ḥarrân-arku gesprochen(?); aber bei Leibe nicht kaspu!"

56. The attarati were not *cars* (so Bezold), but *bow-strings*, Hebr. יָתֵד, Arab. وَتَر and the erik-ki (!) are the *outfit*, cf. Hebr. עֶרֶךְ.

58. Read miṭ-pa-na-ti instead of ziz (mid?) pa-na-ti from ṭapanu to *stretch*, to *span*, Arab. ṭafana = ḥabasa to *bind*.

60. Instead of adannis(?) read ma-gal and compare Pognon, *Bavian*, p. 36; ZB. 28, rm. 1.

69. Read niḫi liḫ-ḫi *may he offer a sacrifice*.

KB. II. 114-5. *Belibus who had grown up in my palace* kima mi-ra-a-ni ṣa-aḫ-ri *like a small dog* (?), so Bezold with a query; see II R. 6, 13ab sqq. LIK-KU = kalbu; LIK-KU TUR (*a small dog*) = mi-ra-nu; mirānu a form like ḡidānu, from the same stem as me-ir-ru, im-me-ru, mu-u-ru, ma-ru, whereof it is a synonym; also cf. Asrb. IV. 26 and Jensen's note thereto in KB. II. 189.

The arab si-bu-ti (KB. I. 114) is very likely *the seventh month*.

KB. II. 118-9 contains I R. 43, 13-19; line 14, end, Bezold leaves out uḫin; after uḫin a new clause begins, uṣalpit belonging to the following; ṣar-ri-ṣu e-mid ap-ša-a-ni does not mean *I compelled its king to do my will*, but *I put my yoke, fixed a yoke upon its king*; read ab-ša-a-ni and compare Hebr. אֲבָשׁ and Arab. أَجَس; also see Jensen's remark on page 173 of KB. II.

17. All their places I destroyed kima til abubi, Bezold *like a storm-flood-hill* (gleich einem Sturmfluthuegel); it is better to say, *like a mound of the time of the flood, I made them*.

18. Read a-nar (not a-lul) ina (iḡu) kakkê, *I overpowered with my weapons*; cf. the Bull-inscription, which reads a-na-ra; and I R. 49, Col. III. 4, âbe'a ta-na-ru (KB. II. 122).

ADDENDA.

Col. I. 5. Ad ṭaṭapu to *shut in, enclose*, see mu-ṭe-ṭip-pum (part. Pṭēl) and ṭi-ṭip-pu, *a door*, II. 23, 2, 3, c.; tappu *a companion*, is a Semitic word, as is shown by the byform tappū; cf. *Del. Assy. Gram.*, § 25, p. 62.

I. 16. Ad ṣapḡu see also HEBRAICA, II., 146, ad l. 13.

I. 30. Cf. K. 572, 10 man-za-az ekalli; ina pân ṣarri nazâzu = *to become a king's officer, body-servant*, K. 183, 34 = ina pân ṣarri erebu.

III. 37 urkarenu; for the interchange of r and š compare also Uraštu and Urartu, אֲרָרְט; iṣdudu IV R. 15, 5 = irdudu (ib. l. 10); while the Assyrian duplicate in both cases has iṣdudu; maštakal = martakal = maltakal, IV R. 26 (No. 7) 37; markitu and the Eth. mēškāi; BAS. I. 168, 13 and 182 rm.

HEBREW AND RABBINICAL WORDS IN PRESENT USE.

BY WILLIAM O. SPROULL,

University of Cincinnati.

We shall give a few of the most common Hebrew and Rabbinical words with some of their meanings in present colloquial use among the English-German speaking Jews.* The words are arranged alphabetically for the sake of convenience, but they readily fall into three classes: (1) Good Hebrew (biblical) or Rabbinical (Chaldaic and late Hebrew) words with their proper meanings. (2) Good Hebrew or Rabbinical words with new meanings. (3) Barbarisms. The following deviations in pronunciation as taught in the grammars must be noted. Qāmēç (קָמֵץ) when accented is pronounced as *o* in *rose*; when unaccented as *ə* or *ĭ*. The tendency is to give all long unaccented vowels the short *e* sound. קָ and קִ are pronounced as *d*; ךָ as *v*; ךָ as *s*, ךָ as *t*. Whenever the colloquial meaning differs from the Hebrew or Rabbinical one, the latter is put into brackets.

אֶפִּיקוּרוֹס (Rab.). The Greek word Epicurus. It means one who does not care for religion. In the Rabbinical writings, it designates a man that has no regard either for the law or for tradition.

בְּהֵמָה (Heb. *beast*). A stupid person.

בֹּעַל דְּרִשָּׁן (Heb. בֹּעַל ruler, possessor. Rab. דְּרִשָּׁן preacher). Preacher.

גִּי (Heb. *nation*). It may mean any *individual* that is not a Jew, also a Jew that adopts Gentile customs.

גִּנֵּב (Heb.). A thief.

דְּאִנְיָה (Heb. *anxiety*). Concern. "It is no דְּאִנְיָה (concern) of mine."

חֲבֵרִיתָא (Chald. *a company*). A crowd.

חֲדוּשׁ (Rab. *anything new*). News.

חֲזַן (Rab. *the overseer of a synagogue*). The reader who leads in public worship, not necessarily a rabbi.

חָכֵם (Heb.). A wise man, also ironically a pretender to wisdom.

חֲפָה (Heb. *bridal bed*). The canopy under which the marriage ceremony is performed.

חֲמִץ (Heb. *that which is leavened*). Anything to be eaten during the Passover. To this word, as well as to some others, the syllable דִּיק is added, mean-

* For words in use among German speaking Jews, see *Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden* von Dr. Zunz. Berlin: 1832, pp. 438-442.

ing like *חֲמִיזִיק* of the nature of or like *חֲמִיז*. This *דִּיִּק* is the German word Ding (thing). It is also written *דִּיִּג*, e. g., *חֲמִיזִיג*.*

חַס וְשָׁלוֹם. A Rabbinical expression meaning mercy and peace, but more especially *God forbid*.

חָתָן (Heb.). Bridegroom.

חֲתָנָה (Heb.). Wedding.

טָרְפָה (Heb. *טָרַף* to rend). All food that is ritually unclean. This meaning is also found in later Rabbinical writings.

כְּבוֹד (Heb.). Honor or praise.

כֵּלָה (Heb.). Bride.

כֶּשֶׁר (Heb. to be right). Food that is ritually clean. In Rabbinical writings the *Höph'al* means whatever is allowed. This word has become Anglicized, e. g., *Kosher* meat; the meat of animals killed and dressed according to the law. *Kosher* designates also a pious person, from Chald. *כֶּשֶׁר*, to be pious.

לַח (Heb. tablet). Almanac.

מֹהֵל (Chald. *מְהוּלָא*). The one who performs the rite of circumcision.

מָזָל (Rab. one's lucky star). Luck. Also *מִזְל־טוֹב*, good luck. The German word *schlimm* (bad) is also used, e. g., *Schlimm מִזְל*, bad luck. This word is at times used with *בְּרָכָה* blessing, e. g., "In this house there is neither *מָזָל* nor *בְּרָכָה*, neither luck nor blessing."

מַחֲוֵה (Rab. *מָחַל* to release a debtor from payment). Failure in business.

מְמוֹר (Heb.). Bastard.

מַצִּיָּאה (Rab. anything found). A bargain in purchasing.

מַצְוָה (Heb.). A biblical command. Colloquially, any noble act of kindness may be so called.

מְשֻׁמֵּר (Chald. *שְׁמַר* to force one to apostatize; Ithpaël, to apostatize). Apostate.

מִשְׁפָּחָה (Heb.). A family.

נַפְקָא (Chald.). Prostitute. *נָפַק* (Chald.) means to go out.

סַנְדֵּק (Rab. *סַנְדִּיקוֹס*). Godfather. The one holding the child during circumcision.

עַם הָאֲרָץ (Rab.). One who is unlearned. The plural is formed by adding the termination to the last word, as if it were a compound word *עַם הָאֲרָצִים*.

פֶּסַח (Heb.). Passover. *פֶּסַח־דִּיִּק* means anything that may be eaten during the Passover.

פְּרִנָּם (Rab. one having control). President of a congregation. President of the Board of Trustees.

קָהָל and *קְהָלָה* (Heb.). A congregation.

רִיחַ (Chald. *רִיחַ*, Aphel, to increase one's gain). Profit.

* Zuns, p. 439.

שַׁבָּת (Heb.). Sabbath.

שׁוֹטֵה (Rab.). A fool.

שְׁלוֹם עֲלֵיכֶם (Heb. *peace upon you*). Colloquially this means, *How do you do*, and may be used when but *one* person is addressed.

שָׂמֵשׁ (Rab. *servant*). The janitor of a synagogue. The word is commonly pronounced Šames, not Šameš.

שְׂקֵצָה (Heb. שְׂקֵץ *abomination*). A Gentile servant girl. שְׂקֵץ is one who is not a Jew, or a Jew that adopts Gentile customs. There is an expression used very often, meaning *for spite*. It is pronounced as if written לְהַכְלִים. There is no such Hebrew or Rabbinical word כְּלִים. It may be a corruption of the Hebrew word כַּעַם *verexation*.

A very curious word is בִּיצָמֵר, meaning an *Irishman*. The word may be explained as follows. בִּיצָה (plural בִּיצִים) means *egg*, in German *Ei*. The word has been formed by suggestion of sound. *I*, the first syllable of the word *Irishman*, suggested the German word *Ei*, which suggested the Hebrew word meaning *Ei* or *egg*. The termination םֵר is the German *er*, affixed to names of countries to denote an inhabitant thereof.

NOTES ON THE ANALYSIS OF GEN. XV.

BY BENJAMIN W. BACON,

Oswego, N. Y.

The analysis of Gen. xv. is universally recognized as an unsolved problem. At the same time all critics are agreed that P is nowhere present in the chapter, and nearly all recognize the *Hauptbericht* to be J and the supplementary material to be derived from E; some however suggesting, as a possibility at least, that the supplementation may be purely redactional.*

Kautzsch and Socin in their recent translation of Genesis may be taken as fairly representing current critical opinion in exhibiting verses 1-3 in the type used where J and E are indistinguishable, with a foot-note commending the analysis of Budde, J = 2a,3b, E = 1,3a,2b.

Budde's analysis appears to me entirely satisfactory, and I further agree with him, with Dillmann(?) and Kautzsch and Socin in attributing verses 4 and 6 to J and verse 5 to E.

The "דבר of verse 1 instead of simple אלהים as we should expect according to the analogy of xx. 3 is easily accounted for under the influence of the דבר " of verse 4. Indeed we should scarcely expect יהוה אליו in verse 4 if a יהוה אל-אברם היה דבר originally preceded it already in verse 1. The inversion of 3a and 2b is not an unreasonable supposition in view of the equivalence of 2b and 3b. במחזה and אחר הרהא verse 1, and אליעזר verse 2, are strong evidence for E, and verse 5 belongs of course with the representation במחזה. E is not traceable elsewhere in the chapter, and יהוה 2a,4,6, establishes a strong case for J in these verses.

The difficulty is with the position of the J fragment. The E material is properly enough placed but the J material in xv. 1-6 is almost certainly in a position other than that it originally occupied. If this be the case it is easy to account for the displacement, since RJE having selected verse 1 from E to place at the head of the narrative would be compelled to adjust his J material to the position occupied by the parallel portions of E. But let us see first why xv. 2a, 3b, 4, 6, are to be considered out of place, and second, ascertain if possible the original position.

Dillmann, *Gen.*⁵, p. 242, objects to Budde's analysis that it ignores the incongruity of verses 6 and 8. For this reason, no doubt, Kautzsch and Socin

* For an exhibition of critical opinion, see the writer's article, *Pentateuchal Analysis*, *HEBRAICA*, IV., 4.

indicate the want of connection between verses 1-6 and the rest of the chapter by a blank space. In point of fact it is scarcely possible for verse 6 to stand so nearly before verse 8, and it is this matter of their position only—so we are informed in the foot-note 52 by Kautzsch and Socin—which induces these authors to print verses 7 and 8 in the type adopted for R. If, however, we can find a place for verse 6 *after* the passage 8-18 we not only avoid the difficulty but give double significance to both verses.

Again, xv. 7 can scarcely tolerate anything before itself in the narrative of the theophany. It is the introductory formula, cf. xvii. 1: xxviii. 13; xlvi. 3; Ex. iii. 6. On the other hand verse 6 creates a strong impression of forming a conclusion.

In the third place verses 7-18 must follow immediately upon xiii. 11ab, 12c, 13, 18 (verses 14-17 being an interpolation, see Wellhausen, *Comp. d. Hex.*, and Kuenen, *Hex.*), in order to obtain their real significance. Then both the solemn entailing of the land by Yahweh upon Abram forms the appropriate contrast to Lot's unblest appropriation of the Kikkar, and the important sacrifice of xv. 9sq. has its suitable *emplacement*, viz.: upon the altar of xiii. 18.

Finally, as Dillmann well says, *Gen.*⁵, p. 242, "Als Einleitung zu Cp. 16 ist die Zusage eines Leibeserben (also v. 4) bei C nicht wohl entbehrlich," and this "introduction" is certainly better placed immediately before the chapter introduced than separated from it by another episode. We conclude, therefore, that the true and original position, not only of verse 6, but of the whole passage xv. 2a, 3b, 4, 6 is at the end, and not at the beginning of the chapter. In other words it should occupy the place of the meaningless gloss, 19-21.

In this way the gift alluded to in verse 2 becomes a very pointed reference to verse 18, and the whole passage concerning the heir becomes of course vastly more significant after than before the covenant here described. One further adjustment may be at least suggested. As Wellhausen and others have observed, xi. 30 is awkwardly placed at present and would seem more appropriate nearer to xvi. 1. If so, its true position is perhaps to be sought, not in ch. xvi., but as a motive for xv. 2a, immediately preceding it.

J would, therefore, run as follows in ch. xiii.-xvi. xiii. 2, 5 (ולא יכלו) לשבת יחרו in verse 6(?) 7-10, 11ab, 12c, 13, 18, [וירא יהוה אל-אברם]; xv. 7 (perhaps originally in the form of xxiv. 7) 8-11 (part of verse 12(?)), 17*, 18 (xi. 30(?)); xv. 2a, 3b, 4, 6; xvi. 1b (ולשרי) instead of (ולד), 2, 4-8, 11-14.

➤CONTRIBUTED NOTES.◀

Azazel (Lev. xvi. 8, 10, 26).—A careful review of the various opinions of expositors respecting this obscure term, which does even appear as a proper name in the versions of Luther and King James 1., might not be without considerable interest for readers of this journal. But that is not my present purpose. Indeed, I should hardly have ventured upon such a subject, had I not, in the course of another investigation, quite unexpectedly lighted upon some facts which seem to have a material bearing upon the historical significance of this old world designation.

It is now, I believe, generally admitted that Azazel is the name of an evil spirit, anciently supposed to haunt the wilderness. So much, in truth, is clear from the context of the biblical narrative itself, interpreted without bias and according to the ordinary rules of Hebrew construction. And the evidence of later Jewish writings, such as the Book of Enoch, where we meet with Azazel again, as one of the spirits who fell from heaven, (not to mention what the Rabbis have handed down or invented upon the subject) proves that tradition never lost all sense of the original meaning of this weird figure of primitive theology.

It is a well-known statement of the Talmud, that the names of the months and of the angels "came up" with the restored exiles from Babylon into Judea. As regards the months, every student of Assyrio-Babylonian antiquity knows that the statement is true. As regards the angels, the case is not so clear, inasmuch as the biblical Michael and Gabriel, and the Rabinnical Uriel, Uzziel, Sammael, (identified by some with Azazel), and many others, have not been found hitherto in the cuneiform inscriptions. For Azazel, however, I may now offer evidence which connects both the name and the idea of the desert-fiend with the oldest religious beliefs of Babylonia.

The Chinese language possesses a complex character now pronounced *hi ai* in the common dialect, but *hai* in those of Canton and Amoy, and *y é* in that of Shanghai; sounds which presuppose *ki* and *gi* as their primary forms.* This character is only used in composition with another pronounced *chai* or *chi* in the common dialect, but *ti* in that of Amoy, and *za* in that of Shanghai; sounds which imply as their precursors *ti*, *di*, *za*. Now the compound term consisting of these two characters, *Hiai-chai*, anciently pronounced *Ki-di* or *Gi-di*, is the name of a mysterious being who dwells in the desert, and gores wicked men when it sees them. The creature, which is described as a one-horned monster, like a stag, but is also depicted like a tiger, has another name of importance for our purpose, *Shin-yang*, the "Spirit-goat." Provincial judges and censors once wore a representation of it as their insignia.

The name and the habitat and the function of this "Spirit-goat," who dwells in the desert, and destroys the wicked, curiously corresponds with the name and the habitat and the implied function of Azazel. But I should have hesitated to

* See my papers entitled *The New Accadian* in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, especially that in the June number of the present year.

bring the two fiends into direct relation with each other, had I not previously ascertained the identity of the Chinese Avenger of Wrong with an evil spirit of the desert, whose name frequently occurs in the primitive hymns and exorcisms of Accad. As we have seen, the oldest pronunciation of the Chinese demon was Kidi or Gidi; and, as all Assyriologists well know, the Gidi^m was an evil spirit, whereof the early inhabitants of Babylonia stood in religious awe. The resemblance of the two names is striking enough, considering the enormous geographical interval that divides the Middle Kingdom from the land of the Euphrates and Tigris. But there is a further coincidence in the case, which may fairly be called startling, and which demonstrates the validity of our identification of the Gidi of China with the Gidim of Babylon. It is the fact that the Chinese character pronounced hiai (= gi) is compounded of the simple characters for "dog," "horn," "knife," and "ox;" and the Accadian character pronounced gidim^m is composed of four characters which also have these selfsame values.* Thus the Chinese demon agrees with the Accadian in name, ideographic representation, habitat, and nature.

But what of the Hebrew Azazel? No self-evident or satisfactory etymology of this name is forthcoming, so long as it is regarded as a purely Hebrew term. The initial syllable, indeed, affords a sort of assonance with the word for "she-goat" ('ēz); but this hardly accounts for the termination. On the other hand, the first consonant of Azazel may very well have been strong Ain (Ghain); in which case the true pronunciation would be made like Gazazel. With this we may compare a dialectic pronunciation of the Chinese Gidi, viz., the Shanghai ye-za, which implies an earlier gi-za. Of course, we should expect to find, as in other instances, that the Hebrews had given the name a shape more accordant with the analysis of their own language than that in which they originally received it.

The assimilation of the mysterious Azazel of Leviticus to the desert-fiend of primeval Babylon and the "spirit-goat" of the half-forgotten traditions of China, suggest many things in regard to the annual rites of the Great Day of Atonement. How far it bears on the great question of the antiquity of the narrative in Leviticus, and of the ceremonies there prescribed, I must leave to others to determine. Some points, at all events, are clear. (1) The idea of Azazel is even older than the time of Moses by thousands of years, how many no man can say. (2) Azazel is not, as has been suggested, "the crumbling conception of some Semitic or Egyptian idol, shrunk to the dimensions of a desert-fiend."† (3) The conception of Satan, the arch-enemy of God and man, has left more traces in the O. T. than is sometimes assumed, and was probably far older in Israel than the time of their supposed contact with Persian ideas. (4) The sending of the live goat into the wilderness "for Azazel" was a highly suggestive recognition of the religious doctrine that, in consequence of sin, the lives of the congregation were forfeited to the Avenging Spirit, who carried out the sentence of Yahweh's righteous wrath. (5) The fact that the goat was not slain but set free in the wilderness, symbolized the truth that Israel was saved, by penitential sacrifices to Yahweh the Saviour, from the power of the Destroyer; and (6) embodied in the plainest

* The Chinese signs are k'üen, k'ioh, tao, and niu, of which the ancient pronunciation was kin, kak, tar, ngu, respectively. The Accadian sign read gidim is a contracted compound of the (Accadian) signs for KIN, KAK, TAR, NGU.

† Die zu einem Wüsten-dämon zusammengeschrumpfte ruinenhafte Vorstellung irgend eines semitischen oder ägyptischen Abgottes. Rehm: *Herb. Bibl. Alt. s. v. Azazel*.

manner a prohibition of devil-worship (cf. Lev. xvii. 7). It would seem that in this, as in so many other instances, Mosaism has purified and adopted the conceptions and practices of immemorial religion.

C. J. BALL.

Three Contract Tablets of Ashuritililani.—Among many other important tablets which were excavated during the stay of the *Expedition of the Babylonian Exploration Fund* at Niffer, in 1889, were three contract tablets belonging to the reign of Ašûritililâni. For the sake of convenience, I will call these tablets 1, 2 and 3. No. 1 was found on the 14th of February, and it was on the 28th of the same month that Prof. Hilprecht read the date as Nippûru arḫu Šabâtu ûmu 20. m. ilu Ašûr-êtil-ilu (*sic*) šar mâtu Aš-[šur-Ki]. It is, perhaps, the half of a large reddish-gray tablet, the obverse side being badly mutilated, the reverse, on the other hand, being very well preserved. The name of the king is not so clear, as one would judge from Prof. Hilprecht's remarks in *ZA.*, IV., 2. He himself queries his own reading. If the name is to be read Ašûritilili, this brings nothing new, since it is so written on his brick published in *I R.*, p. 8. This tablet has passed into the hands of the Turkish government and hence we may never expect to see it again.

Of much greater importance are Nos. 2 and 3, both of which were excavated on March 4th, and were identified by me on the following day, after they had been cleaned, as belonging to Ašûritililâni, cf. the *Academy*, April 30, 1889, and *ZA.*, IV., 2. Both of these tablets were handed over to the government, but were later on presented to me by my friend Bedri-Bey, the Turkish Commissioner to the Expedition. They are now in my possession. After publishing them, it is my purpose to present them to the University of Pennsylvania.

No. 2 is a small blackish-grey contract, or rather loan tablet, 4.3×3.1×1.2 cms. in size. It is almost perfectly preserved. A small piece was broken off, however, while it was being handled by the officers in the custom house at Iskanderûn. The following is a brief summary of the contents of this tablet, viz.: Adar-aḫê-erêb has loaned eight shekels of silver to a man—about whose name there is some doubt. From the first day of Araḫšamna it is to bear interest at the rate of one-half shekel. A list of four witnesses follows, and then, what is of most importance to us, the date, viz.: Nippûru araḫ Araḫšamna umû 1 šattu 4 Ašûritililâni šar mâtu A-šûr-Ki. In my note to the *Academy*, I read the date of the year as 6. I was, perhaps, a little too enthusiastic at the time about my find and hence was inclined to make the date as large as possible. It can be read 6, but it is better to regard the two lower wedges as prolongations of upper wedges and to make the number 4.

No. 3 is a greyish-brown loan tablet, 5.1×3.8×1.2 cms. in size. It is badly broken and the names of the parties concerned in the contract are not legible. The date reads: Nippûru araḫ Addaru—day lost—šattu 2 Ašûritililâni šar mâtu Aššûr. This tablet also was somewhat damaged by the rough handling of the Turkish custom officers.

The value of these tablets is from a chronological and historical stand-point. They make it necessary for Assyriologists to change their views in regard to the date of the separation of the Babylonian from the Assyrian empire, cf. *Academy* and *ZA.* as cited above. I hope to publish the text of Nos. 2 and 3 in the next number of *HEBRAICA*.

ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER, *Yale University*.

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MANAGING EDITOR:

WILLIAM R. HARPER, PH. D.,

PROFESSOR OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES IN YALE UNIVERSITY; PRINCIPAL OF SCHOOLS
OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS:

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HERMANN L. STRACK, PH. D., D. D.,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN.

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No. 2.

NOTES ON THE PUBLICATIONS CONTAINED IN VOL. II. OF E. SCHRADER'S KEILINSCHRIFTLICHE BIBLIOTHEK* II. THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ESARHADDON.†

BY REV. W. MUSS-ARNOLT, PH. D.,

Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

The following notes on the texts of Esarhaddon have a two-fold aim in view, viz., that of correcting some mistakes of Abel and Winckler, and of giving new explanations of words whose meanings hitherto have been misunderstood or entirely unknown. They may serve as material for a future commentary on these inscriptions, promised us by Dr. Robert Harper. Constant reference has been made to Dr. Harper's work on these texts, published in previous numbers of **HEBRAICA**, and in his Leipzig Dissertation. Special attention has been given to Assyrian homonyms and synonyms, which, I hope, will be of use for beginners. A list of abbreviations is found in note 2 of my article in **HEBRAICA**, VII., No. 1, to which the following must be added.²

* Berlin: Reuther, 1890.

† See **HEBRAICA**, VII., No. 1.

‡ Transliterated and translated by Drs. Hugo Winckler and Ludwig Abel.

§ Additional abbreviations:

DG. = Delitzsch, *Assyrian Grammar* (English edition).

DL. = " *Lesestücke*, 3d edition (Leipzig, '85).

DW. = " *Assyrisches Wörterbuch*.

Hf. = Haupt, *Familiengesetze* (Leipzig, '79).

Ws. = Winckler (Hugo), *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargis* I. (Leipzig, '89).

GGA. and GGN. = *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, resp. *Nachrichten*.

JA. = *Journal Asiatique* (Paris).

JRAS. = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London).

AV. = J. N. Strassmaier, *Assyrisches Wörterverzeichnis*.

AEI. = Robert Harper's *Dissertation*.

KGF. = E. Schrader's *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung* (Giessen, '78).

LCB. = *Literarisches Central-Blatt* (Leipzig).

Brünnow (No.) = Br., *A Classified List*, etc.

I RAWLINSON 45-47; CYLINDERS A + C. BY LUDWIG ABEL
(*KB.* II. 124-140).

COLUMN I.

1sq. On Abel's restoration of these lines, see *HEBRAICA*, VI., 153. I noted the same criticism when I first read the volume.

2. *šar kiššati* and its five different translations are censured in *ZA.* v. 301.

3. The construct state of *aplu son*, is *apil*. In *KB.* I. 4, we find *abal*; *ib.* p. 40 *apal*; some read *abil* and others *apil*; the only correct reading in Assyrian texts seems to be *apil*, in Babylonian *abil*.³

5. *ša ina tukulti who with the assistance of Asur*, etc., (Abel); other contributors translate *in the strength of Asur* (*KB.* II. 161 and 239), and again others *in the service of Asur* (*KB.* I. 19 and 33 ad *Tigl. Pil.* I. 71 and IV. 44; *KB.* II. 11 ad II R. 67, 2, etc.); cf. *KB.* I. 48, where *ina ri-ḡu-ti ša Ašur* is evidently the same as *ina tukulti Ašur*. Schrader also translates (*KB.* I. 50-51) *ilī tik-li-šu* by *the gods of his service*, instead of *the gods his helpers*; also see *KB.* II. 176-7: *the gods, through whom I am strong* (V R. 2, 121); *ina tukulti* is best translated *in confidence, in trust upon*; cf. e. g., *Esarh.* I. 45, *I trusted in Asur*, etc.

9. I do not see why *ittalakūma* should not be rendered *he marched* (so Harper), cf. e. g., V R. 2, 129 (*KB.* II. 176) and many other passages. It is always advisable to translate as literally as possible, if the translation can be understood without a commentary; this cannot always be said of the renderings offered in *KB.* I. and II.; also see *HEBRAICA*, VI. 154sq.

10. *ša ina kabal tamtim, which lies in the middle of the sea*; Haupt's translation of *kablu* = the zone of the sea immediately surrounding the continent (*HEBRAICA*, I. 228) is yet by far the most preferable. Lyon, *Manual*, p. 86, "the midst of the sea," i. e., the islands!

20. On *SU AM-SI* and *KA AM-SI* = *mašak piri* and *šinni piri* (cf. I *ši-in-nu ša bi-(pi)-ri* *Proc. Berl. Acad.*, '88, 1348, bel.) see J. Oppert

³ *Nebuchadn.* I. 33 *a-bi-il-šu*; *ib.* VII. 28; *AV.* 71; *IV R.* 20, No. 3, 3; *ia-ti a-bi-il-šu ri-e-eš-ta-a-am* V R. 34, 41a. (*Ht.* p. 184); for the etymology of the word consult *GGA.* ('77) 1443; *Hr.* 8, rm. 4; *Lt.* 2, rm 1; *KAT.* p. 45; *ZK.* II. 309 and 363; *HEBRAICA*, I. 224, rm. 7; Delitzsch in *Baer-Del. Chronicles*, pp. III. and x; idem in *LCB.* ('85) col. 354 and *BAS.* I. 507, below. The word is a good Semitic word and is probably connected with *apalu* to *subjugate*, to *have under control*; the Akkadian word is *ibila*, which according to *HEBRAICA*, I. 224-5, seems to be related to Akkadian *ibira, field-laborer*. This *ibira* sounds strangely like *ebûru*, the *gathering, the result of the harvest*; cf. *Hr.* 68, 9-16; 71, 17; II R. 52, 56-63; *AV.* 2158; this is עֲבוּר, *proventus terrae*, Syriac עֲבוּר *corn* (according to Lagarde, *Semítica*, I. 22, an Aramaeism for

עֲבוּר) of עֲבוּר in Talmud and Josh. v. 11 and 12; thus *ebûru* is an Aramaean loan-word in Assyrian; also see V R. I. 48 *išar ebûru napāš (ilu) Ni-sa-ba(l) not ni-da-ba*, as *KB.* II. 156. I will add here, once for all, that I am by no means an anti-Akkadist; the Akkadian question has to be decided not on the field of etymology, as many followers of J. Halévy think, but on that of syntax, as Professor Haupt has said again and again.

in *Literaturblatt fuer Orientalische Philologie*, III. 85 sq.; LT., 160 sqq.; LCB. ('80) col. 1586; pîru, of course, is from the stem פָּרַר (פִּיר) to be strong, powerful, whence also pûru a young bull; fem. pûrtu (DH. 7, rm. 2; DG. § 64 rm. pi-iar = karradu; Pinches, *Texts*, p. iii., No. 110, a; Johns *Hopk. Univ. Circ.* (March, '84) p. 50 bel. JRAS. n. s. XIX. ('87) 319, bel. and Schrader in *Proc. Berl. Acad.* ('87) 592 rm. 2 (= Arab. فيل).⁴

22. (çubatu) lubulti birme; I cannot subscribe to Craig's remark on p. 25 of his dissertation, "that lubulti birme = woven stuff (cloth); burrumu = weave." This is simply an assertion, without a proof; he follows Jensen (ZK. II. 29) who compares Arab. بَرَمَ, to twist together, Syr. כָּרַם; but burmu, birmu must mean something like variegated, dark, brown, cf. Hebr. כְּרוֹמִים, Arab. بَرِيم (BAS. I. 507, rm. and Ezek. XXVII. 24).⁵

23. niçirti ekallišu, notice the gen. for the constr. state, as often the case.

25-35. See KAT.² 374-5.

35. šu-ud-šak-ia. I have called attention (*Proc. Am. Or. Soc.*, May, 1890, XVIII. sqq.) to the great inconsistency on the part of the contributors to KB. I. and II. in their transliteration and translation of this and other words; at least eight different readings and renderings of this word are found in these two volumes, a fact which will by no means help to recommend Assyriology to the students of comparative Semitic philology. Abel even goes so far as to write in the same inscription, Col. IV. 32 šu-par-šaki-ia, translating it by *my colonels*, while in Col. I. 35 he reads šu-ud-šak-ia, and renders an *officer of mine*.

36. Sa-an-du-u(!)ar-ri (see DY. 283; Lagarde *Mittheilungen* II. (end); ZA. II. 305) is the šar (mahaz) Kundi (mahaz) Si-zu-u; on pp. 282-3 (*Babylonian Chronicle* IV. 7 sq.) we read ina araḥ Adar kaḫḫadu ša šarri ša (mât) Kun-du-u (mât) Si-su-u naki-is-ma ana Aššur na-ši, which Winckler translates: *In the month of Adar the heads of the kings of Kundi and Sisu were cut off and brought to Assyria!!* Has Winckler ever studied I R.

⁴ šinni pîri was borrowed by the Mitannians as šini beruḫe (cf. ZA. v. I 88-9) the -ḫe, -ḫa being an adjective termination (ib. p. 226), thus = of ivory.

⁵ See Aasn. I. 79; V R. 2, 10; ZA. III. 312 and 320, 56; burrumtu = darru II R. 29, 73-75; 37, 32; Ht. 16, 236; burme eni-ia = *my eye-balls, iris* (prop. the dark portion of my eyes) IV R. 21, 20b; Zb. 82; according to Hommel, *Semiten* I. 318, it means the *eye-lids*; baramu originally meant to stamp, to seal = kunukku II R. 40, 46-7 h (cf. ZA. I. 407); ib. I. 45, h bi-ri-im kunukki, followed by ul bi-ri-im kunukki; II R. 9, 42-44 read ina [ku-nu]-uk šibu[-u]-ti ib-ru-um he stamped with a seal; ZA. v. 68, 13-14 we read ena (dual sign) -a-a bitru-ma-ma ul u-gab-ba-a ul u-ša-ka-a ana elini pan kaḫḫari, *my eyes are sealed up and I cannot see, I do not raise them up above the face of the earth*; according to Zb. 38, above, burrumu = bi-color (V R. 19, 11 od; II R. 6, 40 od; 24, 35). From the meaning to be stamped, it is not difficult to arrive at that of being variegated, compare in German = Gedruckte Stoffe, which always conveys the idea of being variegated. For KI bir-me-e (KB. I. 136; Salm. Balaw. IV. 4) read KU(=lubulti) bir-me-e.

45, Col. I. ? Compare also M. Jos. Halévy's severe censure of Winckler's translation of the Babylonian Chronicle, Col. VI., 1-4, in *Revue critique*, June 23, 1890, p. 284.

39. See HEBRAICA, VI. 155, where Harper justly objects to Abel's translation. Sanduarri had forsaken his gods and had trusted to the impassable mountains, would be the correct rendering.

43 Gives no sense in Abel's rendering, as HEBRAICA l. c. remarks. Read niš (not šum)⁶ ilani rabûti ana aḥameš isḫuru (not iz-kuru)-ma,⁷ i. e., *by the name of the great gods they swore mutually*.

49. On the meaning of kalamu, kullumu = to show, to reveal, as against
 * DH. 50-51; HEBRAICA I. 219 and rm. 2; DP. 99, see ZB. 68sq.; ZA. III. 87, bel.; *Revue des études juives* x. 302 and xiv. 151; V R. 8, 75 (= I exposed to the sunlight) and 118; 8, 8 and 9, 112; Senn. Bell. 49; V R. 53, 11 we read: *may his gods lukal-li-mu* (let him see); V R. 61, Col. IV. 2 u-kal-lim he made him see; also *Proc. Berl. Acad.* ('89) 826, 15; ZA. iv. 10, 41; v. 59, 42 ša u-kal-la-mu who brings to light (by his rising); Šāph'el tu-šak-lam V R. 45, 56 c; mu-šak-lim Sarg. Cyl. 57.

53. See Brünnow, No. 7274; Ds. 130sqg.; DL. *Schrifttafel*, No. 200; II R. (No. 5) add. (ZK. II. 300, 12; *ib.* p. 413) we have SAL (na-ar) LUB = na-ar-tu; also KB. II. 256, 46 reads the ideogram zammeru, translating it by *musicians*; za-am-me-ru occurs in II R. 20, 7-9b; za-am-me-ir-tu ZB. II. 300 and 413; ZA. v. 98; Dg. §65 No. 25; za-am-me-ra-ku ki-i a-ta-ni II R. 60, 12b. Could it not be that u (iḫu) TUR u SAL means *and their instruments* (i. e. flutes) *male and female*, just as the Greeks and other nations had them?

⁶ Amlaud was the first to suggest the reading of niš instead of šum; nišu, properly *sign*, then also *name* from našû to *raise*; Hebr. נִשָּׂא and Syr. niša were both independently borrowed from Assyrian (so Professor Haupt); c. st. is niš; see Guyard in ZA. ('80) 46 and notes §50, rm. 1, on p. 45; §59; Maspéro's *Recueil des travaux*, I. ('80) 104; Hommel, *Semiten* I. 489; E. Babelon in *Revue critique*, April 15, 1883, p. 144; Jensen, ZK. I. 321sq. (ad V R. 16, 47 ed.) and ZK. II. 20; Dk. 25, l. 30; Oppert in JA. VII. ('86) 556 rm. 1; ZA. II. 99, No. 18; ZA. III. 78, rm. 8; Jeremias, *Leben nach dem Tode*, p. 70 and rm. 2; niš stands for niš kata; Dg. §138, p. 346 and Dw. p. 271; also see Ht. 67, l. 39sqg. ana arkat ûme amelu ana ameli ana lā e-ni-ia, ana la ragami niš ilišunu itmû niš šarrišunu ana aḥameš is-ku-ru; BAS. I. 292; Senn. Const. 48; V R. I. 21 (KB. II. 154, where u-ša-aš-kir should be u-ša-aš-kir, šakarû and šakarû interchanging; Tigl. Pil. I. 27 ana dariš tas-ku-ra (ib. l. 38); it is equal to zakaru (according to Johns *Hopk. Univ. Circ.*, No. 69 (Aug. '87), p. 118b, against Lt. 96 and Guy. Notes §20; V R. 8, 45 (KB. II. 218) u-ša-aš-kir; Josh. xxii. 7; V R. 35, 35 littasakarû amâta dunḫila let words be spoken in my favor; also Ht. 50, 19, is-ku-ur; 22) pl. is-ku-ru;

of. Aram. קָדַד to regard, to observe (Isa. III. 16) Arab. شَقَر an important transaction.

⁷ In connection with šakarû, I may offer corrections to some passages in KB. I. 12, ina sigri (read siḫ-ri) Adar is translated in *Schirme Adar's*; p. 16 (Tigl. Pil. I. 31) ša ina si-kir šamaš: in the name of S; l. 34 re'ia kēnu ša si-kir-šu eli maliki nibû, the legitimate ruler whose power is proclaimed over all kings (translate whose command is exalted, יָצַד, over the kings and see ZA. v. 58, 34: ilu Marduk, ilu šam-šu ni-bi-u; ib. l. 44 ina si-kir Bēli, according to the will of Bel; KB. I. 28-29, ad Tigl. Pil. VI. 69 and 76: in the service of Asur; KB. I. 52-53 ad Asrn. I. 5, reads sigri šaptišu and translates it by word, adding in a foot-note

54. Why should ina ri-bit Ninâ be the suburb of Nineveh? Translate *the street of Nineveh* (i. e. the principal street) *the broad-way*; ana ri-bi-ti idîma IV R. 22, 20b. Plur. to rebitu is ri-ba-a-ti V R. 4, 82 (*KB.* II. 192); *HN.* 51, 12; *ZA.* III. 314, 67: ušrabbî ri-ba-ti-šu *ZA.* III. 318, 19; 53, 55 and 56, see *HEBRAICA*, VI. 153.

COL. II.

1. Harper does not attempt a translation of id-ki-e-šu. Abel, in my judgment, has done well to leave it out (see, however, *HEBRAICA*, VI. 153). Pinches and Harper in *AEI.*, p. 29, state that this line is entirely broken away on the original; the latter says that idkêšu has probably been taken from a duplicate fragment. Harper refers to Cyl. C II. 5 where we read [i]t-ki-e-šu; but this first sign might also be the latter part of the sign HT. 16, 228sq. or of the sign si, ib. 234sq. And even if Harper's reading is correct we should have to read at least it-ki-e-šu and consider it a plural to itķu *prominent*, cf. Hebr. עתיק *advanced in age*; Arab. عتيق *old, prominent*; thus it would be *its* (i. e. Arzani's) *magnates*.⁸

"the sigir of his lip," thus showing that he does not quite understand its meaning. In all these passages we have to read siķru c. st. siķir, from saķaru, and to translate it uniformly by *command, voice*; cf. II R. 66, 2 Belit ša ina gimîr matâti si-ķir-ša kabtu; also III R. 5, 5, ina si-ķir ilu šamaš. On the same page *KB.* I. 12, I notice a number of mistakes, viz.: l. 5 read mu-la-'-it (𐎢𐎠𐎢) for mu-la'id; on the ahlamê (𐎠𐎢𐎢) also mentioned on pp. 5, l. 20; 33, 47 (*Bez. Literatur*, p. 67, rm. 1.) see *Dv.* 235 and 325; *Dh.* 36, rm. 1; *Dw.* 233; *Pognon Merou-nerari*, p. 80; according to Delitzsch they are an Armenian people; *AV.*

233 compared Arab. أخلام allies; *K.* 95, 25 reads (amelu) aḥ-la-mu-u and (sal) aḥ-la-mi-ti, S. A. Smith, *Texts*, III. p. 111, rm. Tiele identifies them with the מְלִיכָא of *Jerem.* xxix. 24; l. 8. mutîr gimîl Schrader translates *who looks out for the welfare of Assyria*; it is usually rendered by *to take revenge on some one in favor of another*; cf. e. g. *KB.* I. 196, line 1 (*BAS.* I. 171, and 375); *W.* p. 56, 21 (*Asrn.* I. 21) mutîr gimîlli abišu; also V R. 56, 13, and 60, 28-9, b (*ZA.* IV. 338) gimîlla; of course, is from gamalu, on the original meaning of 𐎢𐎢𐎢 = *to take revenge, to be revengeful*, see Lagarde, *Nominal-formation* (*GGAbh.* vol. 35) pp. 11, 20, 49 and 221;

also *BAS.* I. 325; 𐎢𐎢𐎢 = 𐎢𐎢𐎢 = κάμηλος (called by the Greek writers μωσι-κακος); Tiele translates *KB.* I. 12, l. 8, who brought help to Assur and compares such phrases as tēmu utē-runî, *they brought the news*! (?) l. 9, read ina ri-i-mit (from ramû to *settle, dwell*) c. st. of rimêtu; also see *Senn.* VI. 26, where Bezold's reading ana sub(?)bat (*KB.* II. 210) has to be corrected into ana ri-mit; so we have ana ri-me-ti be-lu-ti-šu, *Senn. Grot.* 46; = *Beil.* 46 ana ri-mit belutišun (*Jensen, ZK.* II. 54 rm. 1 incorrectly ri-bil); *ZK.* II. 54 and *ZA.* III. 329; *Zb.* 91 and *Jeremias, Leben nach dem Tode*, 51sq.; l. 10 read adi ûr bîti, ûru being a good Semitic noun as II R. 15, 10, b u-ur bîti *the woodwork of the house*, and many other passages show; the tibku according to the *Rec. Past.* n. s., I. 117, rm. 3, was a measure of length, which is explained in the Talmud as the longer cubit of seven palms, mentioned in 2 Chron. III. 3; according to Fox Talbot in *JRAS.* xxvii. p. 81 it is a measure of nine inches; also see Lyon ad *Sargon Silv. Inscr.* I. 38; *ZA.* III. 55, No. 9; 317, 81; and *Lt.* 177; l. 11 read ane ûm qa (not za)-a-ti; cf. among others *ZA.* II. 176, 16 (ad I R. 4 (XIII) 16); *ZA.* III. 99; V R. 20, 9 gh; 61, 16 sq. and 65, 45, b and Peiser's *Aktenstücke*, p. 18, 19; *ZA.* II. 119, 13, b. Hommel was the first who derived the word from aḥû, while Haupt suggested that qaṭu be the plural to qîtu.

Id-ki-e-šu, as a noun, would be his raw wool; of course it might be a verb idkêšu this would be *he hurled him*, from 𐎢𐎢𐎢, cf. II R. 27, 17ab, or idkêšu *he assembled*; but this does not suit the context, while my reading does so.

3. ina di-ḥi must of course, be ina ṭi-ḥi-(ṭêḥi, *AEI*, 4); so also l. 12, etc. ṭeḥi is the genitive of ṭeḥû to approach, to be near, from טַחַח.⁹

4. itti asi kalbi u šaḥî, with bears(?), dogs and wild hogs (Abel); with wild boars, dogs, and wild beasts (Harper). Did Abel take Harper's boars as an equivalent of bears? šaḥû according to Jensen, *ZA*. I. 179, rm. 2 (not 139, as Abel has), and 306-11, is a wild boar;¹⁰ cf. e.g., šaḥû kanî I R. 28, 23a (*KB*. I. 126). The asi kalbi are mentioned also by Assurbanipal, V R. 8, 12 (*KB*. II. 215); Prof. Haupt in *HEBRAICA*, I. 226, and *ZA*. II. 322 sq. says, it means a pup; also see S^b 2, 12; Jensen *ZA*. I. 307, rm. 2, decides for "a wild animal;" also see S. A. Smith, *Asurbanipal* I., 102 and 111; the plural a-sa-a-ti occurs in *ZA*. I. 307 rm. 1; II. 322 sq.

6. On the Gimmerians and their country see Schrader, *KGF*. 157; Lagarde, *Ges. Abh.* 254; *GGA*. ('84) 260 where Ezek. xxvii. 11 is corrected to גִּמְרִים; also Lagarde *Nominal-formation*; (*GGA*. vol. 35) 77, rm. 2; the niše mat Hilakki are the Cilicians; Hilakku being the חִלְקִי of Ezek. xxvii. 11 (Halévy and Lagarde).¹¹

7. The Gimmerians, um-man Manda; Budge, a barbarous soldier. Harper: an umman-manda. Abel: a manda-warrior. For ummānu,¹² army, see *ZDMG*. 28, 133, No. 8; *DS*. 72; *DH*. 60; *ZK*. II. 302; *ZA*. II. 152, 36; *ZB*. 7 rm. 1; 12, rm. 1 and 20, rm. 3; Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 403. It is the Hebrew הַמָּוֶן as Budge cleverly pointed out, p. 158 of his Esarhaddon (cf. also *HEBRAICA*, I. 229). We have II R. 65, 50 um-ma-a-nu; Khors. 73, 97 and 120; Ištār belit ummani IV R. 1, 69c; puḥḥir ummanka, Senn., v. 23; *Tigl. Pil.* VIII. 81;

⁹ ṭa-ḥu-u = sanaḫu = emedu = kiribu, II R. 48, 26-28 ed.; ina ṭi-lḥ IV R. 27 48b, ṭi-lḥ durišu II R. 67, 24 (*KB*. II. 14 incorrectly di-lḥ) = near to, close by, also la ṭe-hi II R. 19, 53 a; see *GGN*. ('80) 525-6; *Rev. des études futures*, xiv. (No. 27) 159 compares Arab. طَحَّ; *ZB*. 115; diḥû c. st. diḥ is abundance, rain, storm, destruction, cf. *ZS*. 98, and 119; *ZA*. III. 315 and 325, 74.

¹⁰ Dr. Harper writes to me "on šaḥû cf. also Strassmaier in Epping's *Astronomisches aus Babylon*, p. 171; šaḥû = Steinbock, Wez, not tiger, bear, or Stinktier."

¹¹ It is the Greek *Κιλικία*, the *ἡρως ἐπώνυμος* of Cilicia. *Κίλιξ*, was the brother of Kadmos = Arab. kaddimūn = the leader, rather than the man from the East (מִן־הַמִּזְמֶרֶת); both came from 'Asia, i. e., ultu māt ša a-ḡi-e šamši (from the land of the rising sun) see *J. H. U. Circ.*, (No. 81) p. 75 sq.; *London Academy*, No. 945.

¹² An entirely different word is ummanu artisan, tradesman = Heb. אֲמָן (*Cant.* vii. 2) or better אֲמָן (*ōmmān*); *Aram.* אֲמָן; *Syr.* ܐܡܢܐ; it is derived from אֲמָן, while ummānu army is from אֲמָן; V R. 16, 19 gh sq. 89, 48ab; V R. 13, 41ab mar um-ma-ni, *KAT*. 70; Jensen's *Kosmologie*, 414; II R. 67, 70 (*KB*. II. 22) gimir mar um-ma-a-ni ha-as-su-ti (plur.); also Senn. Kuj. iv. 19; S. A. Smith, *Texts* II. 80 sq. (*K*. 588, 81) um-ma-a-ni; *ZA*. II. 229; siḥirti ummani, Senn. i. 31; according to Delattre (*ZK*. I. 110, rm. 1) it means a young man; so also Schrader in *KB*. II. 23; in addition to these see Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 323 sq. and 324, rm. 1 ad deluge 18.

A third word ummanu means heat = Hebr. חֶמֶן; it is associated with kuḡḡu in a syllabary, quoted in *ZA*. I. 247 (*K*. 2022) and see *W*. rm. 1. It is derived from חֶמֶן; *ZA*. I. 256; II R. 54, 34ab šamaš is called ša-maš of um-ma-nim.

With ummanu artisan, Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 323 sq. connects mummu, art (*Sb*. 90); see also Jensen in *ZDMG*. 43, 195 and *ZA*. v. 108 (bel.) against himself in *ZA*. i. 256; cf. V R. 65, 38a en-ku-u-tu a-ši-lb bit mu-um-mu; IV R. 23, 59a ana bit mummu is translated to the

the plural is ummanâte, e. g., Tigl. Pil. III. 48 ummanâte rapšâti; *ib.* VI. 1 ummanâte gabšâte; also see Col. IV. 10; V R. 39, 42ab, we have um-ma-na-a-tum, the ideogram in Col. a being composed of that for amamu to *be wide, large* or rapašu (Sa. v. 8 and 9; DH. 59-60) and çâbu; also see ZK. II. 302; Tigl. Pil. I. 17; the c. st. occurs in Tigl. Pil. II. 16; III. 36, written um-ma-na-at-MEŠ and VII. 59 um-ma-nat (a rare occurrence of nat with the character KUR). The use of the fem. plur. corresponds to that of tuklâte, *armies*. The ummân-Manda, according to Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 10, are not the people of the north, as DW. 226 supposes; l. c. Del. says manda = *depth* and *north*; cf. e. g. IV R. 19, 3-4b, zêr mandi kaḫḫari, *the seed of the depth of the ground*; he explains it as equal to mântu, fem. to mânu = ma'ânu from ען, *to live*; cf. Hebr. מְעוֹנָה (masc. מְעוֹן) *dwelling*; the primitive form ma'ântu became ma'ându under the influence of the preceding nasal, as e. g. in sinundu, sându, tamdu, amdaḫiç, etc. (HF. 43, rm. 2). Also see Latrille in ZK. II. 337. Astyages (Assyr. Ištumegu) is called the king of the Umman manda in V R. 64, 30 sqq.; see Pinches in *PSBA.* (7 Nov., '82) p. 11 and Tiele, *Geschichte*, p. 334. The Kutaeans are called gimir um-man manda in V R. 35, 13. J. Halévy in *JA.* VII. ('86) 333, *ZA.* III. 186-190 and *Rev. critique*, June 23, 1890, thinks, it applies to different peoples and cannot, therefore, be a proper name. Winckler and Delattre, however, apply it to the Scythians (*ZA.* v. 32); Halévy derives mandu and maddu (III R. 63, 38 = fem. ma-ad-tu) with the meaning of barbarians, from madadu = Hebr. מָדַד = 1) *to measure* and 2) *to massacre*;¹³ he refers to passages like 2 Sam. VIII. 2, וַיִּמְדְּם וַיִּמְדְּם Hab. III. 6 וַיִּמְדְּם וַיִּמְדְּם; this explains perhaps the מַדָּה of Is. XLV. 14; Num. XIII. 32.

Dr. Harper complains that in a great many cases it is impossible to obtain from the translation the author's derivations. The same may be said of the sense which the translator wishes to convey to his readers; e. g., Col. II. 8 ina irḫitim (mātu) Ḥubušna: *on the earth of the land H*; or translating urassiba,

house of confusion (!) by Jeremias, *LNT.* p. 73. Cf. also Del. *Chald. Gen.* p. 297; *ZA.* I. 35; it is equal to ummatu = art. V R. 30, 41ab; *ZA.* v. 60, 23 ušapā mar mu-um-me, translated by Brünnow, *she makes glorious the son of Chaos*, but better render = *the son of art, the artist*. Another mummu is found in the phrase Mummu Tiamat DL. 93, I., 4; it is the Μουμύς of Damascus; cf. *KAT.* 7; *ZA.* II. 285, rm. 1; according to *ZA.* I. 240 sq. it goes back to מוּמָם; according to J. Halévy (*Revue des études juives* x. 6-7 and *JA.* v. ('85) 321 it is abbreviated from um-um-mu = מִמָּם-מִמָּם, *grandmother*; cf. ad hoc Jensen, *Kosmologie* 534, col. I.; also *ib.* pp. 322 and 512;

others, again, explain it as = Arab. مومم and render V R. 28, 63 gh. mummu = beltum (ܡܡܡܐ) = *fright*.

¹³ From this verb, meaning *to massacre, to destroy*, Halévy, also derives the man-di-nu and its byform mandanu; on these two nouns see II R. 6, 6; 22, I. It was formerly read niš-ṭi-nu e. g. Del. *Chald. Gen.* 313; also cf. Haupt *Sinifuthbericht*, p. 7; *Lt.* 198, 2 *TSBA.* v. 374 (= midīnu, *tiger*); Zb. 23; *AV.* 5051 and 5055: *ZA.* III. 189; *BAS.* I. 159 explains mandīnu (and mindīnu) as a form מַנְדִּין of madanu, *to howl*; the n being of similar origin as in מַנְדֵּן; also *ib.* p. 173.

l. 9, by *he ran down*; Abel probably looked at Dr. Harper's translation and misunderstood the English, imagining that "to run through" and to run down were one and the same; *rasabu* means to *pierce*, to *kill*, Hebr. רָסַב, Arab. رَسَبَ, V R. 18, 25 ab; *ana rasab nakruti*, I R. 7, F. 7 (ZA. iv. 289); *ra-si-ban-ni* V R. 7, 35; Pyl = *urassib* V R. 5, 110; 9, 85; Ds. 133; Hf. 60; GGN. ('83) 105, 11; the noun *ri-is-bu* and *ri-is-ba-tu*, V R. 18, 26-27b, is a syn. of *diktu*, according to II R. 39, 50.

12. The *mât Tabal*, of course, is תַּבַּל, the Land of the *Tiḡarḡnoi*.¹⁴

14. *ana nir* is not to my yoke, but to any yoke, as Harper has it.

22. Cyl. A reads (*mātu*) *Bar-na-ki* and Cyl. B (*mātu*) *Bar-na-ka-a-a*. Cyl. A *nakru aḡṣu* while B only *lim[-nu-ti]*. *The inhabitants of Til-A-šur-ri* (i. e. Hebr. תִּלְאַשֻּׁרִי) *which in the language of the people of Miḡrana is called Me(!)ta-a-nu*: this *Metānu* can well be identified with the *Mitanni*, whose language has been studied by Jensen, Brünnow and Sayce in ZA. v. 166-208; 209-259; 260-274; also Zimmern, *ib.* p. 154 sqq.

28. *Kutû la sanḡu*, the *Kutû*, the *unsubmissive* (Harper, followed by Abel); the *rebellious, unsubmissive Mannaean*s (Winckler). But *ḡutu* is evidently connected with *ḡatû*, literally to *finish*, thus 1) to *complete, fulfill* = *gamaru* and 2) to *ruin, to do away with*; *ḡuttû* and *ṣuḡtû* (*napištu*) is the technical term for to *kill*, to *murder*; in our passage I take it to be the 3d pers. sing. of the Perm. Pyl with passive meaning, as usually, and translate:

¹⁴ The exact equivalent of Hebr. תַּבַּל is now found in Assyrian; ZA., iv. 261, 33 we read in a hymn *eli nāru eli ta-ba-li*; it is a syn. of *nabālu* cf. *ina tamti u nabāli* V R. 1, 69 (KB. II. 161) = Arab. بَحْرًا وَبَرًا (Haupt, ZK. II. 315) from a root *bālu*; the noun *tabalu*, certainly confirms this etymology. Senn. Smith 92, 72 we read *ana itēšun nabālu ḡabtaku*; IIR. 67, 68 (KB. II. 20-21) *binūt tamtim u nabāli*; III R. 30, 40a, *ina tamtim u nabāli ḡir-re-ti-šu uḡabbīt alaktašu aprus*. According to PSBA. XI. 323 it means a *dyke*, or *river-wall* and is a syn. of *ḡalḡu*. A homonym is *nābālu*, meaning *destruction, ruin*, contracted to *nāblu*; cf. Dr. 156; Haupt in KAT. 66, rm. 2; Dr. 123 sq; ZDMG. 40, 732, 11; Asn. II. 106 *nablu elišunu ušaznin*, which, KB. I. 89, is rendered *fire I let rain down upon them*; following Jensen, who first explained it as *fire, flame* in ZA. I. 64 sqq. and Wiener *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* I. 158, comparing Eth. *nabalbāl*, *fire, flame* and V R. 19, 48 d *ḡamû ša nabli*; V R. 9, 81 *eli (mât) Aribi i-za-an-nun nabli*, *I let rain down fire upon Arabia*; but how about Salm. Mon. Rev. 68 *nabli mul-mul-li eli-šu ušazanin*? this should teach us that *nablu* simply means *destruction* (so also Prof. Haupt in his excellent translation of the Arabian campaign of Asurbanipal in the memorial volume of Dr. Leemans). *Nablu ḡamtu*, Tgl. Pil. v. 42 (KB. I. 83 the *flaming lightning, der flammende Blitz* !(!)); Cheyne, HEBRAICA, III. 175 sq., translates *nabalu* by *storm*. *Nabalîš utîr*, ZA. III. 316, 76, is = *ina tili u kar-mi utîr*; *nāblu*, *destroyer* (for *nābilu*) ZA. IV. 12, 11 *kima nabli*; ZA. v. 58, 32. *Nablu* may have sometimes the special meaning *fire*, but there is no doubt that *nabalu* means to *destroy* in general, not alone by fire (Dr. 67, 10-19; Dr. 123 sq.). Again *nabaltu*, plur. *nabalātu* means *hurricane* (Dr. 67, 17; Dr. 156 a *wasting storm-flood*; Cheyne, simply a *flood*); *nabultu* = *mitu*, *corpse*, Hebr. נַפְלִית, Dr. 67, 11; Dr. 122; V R. 81, 88 d; *nabbilu*, a *grasshopper* (properly: a *destructive insect*), Ht. 22, 422; II R. 5, 19 d; *ad nubalu* in Tgl. Pil. VII. 57 *ša nu-ba-lu-šu kima u-ri-in-ni eli mâtîšu šuparruru*, see ZDMG. 43, 197; KB. I. 43 does not translate it; AV. 2361 reads *ša N U (=la) balušu*; Rec. Past, N. S. I. p. 116 renders it: *whose might like a sling was spread over the country*; and adds *nubalu* (literally, fullness) akin to *nabli* *all* in the Cuthene legend of the creation (Rec. Past, N. S. I. 153, rm. 2).

destroyed was the unsubmissive, the position of the verb before the subject giving color to the narrative.¹⁵

29-31. Harper's rendering *who subdued the armies of Išpaka of Ašguza—an alliance that did not save him—with (his) sword*, is verbatim adopted by Abel. But what alliance is it, that did not save him? I am at loss to see the connection. Winckler's translation (p. 147) is much better. Read *ša ummanāti Išpakâ (mât) Ašguza—kitru la mušezibišu—inaru ina kakki*. It is evident that *šu* refers to Išpakâ and has to be translated (*his*) *great mass of soldiers did not save him*.

31. *tarid*¹⁶ *I who hurled back, drove away Nabû-zêr-keniṣ(!)-lišir (ZA. II. 305), who had trusted in the king of Elam; this one did not save his life* (see for this translation KB. II. 283, Col. III. 34-42); concerning the confusion regarding the spelling of this proper name see ZA. v. 301 bel.

39. *unaššik šepe-ia* is rendered, *he embraced my feet* and in Col. III. 9 and 45, *he kissed my feet*.¹⁷

¹⁵ See Lt. 160; Ls. 63 ad l. 27; Zb. 7, rm. 1; Sc. 214; V R. 61, 53a we read *ina unçi u bubûti napištuš likti in oppression and famine may his life end; bit ša...ik-tu(ma) the house which has been ruined*, K. 82, 29 (BAS. I. 242); *i-ka-at-ti, it ruins* IV R. 4, 28. Perm. ku-zu-ub-šu (IV R. 9, 21, a) *la ka-tu-u* IV R. 23, 12 b; *dibbišunu itti aḫameš ka-tu-u* ZA. III. 217, 18-19; *hiḡba la ka-ta-a*, ZA. IV. 15, 8; *šipir Esagila la ka-ta-a the incomplete work on E. di-in-šu ul ka(?)-ti, his law-suit is not closed nor recorded*, Proc. Berl. Acad. ('89) 825—*Prêl u-ka (var. kat.) ta-a napištuš*, Sarg. Cyl. 27, (KB. II. 42); *ša ukattl'anni* IV R. 21, 14 b; *u-ka-ta-a napšatsunu*, V R. 3, 126; also see KB. II. 258, 17. Perm. ni-si-ḫu eliṣunu gabbīšunu kut-ta-' (Strassmaier, *Liverpool Glossary*, p. 55, b); *Preo. likattâ šanâteša* IV R. 68, 16, b. Šāph'el, *napištašunu u-šek-ti* Tigl. Pil. vi, 67. *Iphtā'āl uk-ta-at-tu-u they have destroyed*, DL. 107, 228; cf. *Jeremias, LNT.*, p. 90; ZA. II. 249. *The enemies uk-te-it-tu-u (have utterly destroyed)* K. 82, 7 (BAS. I. 242). After I had sent the first eighteen pages to Dr. Harper he kindly gave me a few alips of his notes on the Esarhaddon texts, written in 1886. I copy, with his permission, the following ad Col. II. 28: From the context one must give *katû* some such meaning as *objectionable, repulsive(?)*. Can it, perhaps, be connected with the root *קטף* and have some such meaning as *destroyer*? In a letter to me, dated Nov. 20th, Dr. Harper thinks that my rendering does not suit the context. "Of course it may be correct, but in my opinion *katû* must express a quality just like the following *lā sanḫu*."

¹⁶ *taradu*, Aram. *תָּרַד*, *itrud* cf. *da-a-a-ni ik-šu-du-u-ma ana bit šamaš i-ru-bu-u-ma iṭ-ru-du-šu-nu-ti-ma* (Berlin, *Congress of Orientalists*, Vol. II. 1, 337a). *ana marutišu iṭ-ru-su (=iṭ-rud-šu)*, II. 9, 14, b; *ḫ. l. 16 ana marutišu iṣkunšu; iṭrud-šu* K. 2867, 16; *ana zihiki ana taradiki, to expel thee, to chase thee*, IV R. 63 (No. III.) 5; Winckler, *Sargontexte* ad Sarg. An. 294 *iṭ-ru-da*; *ḫ. p. 82, 16 aṭrud mi-ta-a*, which in the parallel account, *ḫ. p. 148, 37* reads *tarid mitâ*; Sarg. Cyl. 24 *tarid*; KB. II. 244, 50, *aṭ-ru-usu adi miḫir mâtīšu I drove him back to the boundary of his country*. The verb *zāḫu*, mentioned above, was first discussed by Guyard in JA. (June, '80) reprinted in Guy. 88. It means 1) to move away, 2) to expel, 3) to bring = *šbalu*; cf. *ziḫute kakkabe the disappearance of the stars*, ZK. II. 402; it is, of course, connected with *zāḫahu to carry off*. Cf. ZA. III. 314, 69 *a-z-ḫu-ḫa-am-ma (var. a-su-ḫa-am-ma: מָצָה)*; Halévy in *Rev. des études juives*, xiv. 158 reads *ḫa-a-ḫu* and compares Hebr.-Aram. *חָצָה*.

¹⁷ For beginners, I will mention here that in Assyrian we have: a) *nasaku, issuk, in-asuk to place, to put*; Guy. § 56; Dg. § 99; Dh. 20, 9; Ls. 12; ZDMG. 40, 719 = Hebr. *נָסַק*, whence *nas'iku, prince*; *massaku* (for *mansaku altar = šurkenu*; V R. 47, 36 a; Zb. 14, rm. 4; 22; (see, however, HEBRAICA, III. 108, 5); Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 487; PSBA. x. 478, 7; ZA. v. 87 sq.; BAS. I. 280. Hr. 13, 183; II R. 32, 7, cf. *ni-sak-ku* followed by *ra-am-ku* and *a-ši-pu* = Hebr. *נִסְכָּן*; the gloss *ni-sak* in Sb. 185 = *niḫû* is, of course, Semitic. From this *nasaku* I also derive the name of the god Nusku, cf. Sb. 212 *nu-us-ku* = 213 *ri-'u*; = the Hebr. *נִסְכָּן* (2 Kgs. xix. 37) as first pointed out by Halévy in JA. xiii. ('79) 387 sq.; also see Dk. 52 rm. 2;

42. na-bi-'- *who tore away* (= aš-lu-lu of Cyl. B). Winckler's translation of this paragraph is much better than Abel's. Nabû belongs to a stem נָבִיעַ, cf. Sarg. Cyl. 26 na-(a)-bi-'-i Gargameš (*KB*. II. 42); Winckler, *Sargontexte*, p. 149, 23 na-pi-'- mât kam-ma-nu; bitu ni-bu-u *ZA*. III. 137 (No. ii.) 12. Some refer to this, such passages as Tigl. Pil. v. 64 mušim-bu (pu) la magire and *ib.* 71 kuradišunu ušimbu (*KB*. II. 34 reads ušimpu from napû) cf. Lyon ad Sarg. Cyl. 36; but read u-šim-kit from מָקַת to *fell*; Amiaud (*Recueil des travaux*, I. 187) derived it from šebu to *oppress* and explained ušimbu for ušibbu, for ušib'u and compared שָׁבַהּ, سَبَا, Aram שָׁבָא. (mât) Bît Dak-kur-ri translated by all (*the country*) Bit-Dak-kur-ri; but *KB*. II. 283 Col. IV. 15 shows that Dak-kur-ri is a proper name, therefore translate *the country belonging to the house* (dynasty) of Dakuru and compare e. g., Hebr. בֵּית עֲמֹרִי = bit-Hu-um-ri.

45. is-ḥap-pu ḥab-bi-lu *the wicked rascal*; for ḥabbilu, see DL. p. 140, DG. 65, 27 on the one hand and *ZA*. IV. 10, 48 on the other; for is-ḥap-pu see *AV*. 3804; Sb. 332; *ZA*. I. 180, rm. 1; ḥap (ha-ap) occurs in Ht. 32, 751 as ideogram for bi-'-šu *bad, evil*; this ḥap, of course, goes back to ḥe-nû to *destroy*; Abel, p. 129 conjectures the stem סָחַף, which is Arab. سَحَف, Eth. saḥába (*ZDMG*. 32, 21 sqq.); isḥappu would then be a form like is-maru, *lance*; inḥabtu *ear-ring*; iš-ka-rû *fetters, chains*; išparu, fem. išpartu; ešmaru *jewel*(?); or does it belong to the same class of compound nouns, to which allu-happu, a scourge, belongs, which is a good Semitic word, notwithstanding *BOR*. IV. 44 sqq.? IV R. 55, 6 ana is-ḥap-pi.

45, read la paliḥu sikri bēl bēlani *who did not heed the command of the Lord of Lords*.

Haupt in *Andover Rev.* ('84) 93; Zb. 26 and 36; Cyrus Adler in *Proc. Am. Or. Soc.* (Oct. '87) xxxii. rm. 1. He is the god of the midday-sun and thus the fire-god, V R. 52, 17, a; 64, 18, b etc. *ib.* l. 42, b, he is called the sukallu ḡiru *the lofty servant, messenger*. I also believe that the name of the god Bu-ne-ne (III R. 66, 30 b; V R. 61, Col. V. 6; 65, 33, b, etc., mentioned always in connection with ilu Šamaš and ilat A-a is Assyrian; it is a form like elēnu, etc., from banû, to *shine* (*BAS*. I. 286 still considers the word an ideogram BU-NE-NE).

b) našaku, issuk, inasak, to *praise, to glorify*; then also to *be precious* = aḥaru (אָחַר); cf. V R. 33, 42, b; 55, 2 and 22, where Nebuchadn. calls himself našku, *the magnificent*; pl. (šip-āt) na-as-ka-a-ti, V R. 14, 26, b; nussuku and sometimes nusuku with resolution of lengthening, Tigl. Pil. VII. 95, and often; nišku, o. st. nišik (dupšarruti) II R. 21, 26, a; 23, 49, a; 33, 67; K. 161, Col. IV.; ZK. II. 12; fem. nišiktu, abnu nišiktu, cf. Oppert in *GGA*. ('84) 333 sq.; Haupt, *Lautlehre*, 106, 16 and rm. 4; Dh. 55, rm. 1; Fleming, *Neb.* pp. 32 and 58; *KAT*. 229, 20; ZK. II. 343; DL. XIV., xv. 34; Zb. 104; *ZA*. III. 311, 56.

c) našaku, iššuk, to *bite*, Ht. 76, 24 šapatsu iššukma u-a pi-šu um-tal-li, *he bit his lip and with woe his mouth was filled* (Dw. 217 sq.), cf. Jerm. xxxi. 19; Homer's *Odys.* XIII, 198; IV R. 31, 21, b taššuka ubanša, *she* (Ištar) *bit her finger, a sign of grief and sadness*; niš-ku, *bite*.

d) našaku, iššik, inasik, to *kiss* = pḏj; Zb. 71; Ht. 119, 21 na-ša-ka-m (written -gam) il-ta-mad, *kissing he learned*; II R. 47, 33, cf. na-ša-ku preceded by ka-ra-bu, to *bless*. P'el unaššik and unaššak (IV R. 9, 59, a sq; and often)

e) na-za-ku (or na-qa-ku) II R. 30, 42, *AV*. 6108; K. 528, 4 ana šarri belī-ia i-na-a-ḡa-ka; ni-zik-tu = Hebr. נִזְקַת (Esther VII. 4); Pinches, *Texts*, p. II., 1 an evil demon; ZK. II. 72.

49. It is interesting to notice the different forms of the pronouns used in the parallel accounts; in our line we have *ekle ši-na-a-ti*; on Cyl. B (*KB*. II. 146) we read *ekle šatina* (cf. Tigl. Pil. VIII. 54 *ši-a-ti-na*) and in Tigl. Pil. IV. 23 we have the combination of the two regular forms: *matâti ši-nâ-ti-na*, a form omitted by Delitzsch in his grammar (§57, No. a).

54. Translate: *and he now bears my yoke*.

55. The (*maḥaz*) A-du-mu seems to be the City of מֶחָז mentioned in Isa. XXI. 11, with the Arabic article.

58. Abel should have mentioned that Harper on p. 30 of *AEI*. remarks: Pinches (letter of Jan. 24, '87) writes "Before *ilanišu* (written AN-MEŠ-šu) I am inclined to read *aššatišu aḥēšu*; the last two characters seem to be almost certain."

COL. III.

1. Begins *aš-lu-la* (Harper) *he carried away as spoil*.

2. Urâ¹⁸ I am inclined to translate *I brought*, (against Harper's *he brought*). "I still regard Sennacherib as the subject of *ûrâ*." Dr. Harper (Nov. 20th, 1890).

¹⁸ Remember that we have:

a) a-ru, II R. 22, 14b = *šētum* of the *anceps*; and arru, II R. 27, 89, cd; *ûb*. 40 arru ša iḥḥuri, DH. 53 derives it from a-ra-ru to *catch*; cf. *irritu aling*; ina arrišu pûrašu ilakḫû IV R. 26, 28; but see *Rev. des études juives* x. 382; also irru II R. 20, 8-10 d; DW. 45.

b) a-ru = *šipat ruḫ-bi* V R. 28, 21.

c) a-ru = *flower*, ZK. II. 25-6; cf. IV 27, 7a, a part of the *pikurtu*, just as the *pikurtu* is a part of the *gišimmaru*; Sb. 200 a-ru; II R. 36, 16 ab; 39, 24 cd; IV R. 1, 40-41, a; 27, 10-11, b; V R. 26, 45, ef; according to ZK. II. 402, No. 7 = *leaf* or, rather, *rimd* of a *tree*; II R. 36, 17 ab a-ru ša nânî are the *scales of a fish*; fem. artu.

d) a-ru = *eagle*; WS. 122, 129 ell narâtišu a-ra-nis ušaprišma I *caused* (my soldiers) to *fly over these rivers like eagles*; syn. of *êru*, II R. 37, 9; 39, 31; V R. 20, 39. Talm. עֵר, אֵר; cf. also a-ar ilu II. R. 5, 39 a; V R. 21, 43 a.

e) *ârû* = to *see*, II R. 25, 5h; followed by ḥāšu to *be light*; *ûb*. 36, 15 ab; 38, 6 and 7 gh; V R. 20, 37, ef = a-ma-ru, to *see*; II R. 35 2' ef; Sb. 211; Ht. 21, 394; = *zimu* V R. 31, 14c; cf. Hebr. אֵר; whence urru = *ârû daylight*; some add here aru II R. 48, 84 gh, ašar la a-ri 44, and ašar la ud-di-i (Inf. P'el of עָר) 45; cf. however, arû to *go*.

f) *ârû*, name of a month = *the bright month*; Hebr. אֵר, as opposed to a-da-ru אֶרֶךְ, the *dark month*, from adâru to *be dark*; DP. 138, rm. 3; DG. §64, rm.; Ht. 44, 2 and 64, 2.

g) *ârû* = *forest*; syn. *kîštum*, II R. 23, 44; Zb. 96; kima a-a-ri V R. 65, 17 b; (*ûb*. 5 and 14); babâti kima âri lirišuku, *like the forest, may the gates exhale towards thee a sweet odor*. Hebr. עֵר may have been borrowed by the Assyrians; cf. BAS. I. 171, rm. 1, and 225.

h) arû, to *go* (Guy §§ 37, 63, and 77 = *alakû*); to *bring*, to *put down* (= adû, יָרַד, and nadû,

יָרַד) V R. 23, 3 gh sqq.; Hebr. יָרַד, to *throw* (Ps. xxv. 8); Arab. يَرِي; Eth. ṡarâṡa, to *drag* = abaku, lekû, šadaḥu, II R. 37, 7 gh sqq.; also to *sprinkle*, II R. 48, 22 gh; Ht. 26, 564 = zara-ku = *salaḥu*; cf. ZDMG. 40, 726, 8; Ls. 15 ad l. 17 (end); ašar la a-ri an *inaccessible place*, IV R. 16, 47, etc.; ana šamê ša la a-a-ri IV R. 15, 6 to *heaven, which is inaccessible*; (cf. ašar la a-ma-ri, IV R. 12, 35), etc. Qāl Imperf. u-ru-ma *he led away* (and), Hn. 10, 45, (*ûb*. 40); urâ I *led away*, WS. 10, 49; 86, 44; Esarh. III. 2 (ZA. II. 305, note 1); urâšu I *dragged him away* Senn. II. 61, iv. 40; IV R. 9, 102; written u-ra š-šu, ZA. IV. 412; Sarg. An. 38, 6 f; u-ra-a-šu V R. 5, 5. Prec. mada lu-u'-ir-ru I *subjugated the country*, ZA. IV. 168, 30; ina aḥati ašar la a-ri li-ru-šu, IV R. 16, 47. Imper. alik ḫādu ittika ḫarimti uḫat u-ru-

4. itti tamartišu kabitti, *with his weighty present*.¹⁹

9. Means, of course, "the injuries, which the figures and pictures of these gods had received, since Sennacherib brought them to Assyria, I repaired; anḥu-sunu = anḥût-šunu, their condition of delapidation."

22. *A thousand* abne be-ru-ti; bēru corresponds to Hebr. בָּהֵר *shining*, Job xxxvii. 21, Aram. בָּהֵר; Arab. يَبْهَرُ بَهْر; Eth. *barēha*, with metathesis of ר and ה, whence Eth. bērhān, *lightning*, = Arab. بَرْهَان; we have in a kaspi bi-e-ri, Berlin, *Congress* II. 1, 329, b; mē beruti *clear waters*, II R. 36, 11.²⁰

23. *A thousand* KUN(GUN-)ZI rikḫi is usually translated: *a thousand ounces of spices*,²¹ Del. *Schrifttafel*, No. 140; but we might also read gun-zi and

ma (*take along with thee*) Hn. 10, 40 (cf. *ib.* l. 45); also p. 9, 19; in Z.A. iv. 8, 23 we have ta(tl)-ri-1' apparently from arū.

Iphtā'āl: ittarū = ittalak; i-ta-ra ultu šadī IV R. 14, 23, a; at-ta-ri, del. 87; Z.A. III. 420; Prec. kullat na-ki-ri lit-tar-ri, linušu (לִנְשׁוּ) liknušu (לִכְנְשׁוּ) ana šepēia) V R. 65, 44, b (or from לָרַר (?)); lit-tar-ru-ni = lu it-ta-ru-ni, so that they should bring Tigl. Pil. II. 96; VII. 88 (or from תָּרַר, to lead(?)). Part. muttarū (*directed*) I R. 65, 2 a etc.

Prēl Perm. urrū-šu IV R. 61, 23 a, *he has led him away* (Zb. 89); plur. ša ur-ru-u maḥar šar māt Kaldi, Sarg. Cyl. 18; ur-ru-u ša šāri II R. 30, 23 efsq. = to blow, said of the wind; *Rec. des travaux* I. ('79) 186, compares Arab. يَرْفِ, to blow; Part. mu'-aru bubulu

Ws. 188, 6; also mu-'ir-ru *leader*.

Iphtā'āl: uttarū IV R. 1, 37 a; cf. me-e mut-tar-ru-u IV R. 9, 51.

Šāph'el: u-ša-ri (var. u-sa-ri) Asm. II. 101 *I entered* and u-še-ri (*ib.* 118).

Derivatives: mu-'ir-ru; urtu; tērtu.

¹⁹ Notice:

a) tamartu, *payment, offering, present*, e. g., V R. 2, 110; 7, 90 tamartu mandattašu kabittu, *the payment of his heavy tribute*. According to S. A. Smith, *Texts* II. 15 from כָּהֵר, to send, as against Schrader-Latrilie from כָּהֵר, to see (Z.A. I. 87); also see DL. 138, rm. 2, and Lyon, *Manual*, 116.

b) ana tamarti šī-ta-as-si-la ḫirib ekallia ukīn in the different colophons, e. g., II. R. 21, 33 a; 23, 67 a; V R. 16, 80; 30, 52; ZK. II. 2, l. 3. Guy. 8845 and 65, to "be seen and to be read;" this is from כָּהֵר, to see cf. e. g., I R. 27, 63-66! Cf. Eth. ammāra II. 1, to show; cf. Z.A. III. 60, above.

c) tamartu = ribu *a quarter of the moon* Z.A. I. 437, rm; probably from כָּהֵר.

d) tamirtu, *in conspectu*, Senn. I. 21; V R. 3, 41 ta-mir-tu (var. mar!) *the city limits* (KB. II. 182-3); cf. Ls. p. 67; DL. 138, rm. 2; Z.A. III. 318, 86 (*horizon*); from amāru to surround (Hebr. הָמַר) tamirtu is the *surrounding of a city*; from the same root also

e) tamirtu *water-reservoir* (HEBRAICA, IV. 53) *water-course*; plur. tameratu, Senn. Bav. according to Del. in LCB. ('82) 1192 sq. from תָּמַר; cf. Hebr. מְקַמְרֵת = מְקַמְרֵת (see Assyrian kamaru); also amiranu, the same.

* We have, besides bēru *shining*, also

a) bēru (plur. berāti, Z.A. III. 318, 87) *well, fountain*, = būru; from būru to catch in pits, Hebr. בָּרָא.

b) bēru, *midst* (properly the condition of being bound, Gebundenheit); fem. bērtu; often = *fortress, citadel*, Hebr. בִּרְרָה; from barā = בָּרַח to bind.

c) bēru, *select*, e. g. Neb. ix. 6 šurmēne niski bērutim, cf. Isa. xxxvii. 24 בְּרִיחַי בְּרִיחַי; çäbe bēru *select troops*, V R. 13, 33-35 od; DP. 75 sq.

d) bēru, *vision*; Ht. 13, 156; 208, 18; for būru; cf. ibri and abrie (ma); ZK. I. 318, rm. 1; bīr mūši = šuttu *dream* = tabrit muši; cf. Hebr. בָּרָא.

* Literally of rikḫu *much* (sun = XI-A = ma'adu Ht. 23, 636); sun, of course, is simply the abbreviation of zunnu *fullness*.

connect it with the late Hebr. גָּנִי c. st. גָּנִי, Esth. III. 9; IV. 7; Ezek. XXVII. 24; cf. Persian گنج Skt. gaṅga, *treasure*; ganzu = *treasure*, III R. 56, 10, a; AV. 1542 = II R. 26 (No. 2) add. gan-zi = ka-na-šu-u; ZK. II. 84, 16-17; gunzi might mean *costly, precious*. Brünnow, p. 103 has GI-KUN-ZI-DA V R. 32, 40 e = ka-an mi-iḥ-ri, on which see Jeremias, *LNT.*, p. 67.

25 sqq. See Delitzsch in ZK. II. 93-94.

If we read mi-šid na-ba-li (instead of mi-lik! nabali = *a journey through a desert land* ZA. II. 112 sq., cf. Ps. XXIX. 10) we have to connect it with mašadu II R. 27, 47 ef; 36, 73 gh; 48, 44 ef; muššudu II R. 27, 48 ef; 48, 45 ef; followed by tašriḥtu and muštariḥu; Ht. 87, 66: akalu ša zumur ameli muš-šu-du; mi-šid-tum ZA. II. 156, 20; mišidtum e-mi-šid = *Tetanus constricted him, he was paralyzed* (II R. 27, 47 sq.); *Rec. Past.*, n. s. I. 27, rm. 5; and KB. II. 280, 20.

26. On tābtu, *coarse sand, gravel*, see ZK. II. 25, rm. 1; KB. II. 206-7, note ad V R. 7, 79; read dābtu, with Harper and connect it with Hebr. דָּאֵב to *languish, to perish from thirst*; cf. Jer. XXXI. 12 and 25; Ps. LXXXIX. 10, דָּאֵבָה Job XLI. 14; and דָּאֵבָה c. st. דָּאֵבָה the *perishing, wasting away* (Deut. XXVIII. 65).

27 sqq. 150 miles of swamps, filled with aban ka-za-bi-ti; comp. Hebr. בָּץ and בָּצָה; plur. bāše I R. 69, 53 a, KB. III. part 2, p. 82; 88. Col. I. 36; 90, 12 sq.; cf. Neb. Senk. 15, a; KB. II. 282, Col. II. 5 ba-aš-ša; for bu-kut-tu-u: translated KB. II. 131 *a thicket and*; ib. p. 147, bu-ḫut-tu-u, *a desert of*; read puḫuttu = *filled with*. Dr. Harper gives me the additional passages, I R. 70, Col. IV. 13 [but see Guy. § 70 and Jensen ZA. I. 409]; III R. 41, Col. II. 33 and 43, Col. IV. 5 [on the former see ZA. III. 237 and on the latter ZK. II. 31.] AV. No. 7122; Dw. 104. According to Wiener Zeitschrift, IV. 120, rm. 1, paḫadu means to *depose* = Hebr. פָּקַד 2 Kgs. v. 24; aban ka-za-bi-ti is aban pi-ša-bi-ti *gazelle mouth stone*; Col. IV. 12 of Cyl. B reads aban KA BAR-KAK, thus showing that šabiti = BAR-KAK = *gazelle*; besides this, a variant has pi-i for KA = *mouth*; cf. II R. 27, 15 cd.

29. On Schrader's kaspu, Abel's kasbu; Jensen's KAS-(GAL)-GID, see my remarks in the *Proc. Am. Or. Soc.* (May, '90) XVIII. sqq., and ZA. v. 301.

31. The aban SAG-GIL-MUT (!) is also mentioned in V R. 30, 75 gh = TAG-BAR-BAR which according to II R. 26, 56, etc. = piḡû, *white*; thus it would be a white stone; also see II R. 37, 67.

38. Begins a new period; cf. Cyl. B IV. 16 (KB. II. 146-7), where we find naḡû šuatu before ša.

35. Read ina ḫi (not ki)-bit, and so throughout; from ḫebû = קָבַע.

36. šal-ṭa-niš attalak, *I marched victoriously*, is translated by Winckler (KB. II. 147, Cyl. B IV. 18) by *with destruction, (unter Verwuestungen)* and derived

from šalaṭu to *cut off* (= Arab. **سلط**; Eth. šaláṭa; Hebr. **שלט**, ZDMG. 32, 21 sqq.; Zb. 103 rm. 1); a syn. of bataḫu, II R. 39, 14 gh.

38. For būšu read šašu and cf. my remarks in *Proc. Am. Or. Soc.* (May, '90) XIX. sq.

46. I read with Harper aḫ-ta-bi-šu a-ḫu-lap. IV R. 62, 45, b we have the same phrase in the meaning of to *proclaim to some one*; it is equivalent to kebû šulma or šulum; cf. Z.A. III. 40 and often in Asurbanipal.

53. The reading Bel-iḫīša we owe to Strassmaier (ZK. I. 70); he is the Babylonian king Akises, mentioned in Berossus; Col. III. 53-IV. 7 are discussed by Winckler in Z.A. II. 305-6.

54. Abel ina mē u ḫan appari; written AŠ A-MEŠ ŠA GI ZUG-MEŠ = ina mē u ḫūḫē; for ZUG is ḫūḫū,²² not apparu.²³

59. Harper's reading and translation is better by far than that of Abel; gu-maḫ-ḫe šuklul šam-na are *large oxen, completely fattened*; cf. Ws. 52, 311, 74; 432; 131, 165 (KB. II. 78-79) gu-maḫ-ḫe bitrutu šu'i marūti; also Ws. 112, 19; V R. 61, 30 d gu-maḫ-ḫe paḫluti *strong, fat bulls* (= alap niḫē II R. 44, 11 f); IV R. 23, 10 a gu-gal-lum, gu-maḫ-ḫu kabis ritu ellitim.²⁴ Gu-maḫ-ḫu and Gu-gal-lum are both of Semitic origin!

²² apparu is ZUG-RA i. e. ḫūḫū (IV R. 26, 51 a) + rahaḫu (Zb. 77, med); V R. 51, 75 b sq.; DL. 93, 6 and 138; ad ḫūḫū see Guy § 49; DY. 241; KAT. 10; Delitzsch in Baer-Del. *Ezek.* p. xv.; Zb. 77; DP. 64, rm. 1; HT. 33, 771; Pinches, *Texts*, IV. 229; it is derived from aḫū, Aram. **אָח** to grow and stands for ḫū-ḫu; cf. Hebr. **אָח** Isa. XLII. 5; Job xxxi. 8. Its original meaning is *dry land* as opposed to water; in Senn. Kuj. IV. 36 it is specialized to the meaning of *island*. DL. 93, 6 we read ḫu-ḫa-a la še'i; IV R. 19, 59, b kima ḫūḫū mūšam u ḫri adāmum; also IV R. 26, 51 a. HT. 89, 28 ša ina ḫirim u ḫu-ḫi-e i-mu-ut (whence Zb. 77 makes ḫiru = ḫūḫū) II R. 8, 30 od; also Neb. Grot. I. 9; Senn. III. 59; Z.A. IV. 241, 33 [ki]-in-ḫi u ḫu-ḫi-e lištešir admanšu. The apparu is the *meadow, the marsh*; according to Z.A. II. 119, 15 and PSBA. x. 390 it is a *ditch, a canal* (= Hebr. **חַפְר**, Arab. **خفر**); plur. apparate (KAT. 345, 19; 351, 1) Talm. **חַפְרִין**. Kan appari (or apparâte) = *reed*; the plur. ap-pa-ri-šunu šam-ḫu-ti occurs in Z.A. III. 314, 70 and p. 330; maḫaz ap-pa-ru V R. 9, 26 (KB. II. 223); ana sa-pan-ni ap-pa-ru (he sent) *into the darkness of the swamps* (K. 509, 8) BAS. I. 241; nār agamme u apparâte; Senn. III. 59 are the swamps and cane-brakes of Guzûmân on the Persian Gulf.

²³ Remember, besides apparu:

a) a-pa-ru to cover, to clothe; DP 54; = Hebr. **כָּפַר** in 1 Kgs. xx. 38 and 41; but Nöldeke in ZDMG. 40, 720 (med.) compares Arab. **كفر**, as Guy. § 7 did before him.

b) a-pa-ru, *head-band, head-gear* = Hebr. **כֶּפֶר**.

c) ap-par-ru-u, *the young of a beast*; cf. Hebr. **פָּרָע**, *the young of a hind*; TSBA. v. 333; ZDMG. 27, 709 (No. 19); Z.A. I. 811 and II. 321; DY. 300. From **פָּרַע** to run something in dust. See especially Paul de Lagarde in GGN. ('88) 4 sqq.

²⁴ For these and other nouns see Do. § 73, rm; he mentions, e. g. paramaḫḫu *holy sanctuary*: a compound of parakku + maḫḫu; tupšarru *tablet writer*, šangamaḫḫu *high-priest*, II R. 58 (No. 6) 70-72; III R. 68, 12 ef; IV R. 8, 51 b šangamaḫḫakûma *the high-priest am I* (BAS. I. 219) not ašši kalā ḫira rabâ, as Jensen ZK. I. 292 reads. Delitzsch, also, quotes kisalluhu, but does not know how to explain it. It is evidently composed of kisallu + ḫu; cf. kisallu and kisalmaḫḫu. Now, the recent articles on the Mitanni language, mentioned above, show that -ḫa, -ḫe was an adjective termination in that language. It could easily have been that kisallu-ḫu, occurring so very seldom, was adopted from that language.

COL. IV.

5. read *gâbe* not *sâbî*.

8. On *bît MUN* see above ad Col. III., 26, = *bît dabti*; Brünnow, p. 132; and *KB.* II. 130 Col. III. 26; 146 Col. IV. 11, where the *a-šar šu-ma-me* is an explanatory addition to *kaḫ-ḫar MUN*.

9. Translate with Harper and *KB.* II. 146 *in the country of the far off Medes*.

10 and 33. Read with Harper and *KB.* II. 146 (IV. 4) *pātu side, border*; cf. II R. 38, 8, *odsqq. pa-a-tu(!), pa-a-tu ki-ri-e, pātu ekli, pātu mâtî*; *ZA.* V. 14, rm. *ša pa-a-ta la išû which has no limit*; *ultu pa-a-ti ZA.* III. 318, 87; *ZA.* IV. 67 (above); ad ideogram, see II R 50, 63 cd.

15. *ana ni-i-ri* not *under my yoke*, but *under any yoke* (also *KB.* II. 147 to be corrected accordingly).

26. *mur ni-is-ḫi rabûti large horses*; but *mur niṣḫu* is not simply horse, but a splendid horse, a charger, so-called as being a noble animal. III R. 38 (No. 2) 62 we have *mu-ur ni-is-ḫe-ia my steeds*; it is a compound of *mûr* (c. st. of *mûru* for *mu'ru*, for *muhru*, Arab. ^{مهر}) and *niṣḫu splendid, noble*. *ZK.* II. 343; *Dg.* §73.

Ṭi-ib matiṣu is not the *produce of his country* but, the choice of his country (so Harper); cf. III R. 4 (No. 7) 61 *ina ṭi-ib lib-bi-šu* etc.

29 sq. Harper reads *aššu ḫazanâti saḫâtu idkušunuti, as for the city officers, faint-heartedness(?) struck them*; *belûti uḫallûma erišuinni kidru, they besought my lordship and they asked of me a treaty*. Abel translates: *Against the city officers(?) whose hand (ša ḫâtu) had ruined them, etc.* Translate: *As for the governors (mentioned in 19 sqq.) which my hand (i. e. my power) strengthened,²⁵ they asked for my lordship and applied²⁶ to me for auxiliary troops (kitru); the vice-regents, the governors, who were near their land, I sent to them.* Ll. 35-37 refer to the king's governors.

36. *u-šak-niṣ-šu* is an exception for *-s-su*; cf. *Dg.* §34, c.

²⁵ *itku-šunuti*, from *takû* = תַּכּוּ, a syn. of *ḫašû* to *strengthen*, to *lift up* (we could also translate whom my hand had lifted up); cf. *Trans. of Leyden Congress*, II. 1, 562; *BAS.* I. 197 sq.; I R. 67, 23, b *at-ki-e-ma*; V R. 10, 74 *anḫûsu at-ki* (*KB.* II. 232-3, wrong); V R. 63, 29, a *l-ga-ru-šu ḫa* (written *ga*-) *a-a-pu-tim at-ki* (but see again *ZK.* II. 344 and *Dw.* 106); v. 53 (No. 4) 15 *u-tak-ku-kan-ni*; also *Neb.* III. 19 and II. 10; *Neb. Bors.* II. 6 *u-šat-kan-ni lib-ba, he made me lift up my heart*. Some compare *Hebr.-Aram.* תַּקַּע, *Eth.* ṭaḫ'ä; *Senn. Bav.* 7 (*KB.* II. 116 sq.) *ti-ik šamê turruga enâ-šun = towards heaven are their eyes turned!*

²⁶ Remember:

a) *erešu* (= *arašu*) to *apply, wish, implore*, *Hebr.* אָרַשׁ, whence אֲרֻשָּׁה *desire*, *Ps.* xxi. 31 = *Assyr.* *ereštu*; *Arab.* وَرَّشَ; *DP.* 55 and rm. 1; *Jeremias, LNT.*, p. 39; *Ws.* 68, 408.

b) *erešu* to *betroth*, *Hebr.* אָרַשׁ (*Prél.*) *Deut.* xxvi. 7; *Talm.* and *Syr.* אָרַשׁ; *Dh.* 10, 21-22; *ZA.* I. 394, rm. 1; whence *erešu, bridegroom* and *ereštu, bride*.

c) *erešu*, to *smell*; e. g. *lirišuka* V R. 65, 17 b; whence *erišu smell, odor*; e. g. *Esarh.* v. 38; V R. 10, 99; 64, 12 *ša e-ri-si* (= *e-ri-iš-ši*)-na ṭābu.

d) *erešu*, to *be sensible, to decide*, *Hebr.* אָרַשׁ; II R. 62, 36 ab, we have *barû, to decide*, with the gloss *u-ra-aš*, which is Semitic, from *erešu*. Derivative: *eršu sensible, wise*; *uršanu mighty*.

45 sq. Tiele (*ZA.* v. 306) translates: *ich liess die Heiligtümer der Städte Assyrien's und Akkad's machen*; i. e. wie immer: *wiederherstellen*. Tiele should have quoted, e. g., Ps. CXXII. 2: יְרוּשָׁלַם הַבְּנוּיָה Jerusalem, the *re-built* city.

Col. IV. 49 sq. to the end of the inscription will be treated together with the accounts of the buildings of Sennacherib and Asurbanipal in a special article on the Sennacherib Constantinople-inscription (*I R.* 43 and 44). Suffice it to point out that

* 53. We have to read šuhupâte instead of parê.

54. be-lu is a general word for weapons.²⁷

57. See *BAS.* I. 228 and 287 sq.

58. See Craig's *Dissertation*, p. 24 (bel.) ad Salm. Mon. I. 10; I. 59 see *Dg.* § 98 (p. 274).

60. *HEBRAICA*, VI. 153 sq. and *KB.* II. 148, Col. V. 7 where ni-ru šu-a-tu is to be corrected to aš-ru šuatu (*HEBRAICA*, *ibid*). The parallel account in *I R.* 44, 57 has ʕu-uḫ-ḫu-rat šubatsa. Not having examined the original myself, I can only accept what others *have* seen, and read with Harper imiḫan-nima.

COL. V.

1. The ḫubut kašti-ia are, of course, like שְׁבִיּוֹת חָרֵב.

2. Read (iṣ)allu tup-šik-ku ušaššišunuti (נְשָׂא) and translate *a chain, the badge of slavery I caused them to wear*: see my remarks before the *Am. Or. Soc.*'s meeting at Princeton (October, '90).

6. Kima aḫaztimma in accordance with *my means* (Harper; *Dw.* 290; *BAS.* I. 321 ad p. 135); Abel leaves it untranslated; Winckler (*KB.* II. 140, 10) reads a-kut-tim-ma and renders: *I separated a large piece of ground for a building ground from the field and added it thereto* (i. e. to the ground, on which the former stood). I translate: *a great mass of earth in accordance with the (building) plan I dug out from the (neighboring) fields and added it to the plot on which the former palace had stood*;²⁸ ad ḫirubû syn. of kaḫḫaru see *KB.* II. 134, Col. V. 6; 148, Col. V. 10 and *Senn.* VI. 35; *I R.* 44, 60.

e) erešu, to *spread*; Hebr. עָרַשׁ, Arab. عَرَشَ, *Dh.* 47, 20; *Rev. des études juives* x. 301 and *ZDMG.* 40, 737, 6; a syn. of rapadu; *V R.* 24, 11 = alaku; whence eršu *couch* and maršu = *ma'alu bed* (Paul Haupt).

f) erešu, to *plant*, Hebr. עָרַשׁ, Arab. عَرَسَ (Jensen, *ZA.* I. 16 عَرَسَ); *Sb.* 292; *Hr.* 12, 98, etc. *V R.* 24, 12 od = na-du-u; derivatives are erešu *garden*; merišu and merištu *plantation* (*ZA.* I. 410); irrišu *gardener* and irrišûtu *plantation*.

g) e-re-šu = sar-ra-tum *V R.* 28, 31.

²⁷ See *ZA.* III. 312, 57; *II R.* 31, 51 c rab be-lī; *V R.* 13, 33 od sq. çabu bi-e-ru *choice-soldier* (*Dp.* 70), followed by çabe be-la-ti(l) and çabe sa-an-nuḫ-ki (פָּנָה); *ZK.* II. 80; *ib.* 39 sq. mu-i-lr çabe and ri'-e çabi, a *captain*, and 41 çabe ki-lq-ri *an army*.

²⁸ "Delitzsch was the first to read *Bauplan* = *Building plan*"; cf. *Dw.* 299; Jensen's reading atartu = *Hinzukommendes, Kosmologie*, 385, should be cited in order to make the note complete. Perhaps also Budge's asil timma *HE.* 178 = *like the line of a rope*." Dr. Harper (Nov. 20, 1890.)

9. Compare the interesting parallel passage II R. 66 (No. 2) 6 ina pēli eški (fāʾl-form) šikittašu ušrabbi.

11 sq. Cf. *KAT*² 354; *KB*. II. 148 and I R. 48, No. 1.

15 and Col. VI. 2 read a-ṭap-pi = Hebr. פִּתּוֹן, *coping* 1 Kgs. VII. 9 and see my remarks before the *Am. Or. Soc.* at their meeting in Princeton (October, 90).

14. Read (iç)ûrê rabuti; ûru being a good Semitic word.

15. Not only e-ri-nu, but also šur-me-nu *cypress*, is a Semitic word, not borrowed from the Akkadian, as I shall show before long.

17. lamassi lête zazâte I reserve for another paper.

18. (abnu) askuppât²⁹ (Abel, askuppi) agurri *Einfassungsschwellen* (Harper; *Dw.* 107); to this Abel objects, translating "*lintels made of brick.*" Abel's objection to agurru = *enclosure, encasement*, is unfounded. agurru does not mean primitively "brick," but a *wall*, and then an *outer wall*; sun-dried bricks were used for inside walls and burnt bricks for outside walls; later on, the latter were called agurru.

19. Abel and others write (abnu) parātu for (TAG) GIŠ-ŠIR-GAL. This is wrong; the giš-šir-gal is not the Akkadian equivalent of parutum; all that we can say, is, that it must have been a stone of white, shining color; the ideograms do not allow us to draw any other inference.³⁰ (abnu) AN-BU-TIR has, of course, to be corrected into (abnu) AN-ŠE-TIR = ašnan-stone; *AV.* Nos. 825 and 8351; Brünnow, No. 7484; S. 997, 3 it is = aš-na-an; *IV R.* 13, 56, b KU AN-ŠE-TIR = ke-em aš-na-an; KU = kēmu (*S^b I.*, Col. III. 5, *ZK.* II. 31); also see *IV R.* 2, 27 c; 14 (No. 3) 9; *Lt.* 116; *ZK.* II. 56, rm. 1 and *ZB.* 99.

²⁹ We have two nouns for lintel:

a) askuppu, *Neb.* IX. 14; plur. askuppe, e. g. *Ws.* 72, 427 as-kup-pi (abnu) pili rabuti (cf. *Dw.* p. 201, Col. b) and

b) askuppatu; e. g. *IV R.* 31 27, b; *Dw.* 16, 57 a; askuptu *Ht.* 17, 282; c. st. as-kup-pat (aban pi-i-li) *ZA.* III. 316, 80; *II R.* 18, 49, cf. *Dw.* 50 and 58; *ZA.* IV. 374, rm. 2; plur. askup-

pâte. It is the Hebr. פִּתּוֹן, *Syr.* ܦܝܬܘܢ (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, p. 127), Arab. أَسْكُفَّة; and is derived from the verb sakapu, ܣܟܦܐ, to *throw down, to lay down*. p in Hebrew and Syriac arose under the influence of the preceding sibilant; notice also the peculiar form as-ku-pit-tu, *DL.* 80, 6; *AV.* 588.

³⁰ The (aban) GIŠ-ŠIR-GAL is mentioned in *IV R.* 64, 69 a = (aban) ZA-GIN-NA (*Dw.* I, b); abnu GIŠ-ŠIR-GAL eb-bi, *Ws.* 34, 202; abnu G. Asrn. I. 93 (*KB.* I. 66 sq.); also *Ht.* 81, 26; šād (aban) G. sa-an-ti ug-ni-i kati-ja u-ma-al-[1], *II R.* 19, 48, b; also *V R.* 6, 49 (*KB.* II. 206); Pinches in *S. A. Smith's Texts*, I. 110; *V R.* 44, 50 ed II Šamaš is called AN GIŠ-ŠIR (cf. *ZK.* II. 361, rm. 1); *V R.* 11, 37, abc, GIŠ-ŠIR = nu-u-ru (*DL.* 127, 36); also *II R.* 8, 8-10; 50, 67; *II R.* 61, 87 we have ŠIR-GUL-LA = E-ŠIR-GAL-AN-NA = bit ša ŠIR-PUR-LA-KI. From all these instances we can infer, that the (abnu) G. = (abnu) II Šamaš rabi or (abnu) nûri rabi (*II R.* 38, 43 c); but this does not warrant the reading parātu, cf. *Dw.* p. 51 (No. 38, rm. 8) and Brünnow, No. 1657 etc. Parātu occurs in *II R.* 67, 80 (abnu) pa-ru-tu; also *Ws.* 72, 421 (not 442 as Winckler has in his index); *Dw.* 128, 160 (= *KB.* II. 76); *V R.* 30 59 gh we have pa-ru-tum, but the Akkadian equivalent is, by no means, GIŠ-ŠIR-GAL!

20. The (abnu) KU- ("I would read TUR-MI-NA; cf. Nebuchad. E. I. H." Harper) MI-NA (this and not Kumina) is mentioned V R. 30, 61, as (abnu) šam-ê.

21. On (abnu) EN-GI-ŠAH see Brünnow, No. 2847; V R. 30, 67, gh; KAT² 30; Hr. 39, 124.

22. (abnu) hi-li-bu is said to be = (abnu) ZA-GIN, V R. 30, 66 gh = ugnû; cf. BAS. I. 506 sq.

23. Render: *the place of their* (not its) *production*.

32. I prefer to read with Harper and Dg. § 65 (No. 35) bitanni = *a palace* Hebr. בִּיתָנִי; the whole sentence should read as follows: bittannu (=bitannu) ša 95 ina išten ammat rabîtim arkat (perm.); 31 ina išten ammat rabîtim rapšat (perm.); on ammatu rabîtu see ZA. IV. 265.

38-47 See Guy. § 95.

40. urattâ bâbeša, cf. KB. II. 235 (V R. 10, 10); I R. 44, 70.

42. BAS. I. 278.

49. (erini) šu-te-mu-du-ti would be a form like šutemuķu II R. 39, 66 and 68 ed; SC. 74; šuteċû (edict) Hr. 30, 697; V R. 21, 31, ab; šutatû, ZA. I. 456; šutetuķu, V R. 36, 52 f; ZB. 14; šutešuru, Bors. 32, a; HN. 24. 5; IV R. 5, 60; also V R. 1, 50; ZA. III. 314, 67; Senn. VI. 28; IV R. 12, 20. Strassmaier and others read ina katê mudûti, *with the hands of my wisdom*.

50. ana mul-ta-u-ti be-lu-ti-a, *for the renown of my lordship* (Harper and Abel); it is evidently the same as ana mul-ta-'-ti-ja (KB. II. 23) translated by Schrader "for a resting place(?) (from na'alu l(?)).

52-54. see also Jensen in ZK. II. 308; 54 (end) he reads u[kîn], but see Harper's AEI. p. 31.

53. a-ĥi-en-na-a, a form, which Abel cannot explain, is a compound of aĥû + enna (for anna, *this*).

COL. VI.

4-6. See my remarks before *Am. Or. Soc.* (Oct. '90).

13. (amelu) ur-ra-ku-ti are discussed by Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 323, rm. 1; Ws. 72, 429; the word is derived from erû, to *engrave*.

14. ad kirâ ċira, a *magnificent park*, or better (iċ) sar-maĥ, cf. KB. II. 234 ad V R. 10, 104; Dg. p. 199 (below).

17. Read ma-gal (not rabiš) and compare ZB. 28, rm. 1; Pognon, *Bav-ian*, 36.

20. Read šuktu (Harper) not šuktu; it is a syn. of atabbu, *canal*; DY. 143; Jensen, ZK. II. 60 = Hebr. שִׁכְתָּא; Senn. Bav. 12 (KB. II. 116).

24. On the lulû see Jensen (KB. II. 234 ad V R. 10, 104).

25. ina kirbiša aċrîma *I invited* or *called into it* (Harper-Abel, follow-

ing Lyon ad *Sargon-stele*, l. 99) from a verb קרא, to call, to invite; but see Jensen ad Asrb. iv. 98 (*KB.* II. 195); akri = *I entertained*; kirêtu *feast, banquet*.

30. The niḱê tašriḫte ebbuti are not merely *clean* (or pure) *offerings*, but victims of powerful strength and clean (Harper); for tašriḫtu see *ZK.* II. 347; *ZA.* II. 81. rm. 3; *BAS.* I. 284.

31. See *BAS.* I. 285.

32. Cf. Craig's *Dissert.* p. 25 (above) and read with Harper ik (not iḱ) ta-rabu.

35. ina ta-kul-ti u ki-ri-e-ti (Hebr. כָּרַה) *HEBRAICA*, VI. 155.

36. Lt. 178 ad Tigl. Pil. VII. 92; Ls. p. 81; *BAS.* I. 323; also *ZA.* IV. 13, 28 and 228, 12.

38. u-ša-li-ḡa nu-pa-ar-šu-un, *I caused their hearts* (spirits) *to rejoice* (Harper); Abel simply: *I caused them to rejoice*. nuparu seems to be a form like nubalu, Tigl. Pil. VII. 57; u-ga-ru *field*, etc.; in *ZA.* IV. 241, 34 we have limmir nu-par-[šu]. Also Ws. 74, 432; 130, 168 (= *KB.* II. 78, 168) and 156, 130.

39. amkira ḡurraṣun; cf. Hommel in *ZDMG.* 32 ('78) 185; and Delitzsch in *LCB.* ('81) 735; from קָרַח, to *enclose*.

40. Ad ṣamnu gu-la-a see V R. 65, 53; *ZK.* II. 344, rm. 1; *ZB.* 98; *ZA.* III. 170-173; *BAS.* I. 323 and *HEBRAICA*, VI. 155, rm.; gu-lu-u = ra-bu-u II R. 13, 22-23; *AV.* 1721; *Ht.* 59, 12 and 15; IV R. 18, 12, b.

42. ina ṭûb šêri, c. st. of ṭubbu, like tur (gimilli) from turru; nuḅ (libbi) from nuḅḅu (*ZA.* IV. 274 sq.) and ḅu-ud libbi, c. st. of ḅuddû, as ti-ik (*KB.* II. 116) from tekû, תִּכָּה; tib from tebû (e. g. tib taḡa-zia V R. 2, 36, etc.); read kabitti (not kabatti and compare V R. 1, 64; *ZB.* 29, 43 sq., Hebr. כָּבִי, Arab. كَبَّي); c. st. kabtat.

46. The ZAG-MUK-KU is treated by Oppert in *GGA.* ('84) 335 and Flemming, *Neb.* p. 37; Amiaud, *ZA.* III. 41. Pognon, *Wadi-Brissa*, 73, 88 sqq.; Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 84 sqq.; *ZA.* v. 123 sq.; zammuku = rêš šatti, I R. 60, 56 b, just as E-ZI-DA = bit kên u (I R. 66, 38, c) and KI NAM-TAR-ENE = parak šimâti (I R. 60, 54, b); also *DG.* p. 199, § 73, rm.

48. be-li unût taḡazi are *weapons*, the implements of war; thus the u-na-at libbi (V R. 61, 26, e, left untranslated in *BAS.* I. 275) are the implements for the interior.

49. Instead of gimir unmâni, as Harper, read gimir ummanâte with Abel-Winckler.

49. Read liš-tab-ru-u with Harper, against Abel's lištapru, which, according to his translation, he considers an Ipht'âl of ṣaparu!

CYLINDER B (III R. 15-16). BY HUGO WINCKLER (*KB.* II. 140-152).

COLUMN I.

1. See Harper, *AEI.* p. 32, bel.

3. Harper *l. c.* 32 says I read ni-pi-sa (so Pinches also). DL. 117, 7 reads ni-pi-ir; *HEBRAICA*, ('87) 148 he adopts Delitzsch's reading.³¹

6. Why not translate literally *I raised my hand (in prayer(?))* (as Harper does).

10. *One day, two days* ul uḫ-ḫi-pa pa-an, *I did not turn around.* Is not this clearly a mistake for uḫ-ḫi pa-an, the pa being repeated by mistake? So at least according to Harper and all others, e. g., *Proc. Am. Or. Soc.* (Oct. '87) xxxv.;³² ul uḫ-ḫi (Arab. وَقَعَ) *I waited not.*

11. Correct Winckler after Harper's translation: *the rear (of my army) I did not see*; 11 b means *the attendance of the horses, the harnessing of the chariots.*

12. Winckler felt that ul before unût taḥazi was out of place; and if his reading nâš (c. st. of našû) can be established it would be a decided improvement. Harper says nothing about the possibility of reading nâš.

13. a-šu-šur = ašur; see Harper, and my note on Senn. v. 30.

14. ḫi-ti-it girrê'a ul ašpuk. Winckler, *my field-tents(?) I did not pitch*; but read with Harper, ḫidêt girri'a ul ašpuk *provisions for my campaign I did not heap up.*

14. Read rag-gu for šalgu and see Harper and *Proc. Am. Or. Soc.* (Oct. '87) xxxv.; my translation of this passage is given in my note on Senn. iv. 75 sq.

15. Read kima (iḫḫûru) si-si-en-ni, so Harper; *BAS.* i. 167, 324; *HEBRAICA*, vi. 154.

16. Winckler ana sa-ḫap; Harper ana sa-kap.

18. Speaking of Ḫani-gal-bat *ZA.* v. 177 rm. 1 says "the reading rab for GAL never occurs;" this applies also to Col. IV. 20 (*KB.* ii. 146).

20. u-šal-lu kakkešunu: Winckler *and brandished their weapons*; Harper, *and forced a battle*; u-šal-lu stands for ušâlu, for uša'lu (𐎶𐎵) and is the present of the P'êl, cf. iḫ-al in Col. II. 11; and my note on Senn. v. 49. *ZA.* v. 306 translates *und zogen die Waffen.*

21. Winckler omits to translate dannî, *of my mighty (battle)*; e-mu-u maḫ-ḫu-ur, Winckler: *and they were affrighted*; so he reads after Hommel,

³¹ ni-pi-ir, would be c. st. to a noun nîpru, from eperu, غفر to cover, *HEBRAICA*, i. 178, rm. 1, etc. *ASRN.* III. 39 (*KB.* i. 100) we read ina kîpina ni-pi-ri lu iḡbat, translated by Peiser, in *Kîpina hatte er eine gedeckte Stellung(?) genommen*; another ni-ip-ru occurs II R. 22, 61; 30, 49; 36, 49 od = ma-a-ru (son) and 58, ab = lîl-lî-du (𐎶𐎵) child; V R. 26, 26 gh sq. = zîḫpu, stalk, *DP.* 83; which latter is = lî-tum (𐎶𐎵) II. 23, 7.

³² uk-ki-pa occurs *KB.* II. 208 (below). ukkîpa adannu = ūme imîd *the time became full.* uk-ku-pu = to happen, II R. 48, 6 od; V R. 11, 19 we read a-ḫip-pu, compared to Hebr. 𐤀𐤕𐤕𐤀 heel, but *Ht.* 113, 19 shows that we have to read a-ṭa-bu, which according to *Dw.* 318 means to attack (𐤀𐤕𐤕𐤀).

Geschichte, p. 689, rm. 2; Hommel, *ibid.*, translates: *they made front*. It is amusing to notice that V R. 1, 84, which passage is referred to for the reading maḥ-ḥu-ur, reads il-li-ka maḥ-ḥu-tiṣ, in Jensen's contribution (*KB.* II. 160; also see *KB.* II. 238, 19); maḥḥutu means *defeat* and illika or êmu maḥḥutiṣ = *he was defeated*, or *was considered defeated*.³²

22-26. see also *Proc. Am. Or. Soc.* (Oct. '87) xxxv.

26. Dr. Harper writes to me, that the translation of line 26 has been omitted through a mistake of the printer. Winckler asks, who stood around Esarhaddon(?) the gods or the troops.(?) There can be little doubt that ittanashaṛu refers to ina puḥriṣunu iḳbû, which evidently means, the men in the enemy's army. After iḳbu (26) I would suggest a repetition of annû ṣar-ani.

COL. II.

1. ituk could also be read mut-tuḳ and this a byform of mutaḳu, *road, way*. For the following, compare Babylonian Chronicle, Col. III. 39 sqq. (*KB.* II. 282-3).

3. Read ṣalaṭ Uruk (Harper).

4. nîtu ilme, see my note on Senn. v. 13; also V R. 5, 76; II R. 35, 9 ab = daḡatû; 36, 7 ab = tu-ḳu-un-tum; ni-i-tum (ša la-me-e) V R. 21 ed; nî'u = zumû; cf. also II R. 24, 45; V R. 21, 44; 29, 24; 41, 61.

7. ṭa-biṣ ušeṣibuni, *they had graciously seated me*; better *firmly* (Harper) or *well*. Cf. V R. 1, 44; Marduk ša ṭabiṣ ibbanû, *who hath been well created*, *ZA.* v. 57, 2; also *ib.* 59, 13; IV R. 18, 35; Tigl. Pil. VIII. 62.

9. Translate, *that one did not fear, did not willingly desist and did not leave my servant in peace*. Cf. ana epiṣ (biti elli) a-ḥi la-a ad-du-u, Tigl. Pil. VIII. 20, (*KB.* I. 44 sq.); V R. 64, 38 a la eḡi la aṣit aḥi la addu *I did not tire* (𐎶𐎵), *did not withdraw, did not desist*. Also see DP. 139 sq.

11. ṣulma or ṣulum ṣarruti'a ša'alu means *to pay respects to my royal majesty*, cf. V R. 7, 89, etc.

14. (amelu) piḥâti ša pâti (as Harper) not piḥûti ša pâti.

17. mamit eteḳu does not mean *to transgress, violate an oath*; translate: *on account of the oath of the great gods, which he had taken* (in former days and now transgressed), Aṣur etc. *laid upon him a heavy punishment* (Harper's translation of annu is good). Also Hebr. 𐤏𐤍 means *sin*, and *punishment* (Isa. v. 18); cf. V R. 8, 10 (*KB.* II. 216 sq., where Jensen has the correct rendering).

21. epṣet Elamti ša.....e-tep-pu-šu (Harper) not i-tib-bu-šu (Winckler).

³² Amiaud's articles (*Revue d'Assyriologie*, II. 11, etc.) should be known to every Assyriologist; also see Zb. 70; Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 336 sq.; DL. 96, 5; *BAS.* I. 13, 8 and 814.

23. u-ḡal-la-a belu-ti: Winckler and others: *he besought my lordship*; I believe that we have to render (his brother came to Assyria) *and asked for the government* (of Elam). Then follows: *I entrusted to him the mât tam-dim* (cf. *KB.* II. 282, 39) *in its whole extent*. I should like to know where in Assyrian literature the meaning "dominion" for *ridûtu*, is warranted; all the passages, which I know, show that it has to do with the harem. I believe that *ridûtu* and *bît ridûtu* can be used promiscuously, and translate *ridûtu* aḥiṣu *the harem of his brother*; the harem must have been of great importance, and therefore special mention is made thereof.

29. *galtu* is a syn. of *rašbu*, *terrible*, cf. *HN.* 60, 7 and 8; *Neb.* VI. 45; *IV R.* 26, 49 a (*ZK.* I. 315, rm. 1); *II R.* 24, 62 gh, we have *agû galtu* (*the raging flood*), followed by *agû nâri* (for *namri*, from *namaru*, to *be fierce*, like *ûmu na'ri* = *fierce animal*, *V R.* 46, 43, ab) and *agû elû*, *high flood*; *gala-tu* is = *nadaru* to *be furious*.

30. *maḥaz tuk-la-ti-šu* is neither the principal city, nor the city of his confidence, but *his garrison, the city of his troops*.

COL. III.

Cf. *Cyl. A.*, Col. II. 6. Winckler might well have followed Harper's example, and supplied the preceding words, for the sake of the context.

5. Read *ṭi* (not *di-ḥi*); *bar-ḥa* might be *maš-ḥa* [at] and mean *the country, which measures* (i. e. extends) *to the neighborhood, borders of Tabal*.

10. Why not read with Harper *ina išâti aḫmu*?

12. *la išû*, means here *they had not committed*, (so Harper); *išû* means as well to *have*, as to *be*.

23. *pa-riḫ* (not *rik-ti*).

COL. IV.

8. *udure* are *dromedaries*.

24. *HEBRAICA*, VI. 154, Harper says "Winckler has accepted the reading of Pinches," but not entirely. Winckler reads *at-ta-di* while Harper-Pinches *aš-ta-di*. I prefer *at-ta-di* from *nadû*; instead of *gu-* read *ḡu-ra-de-šu-nu*.

26. Harper adds [*ip-par-ši-du*] *had fled*; and then connect with *Cyl. A.*, Col. III. 42.

COL. V.

1 sq. cf. *Cyl. A.*, IV. 49 sqq. and Harper's edition of *Cyl. B.*

7. *ni-ru šu-a-tu* should be read *aš-ru šuatu* according to Harper; cf. also *KB.* II. 134, note; Pinches (*AEI.*) seems to favor *ni-*, but that would give no sense, while Harper's reading suits the context.

8. See my remarks before the *Am. Or. Soc.* (Oct. '90).
 11. It is strange that Cyl. A reads *eli-ša! ušraddi*.
 12sq. See *Rec. Past*, III. 107; *DY.* 273; *KAT.*² 336 sq.; 354 sq.; Bezold, *Literatur*, 105, No. 2; etc.
 19. I R. 48 (No. 1), 7 reads correctly XII.

COL. VI.

13. Read *ana arkat* (not *arkût*).
 16. I R. 47, 64 b distinctly reads *mu-ša-ru-u* (var. *šar-u*); V R. 23, 19 reads *mu-ša-ru*; it means *signature*, and is explained by *šitir šumiia*; its etymology is discussed in *ZK.* I. 268 sq.; *ZK.* II. 16 and 425; also cf. *DY.* 142, No. 38; *Guy. Notes*, § 59; *ZK.* II. 353; *DG.* p. 198 sq.
 19. Translate, *so do thou as I did, and look after my signature* (Harper); where does Winckler get his *niḫ-ki(?)*? read *iḫi* (with Harper).
 20. Read *itti mu-šar-e* (Harper); 21 *then will* (not may) *A. and I. hear thy prayers*.
KB. II. 151, No. 1 of the smaller inscriptions, l. 4, *Muḫur* is מַעְרִים *Lower Egypt*, and *Pa-tu-ru* (so, according to Schrader *KGF.* 285, rm. 1) -*si* is *Pathros*: פְּתָרוֹס *Isa.* x. 11 = Παθούρως; while *Kuš* is *Ethiopia*.
 Some notes on the Black Stone (I R. 49) and on Asurbanipal (V R. 1-10 = *KB.* II. 152 sq.) will be published in a future number of *HEBRAICA*; a review of the second half of *KB.* III. is found in *American Journal of Philology*, XI. No. 4.

CORRECTIONS TO VOL. VII, NO. 1.

Page 58, 17 read *Hai*; *ad makkuru* see *BAS.* I. 631; 62, 37 מַשְׁכֶּרֶע; 66, 30 read "see *ad Col. V. 88*, and compare the מַשְׁכֶּרֶע of I Kings VII. 33"; 68, 72 *Aram.* מַשְׁכֶּרֶע; 69 rem. 39 עֲנָא = צֵאן.

THE PENTATEUCHAL QUESTION. III. GEN. 37:2-EX. 12:51.

BY PROFESSOR W. HENRY GREEN,

Princeton Theological Seminary.

B. Ex. 1:1-12:51.

SECTION XIII. EX. 1:1-7:7.

The Divine Names.

Elohim and Jehovah are here used with the same discrimination that we have found to characterize their employment throughout the Book of Genesis. Elohim is appropriate 1:17,21 in the phrase "feared God" as a general term for piety, compare Gen. 20:11; 22:12, the article being added **האלהים** as Gen. 24:18, to indicate that this pious fear was directed to the true God; 1:20 of providential benefits; 2:23-25 where the contrast is between human oppressors of Israel and God who espoused their cause; 8:1 and 4:27 the mountain of God as the scene of a divine revelation, compare 18:6; 4:16 and 7:1 Moses is instead of God as an organ of divine communication; 4:20 the rod of God as an instrument of divine power, compare 17:9. In ch. 8 God reveals himself to Moses as Jehovah, and during this interview the two names are interchangeably employed; thenceforth Jehovah is regularly used (with the exceptions above mentioned, which are for special reasons) until 6:2,3, where God again makes himself known as Jehovah, promising to Moses in his despondency such a manifestation of what this name involved as had never been witnessed before.

A. The Portion Assigned to J.

The bulk of the narrative is as in Genesis given to JE, and the attempt is made to bridge the chasm thus created and produce the semblance of continuity for P by arbitrarily assigning to it a few scattered verses, sundered from their proper connection. In all this the critics repeatedly set at naught their own criteria as well as violate the evident proprieties of the case. The alleged peculiarities of language, style, material and theology are purely fictitious, resulting directly from the division made in this closely connected and regularly unfolding narrative, and do not in any way suggest diversity of authorship.

1. Chapter 1:1-5,7,13,14.

The list of Jacob's sons 1:1-5 is a brief recapitulation of the more detailed account, Gen. 46:8-27, some of whose peculiar expressions it retains, while never-

theless the order of the names is modified into conformity with the like list, Gen. 35:23-26. By almost unanimous critical consent these three enumerations are alike referred to P, which is an admission that the same writer may have occasion to repeat statements before made; and that such repetitions may be no indication of distinct sources. And even though with Kayser, Gen. 46:8-27 and Ex. 1:5a be imputed to R to escape critical embarrassments (which others try to evade by claiming that Gen. 46:8 sqq. has been worked over by R), the identity of Gen. 35:23 sqq. and Ex. 1:1-4,5b remains. Knobel claims Ex. 1:6 for P along with the rest of the paragraph, vs. 1-7, to which it belongs; but as this verse manifestly prepares the way for vs. 8 sqq., the majority of critics cut it out of its connection and attribute it to E, notwithstanding the fact that a previous record of the death of Joseph is also ascribed to him, Gen. 50:26. Verse 7 is also given to P, though he is reputed to have already stated the vast multiplication of the children of Israel in Egypt, Gen. 47:27. And yet immediately after having thus three times in succession referred two statements of the same thing to one writer, the critics gravely affirm that 1:12a is a doublet of 1:7 and 1:11 of vs. 13,14 (HEBRAICA, VI., p. 27), and must consequently be traced to different documents, though each verse is precisely in place in the plan of this admirably constructed chapter.

The enormous increase of the Israelites is depicted 1:7 by heaping together four synonymous verbs, and adding a duplicated intensive adverb. The critics have taken offence at this unusual combination, which is plainly due to the effort to give adequate expression to this most extraordinary case. Nöldeke would erase וַיַּעֲצֹמוּ. וַיִּשְׂרְצֻוּ. Wellhausen and Dillmann וַיַּעֲצֹמוּ וַיִּרְבוּ. Schrader וַיַּעֲצֹמוּ only, as

insertions from a parallel narrative. But פָּרַח, רָבָה and שָׂרַץ are combined in P, Gen. 8:17; 9:7. The verb עָצַם occurs but once in the Pentateuch outside of this chapter, viz., Gen. 26:16, J; so, as Jülicher confesses, there is no reason why it should not here belong to P. רָב and עָצַם are joined together, Num. 32:1a P, and nowhere else in the Pentateuch except in this chapter and in Deuteronomy.

The immense number of Israelites, v. 7, is in obvious contrast to their fewness when they entered Egypt, vs. 1-5, and is the necessary explanation of all that follows, vs. 8-22, the perplexity of the king of Egypt and the stern measures adopted for their repression. The very words of v. 7 are alluded to v. 9 (רָב) (וַיַּעֲצֹמוּ) and v. 20 (וַיִּרְבוּ וַיַּעֲצֹמוּ מְאֹד). The whole chapter is thus solidly bound together, and no room left for the critical assumption that this latter portion is from a different document.

Four measures of growing severity were successively employed to oppress the Israelites and reduce their strength. 1. Taskmasters were set over them, v. 11. 2. As this proved abortive, v. 12, their bondage was intensified, and they were made to serve with rigor, vs. 13,14. 3. The midwives were commanded to destroy the male children of the Hebrews, vs. 15,16. 4. As this did not succeed, vs. 17-21, a like command was given by Pharaoh to all his people, v. 22. The regular progression in these cruel expedients shows that they form a continuous series. The

critics, however, sunder out one of the number and arbitrarily assign it to a different document from the rest. The allegation, *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 28, that "1:13 sq. would logically come before 1:11" is a mistake, since the expressions of the former are more intense and so mark a more advanced stage. However "absurd" it may have been "for them to try the same means again," which had failed before, it is just what persecutors have always done. Why "in this case there would be no ground left for the command to destroy the infants" it is hard to see; after exhausting other expedients the king resorts to this barbarous measure. Verses 13,14 are, moreover, equally bound to the different documents, to P by "rigor" twice פֶּרֶךְ in Pentateuch besides only Lev. 25:43,46,53, to J by "made bitter" וַיַּמְרֵר in Pentateuch only besides Gen. 49:23, while "in brick" plainly points forward to the narrative Ex. 5:7 sqq. J (Well.) E (Dill.), an allusion which the critics seek to evade by erasing the unwelcome word with its adjuncts.

2. Chapter 2:23b-25.

The entire narrative between 1:14 and 6:2 is given by the critics to J or E and a shift made to fill the resulting gap in P by assigning to it 2:23b-25, though these verses are indispensable in the connection in which they stand and it is not even pretended that they contain a single word characteristic of P. And "the covenant with Isaac" is a clear reference to J, Gen. 26:2-5,24; no such covenant is mentioned in any passage assigned by the critics to P. אֱלֹהִים affords no ground for division, since that is the only name of God which has thus far occurred in Exodus.

The suggestion, *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 28, that 2:23a "is out of place," is entirely unfounded. It "does mean that the new king (of 1:8), the severe king died," and cannot mean anything else. But it is neither said nor implied that "the children of Israel groaned over it;" they sighed by reason of the bondage, which did not terminate with his death. Verses 23-25 are preliminary to God's revelation of himself to Moses, ch. 3, and commissioning him to deliver Israel. Two facts are stated to prepare the way for what is to follow. 1. The king of Egypt was dead: it was hence a favorable juncture for Moses to return and espouse the cause of Israel, cf. 4:19. 2. God heard the groans of Israel and remembered his covenant with their fathers; it may consequently be expected that he would interfere on their behalf. With explicit reference to the language here used God reveals himself to Moses, 3:6, and through him to the people, 3:15, 16, as the God of Abraham, of Isaac and of Jacob, cf. 2:24. He adds, v. 7, "I have surely seen" (cf. 2:25 וִירָא), "and have heard their cry" (צַעֲקָתָם), cf. 2:24 וַיִּשְׁמַע; v. 23 וַיַּעֲקֹב. "I know" (cf. 2:25 וַיֵּדַע);* v. 9, "the cry of the children of Israel is come unto me," cf. 2:23. If these verses are

* In consequence of the coincidences in expression between 2:25 and 3:7, Jülicher feels constrained to refer the former not to P but to R.

assigned to a different document from ch. 3, then God speaks in the latter of having heard his people's cry, and yet there is no previous mention of their having cried to him.

3. Chapter 6:2-7:7.

From 2:25 the critics spring at once to 6:2, claiming that this is the true original connection in P, and that all that intervenes is from another source. This is urged upon the following grounds:

1. If 6:2 be joined directly with 2:25, the narrative will be continuous and the sense perfect.
2. 6:2 sqq. is full of references to 2:23-25, showing their intimate mutual relation.
3. 6:2-7:7 is a parallel and independent account of what had already been fully and somewhat variously related before.
4. The representation made in this section differs from that previously given in certain striking and characteristic particulars.

But these arguments do not prove what they are adduced to prove.

As to the first point, the seeming continuity of the narrative, if 3:1-6:1 be omitted.

(1) This is very far from showing that 2:25 was originally connected with 6:2. Distant paragraphs can often be fitted to one another by a little ingenuity so that a reader would not be aware that they did not belong together. This is especially the case with paragraphs, which, as in the present instance, record successive stages in the same transaction.

(2) The connection is perfectly good as the section now stands; there is no incongruity or want of appropriateness in its present position and no reason for seeking to attach it elsewhere.

(3) Moses is suddenly introduced 6:2, and Aaron 6:13, with no previous intimation of their existence and no explanation who they were. This incongruity created by the removal of the very account (ch. 2 sqq.) here presupposed, gives rise to new critical assumptions. Kuenen fancies that P had spoken of Moses and Aaron in some passage which has not been preserved. Kayser gets rid of the allusion to Aaron by referring 6:13-30 to R. Dillmann declines to do this, but with a like view of finding the first mention of Aaron in 7:1 he transposes 6:30-7:5 before 6:13 and places 7:6 immediately after it. Wellhausen undertakes to supply the missing mention of Moses and Aaron by the conjecture that the account of their ancestry (6:16 sqq.) may originally have preceded 6:2, while in its present position and extent as including Aaron's wife and children (vs. 23 sqq.) the genealogy is in his judgment inappropriate and a later addition. The allegation, *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 27, "P knows nothing of Moses' marriage, though mentioning the wives of Aaron and Eleazar," is simply a reluctant confession that this table of lineage intentionally omits what had already been recorded, 2:21,

thus proving itself to be of one piece with the antecedent history. The appositeness of the entire genealogy, every clause of which is in analogy with those previously given, further appears from the fact that it not only introduces Aaron and Moses, who are just entering upon the momentous task assigned them, but likewise Korah, Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, Ithamar, and Phinehas, who are to figure in the subsequent history. This is in precise accordance with the invariable usage of the Pentateuch from the beginning, in which the line of descent of all the prominent actors is scrupulously traced. Nöldeke confesses the suitability of the table in general, but stumbles at the sons of Reuben and Simeon (vs. 14,15) as here uncalled for, and in his opinion an interpolation. Jülicher very properly replies that an interpolator would not have stopped with inserting these two names only, when there was an equal reason for adding all the rest of Jacob's sons. In fact there is a suitability in vs. 14,15 standing where they do to indicate Levi's place as the third in age in his father's family, as is conceded, *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 27. Jülicher proposes to relieve the suddenness of the mention of Moses in 6:2 by transposing before it the entire genealogy with 6:13 as its title, which will thus connect directly with 2:25; although this would place "Jehovah" in 6:13 prior to what he considers the first revelation of this name in 6:2,3. But after all this self-imposed trouble and these fruitless conjectures of the critics, it is difficult to see why the reasons, be they what they may, which led an imaginary R to give to this whole passage its present position, may not have been equally influential with the original writer. This busy tinkering merely betokens a weak spot, which needs in some way to be covered up.

As to the second critical allegation that 6:2 sqq. contain several verbal allusions to 2:23-25, it is freely admitted that God's hearing the groaning of the children of Israel and remembering his covenant, and the bondage, 6:5 refer to 2:23, 24. This shows that these passages are in intimate and designed relation to each other, but not that they were continuous. The language of 6:2-4 is still more closely conformed to that of Genesis, ch. 17, to which there is explicit reference and repeated verbal correspondence; but it does not follow from this that they belong in immediate juxtaposition or that violent critical methods are to be resorted to with the view of bringing this about.

The third allegation of the critics that 6:2 sqq. is a parallel account of the same transaction already recorded 8:1 sqq., is assumed not only without proof but in defiance of clear proof to the contrary. And this baseless assumption is the principal ground of the partitions here made.

(1) It is universally confessed that the connection in which this paragraph now stands and the manner in which it is related show that the author of the book understood this to be a distinct event from any that had been narrated before, and intended that it should be so regarded by his readers. The critics are consequently obliged to assume that R with all the sources in their primitive form

before him held this view which they are able to correct with simply the materials which he has left them.

(2) There are certain features of resemblance between the two transactions, but the time, place and attendant circumstances are different. Here the critics most unwarrantably urge the points in common in proof that they are the same event, and then parade the points of disagreement in evidence that these are variant and inconsistent accounts from different writers, who followed distinct traditions. In reality they only succeed thus in overthrowing their own argument. The discrepancies simply show that the events are, as the writer himself believed and represented, separate occurrences. And the respects, in which they agree, are such as might easily be repeated on successive occasions. It is neither inconceivable nor improbable that God should repeat to Moses, when dejected by the ill success of his first application to Pharaoh, the same assurances that had been given him when first called to this work, that he would make himself known to them as Jehovah, and fulfil the covenant made with their fathers and bring them out of the bondage of Egypt to the land of Canaan. On the contrary this is the most natural thing in the world, and just what might be expected under the circumstances. That he should repeat this to the people, 6:9, and that Aaron who had been made his spokesman unto the people, 4:16, should now be appointed his coadjutor before Pharaoh, 7:1,2 is also a matter of course. All this warrants no suspicion that there is here a fresh recital of what had been related before. Any history whatever could be discredited and endless confusion introduced into it, if on the ground of superficial resemblances distinct events were thus to be identified.

The fourth critical argument from the diversity of representation in this and the preceding section has already been substantially answered so far as statements of facts are concerned, by showing that it indicates not difference of authorship but a difference in the events recorded.

(1) The critics will have it that according to P, God's first revelation to Moses of his purpose to deliver Israel was made not in Midian, nor in the wilderness, but in Egypt, 6:28; and that P knows nothing of Moses having been up to this time anywhere else than in Egypt. It would be better to say that according to the critical partition Moses' previous history is an absolute blank in P; he neither knows where Moses has been nor what he has done, until suddenly and without explanation he comes into view in this transaction. There is no intimation that he had spent all his life in Egypt, nor that this was the first revelation made to him. The contrary seems to be implied in 6:28, where the Lord's speaking to Moses *in the land of Egypt* suggests a contrast with what he had spoken to him elsewhere. The simple fact, uncontradicted by any statement or implication in the whole narrative, is that God first appeared to Moses in Midian and summoned him to his work; he revealed himself to him again in Egypt after his unsuccessful appeal to Pharaoh.

(2) *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 28, "6:2sq. naturally means that God *introduces* himself to Moses as Yahweh, a name by which he has never before been known. But what does that mean in the face of 8:15? Would a writer forget himself so in the same section? Would he use such language and thus contradict a former statement?"

a. One would think that the very absurdity of their conclusions would lead the critics to reconsider their premises. No writer would so flatly contradict himself of course. Nor would any sensible Redactor. Can that interpretation of 6:3 be correct, which puts it in glaring and absolute contradiction with every previous passage in which the name Jehovah occurs? Is it conceivable that R, the presumed compiler of this great national history, used language in 6:3 which gives the lie to the whole antecedent portion of his work? that he in this verse uses language which means that the word Jehovah had never been heard nor uttered by the patriarchs, and yet in repeated passages before avers that it had been in constant use from the days of Eve and Enos downward? And yet the entire critical hypothesis is based on precisely this assumption.

b. It has before been shown, *HEBRAICA*, V., p. 187, that the critical interpretation of Ex. 6:3 is contradicted by the uniform meaning of the phrase in the mouth of God "know that I am Jehovah," which is used no less than twelve times in the immediately following chapters of Exodus with specific reference to the passage before us; it is contradicted likewise by the uniform usage of the phrase "to know the name of Jehovah" as found throughout the Scriptures. These expressions never denote an external acquaintance with the word Jehovah, but always a manifestation of the perfections of Jehovah in human experience. Such a manifestation should be accorded to the children of Israel under Moses as had never been witnessed by the patriarchs. The passage does not concern itself with the history of the word "Jehovah" and no inference can be drawn from it on this subject. Consequently it does not afford the slightest basis of conjecture that it once belonged to a document which sedulously avoided the use of the divine name Jehovah up to this point and thenceforth employed it.

c. But upon any interpretation of 6:3 there is no imaginable conflict between it and 8:15. Even if it meant that the word Jehovah was unknown to the patriarchs, there is no intimation or suggestion that it had not previously been made known to Moses. The charge of forgetfulness or selfcontradiction on the part of the writer is, therefore, on any view of the passage entirely gratuitous.

(3) *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 27, "From JE it would seem that Yahweh was known as the God of the patriarchs (8:15); in P this name is first revealed to Moses."

But according to all the critics 8:15 belongs to E; their uniform contention is that E in ch. 8 records the first revelation of the name Jehovah and they make this the basis of their assertion that it is parallel to ch. 6 and a narrative of the very same event by a different writer. On the critical hypothesis E and P alike

maintain that the name Jehovah was first revealed to Moses; so that even from this point of view the alleged conflict does not exist. But in truth neither ch. 3 nor ch. 6 concern themselves about the time when the word Jehovah first came into use; so that there is no room for any variance between them in respect to it.

(4) It is alleged that according to P, 6:9,12, the people in their dejection and distress would not hearken to Moses, whereas according to J, 3:18; 4:31 they believed his message.

But the seeming conflict is produced by the critics themselves, who confuse two separate occasions. When Moses first spoke to the people they believed; but when they found that the only result of his intervention was to increase their burdens, they would no longer hearken to him. Dillmann acknowledges that there is no contradiction here; that J or E must have given an account of the people's reception of the promise made in 6:1 and that R inserted 6:9 from that account.

(5) Other differences alleged, *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 27, are quite trivial. "In J (3:7) and in E (3:9), God sees the oppression as well as hears their cry (that is, he is near); in P he only *hears*." But it is expressly said in P 2:25 that he sees (שָׁחַד) as well as hears, 2:24; 6:5. "According to P, God listens to Israel simply because he remembered his covenant with the patriarchs; but in JE it is his compassion for their suffering." "Simply" is inserted without warrant; while the title "the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob," 3:6,15,16 JE shows his memory of his covenant. "P knows nothing of Moses' lack of faith; while the prophetic writers make much of it (3:11-13; 4:1-17)." But Moses' original reluctance to undertake his mission was overcome, 4:18; why should it be expected to reappear subsequently in ch. 6? And yet 6:12,30 does show something of the same shrinking and sense of personal unfitness as 4:10.

(6) It is further alleged that in JE 3:18, permission is sought to go three days' journey into the wilderness, while in P, 6:11, the demand made upon Pharaoh is that he let the children of Israel go unconditionally; in JE, 6:1, the king himself is to drive them out, while in P, 7:4, the Lord shall lead them forth without the king's permission; in JE, 4:22, Moses but in P, 7:2, Aaron is the speaker in the presence of the king. These points can best be reserved for future consideration.

The fifth critical argument for sundering 6:2-7:7 from the immediately preceding context is drawn from its language and style which is said to be that of P and in marked contrast with that of the previous section.

But (1) it should be noted that the characteristic expressions of 6:2-4 are all taken from Genesis, ch. 17. "Jehovah appeared unto Abraham;" "God Almighty," Gen. 17:1; "establish my covenant," v. 7; "give the land of Canaan, the land of their pilgrimage," v. 8. God known to Isaac and Jacob as God Almighty is with allusion to Gen. 28:3 and 35:11, both of which passages are also

based on Gen. 17. The repeated recurrence of these and other expressions drawn from Gen. 17 in combination does not indicate that the passages in which they are found are by a different writer from the rest of the narrative, who may be supposed always to employ them in preference to other equivalent phrases. These reminiscences of God's covenant with Abraham naturally clothe themselves in the very language of that great fundamental transaction, so momentous to him and to his descendants. But this does not prevent the same writer from using different forms of speech, when this particular transaction is not immediately in his thoughts.

(2) After 6:2-4, whose expressions are borrowed from Gen. 17, and v. 5* which is similarly related to 2:23,24, the language is no longer purely such as is credited to P. Thus vs. 6,7 "burdens" סבלת; v. 6 "rid" הצייל; v. 8, "bring you into the land," the oath to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, lifting up the hand in token of an oath are all marks of JE, and "heritage" מורשה which occurs but once beside in the Hexateuch, is not the word that would be expected in P. With these are blended other expressions said to be characteristic of P as v. 6, "bondage" עבדה (but see Gen. 29:27; 30:26; Ex. 5:9,11 JE), "with a stretched out arm," for which JE has v. 1 "with a strong hand" (but in Deuteronomy the same writer repeatedly uses both together); "judgments" (also 7:4 and but twice beside in Hexateuch); v. 7, "I will be to you a God" (a phrase borrowed from Gen. 17:7, and here joined with "I will take you to me for a people," which occurs nowhere else in P) and "ye shall know that I am Jehovah." These mixed criteria in vs. 6-8, freely used by the same writer, can only be accounted for by the critics as due to the manipulation of R, and according to Dillmann vs. 9-13 are also made up by R partly from P and partly from JE.

(3) This brings us to the genealogical table, vs. 14 sqq., which Kayser attributes not to P but to R, and Wellhausen only partly to P, alleging that R must have added Aaron's descendants, while Jülicher maintains that the table as originally prepared by P was fuller than it is at present, embracing descendents of all the sons of Jacob, and that a part of it was omitted by R. All insist that it has been displaced and put in an incongruous position. The oddest of all reasons for this displacement is that assigned, *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 28, "in order to separate vs. 10-12 from 29 sq., which are practically identical;" as if it were not apparent that the language of vs. 10-12 is purposely repeated in 29 sq., in order formally to resume the subject interrupted by a brief digression. Dillmann gives the following account of the matter. In his opinion 7:1-5 is the proper answer given in P to the question of 6:12, and originally followed it immediately. But having inserted 9b and 12b_c from J, R adds v. 13 as in sense if not in words the answer

* In 6:5 "groaning" נאנח is counted as belonging to P, though it occurs but once beside in the Hex. 2:24; so "God remembering," but it is found also in JE Gen. 30:32; Ex. 32:13.

given in J; whereupon not to confuse the accounts from his two sources he first inserts the genealogy vs. 12-27, and then returns to the subject by an insertion of his own, vs. 28-30, introducing Moses' objection and adding from P the Lord's answer, 7:1-5; "a procedure" he remarks, "which is very suggestive of the peculiar conscientiousness of R." This seems to mean that R religiously preserves distinct whatever is contained in his sources, even when as in this instance one simply states in a summary form, 6:13, what the other gives in more detail, 7:1-6. How is it then that this same R, according to the critics, has left such serious gaps in his sources elsewhere in even the most important matters, as we have seen in repeated instances? All this critical manipulation shows that the critics are very far from being united in opinion in respect to this genealogy, though in fact it is just where and what it should be.

Dillmann very properly rebukes the prevalent notion among the critics that any degree of incongruity is sufficiently accounted for by charging it upon an interpolation or referring it to R. Why should an interpolator or redactor be imagined to have no sense of propriety? When the decisive point is reached that Moses and Aaron receive their final commission to Pharaoh, the writer pauses to trace their line of descent, then resumes his subject and proceeds as before. No more appropriate place could be found, nor one in better accord with the general plan of the work. There is accordingly no ground for the suggestion that this detailed account of Moses' parentage is by a different writer and one more familiar with his family history than the author of the general statement, 2:1. The particulars respecting his ancestry were purposely reserved until he assumed the leadership of Israel and confronted Pharaoh with his demands on their behalf.

(4) Even 7:1-7 is not free from difficulty for the critics, for one of J's words *אֵת* sign occurs v. 3, which Dillmann thinks it necessary to eject and attribute to R.

All this goes to show that whenever the critics undertake to assign any continuous portion of the narrative to P, they find themselves in trouble.

1. LANGUAGE OF P.*

OLD WORDS.

(1) *נֶפֶשׁ* = person, VI., p. 117. (2) *פֶּרֶה וְרִבְיָה* Sect. 9, Lang. of P. (3) *מֵאֵד מֵאֵד* V., p. 174 (7:19). (4) *שֶׁרֶץ* in J, Ex. 7:28. (5) *אֱלֹהִים* explained before. (6) *אֵל שָׁדַי* Sect. 5, Lang. of P. (7) *הַקִּים בְּרִית* V., p. 174 (6:18). (8) *אֱלֹהִים* only in genealogical tables and hence uniformly referred to P. (9) *תִּלְדוּת* V., p. 152. (10) *שְׁנֵי דָוִי* Sect. 6, Lang. of P. (11) *לְמִשְׁפְּחוֹת* V., p. 174 (8:13sq.).

NEW WORDS.

(1) *יָצָא יֶרֶךְ* in O. T. only Gen. 46:26; Ex. 1:5 P, for which Gen. 35:11 P has *יָצָאוּ*; under other circumstances the critics would have insisted that this was the mark of a different writer. (2) *פָּרֶךְ* in Hexateuch only Ex. 1:13,14; Lev. 25:43,46,58. (3) *יְהוָה* explained before. (4) *רִאשׁ אֲבוֹת* a genealogical term and as such always referred to P.

* The numbers are those of HEBRAICA, VI., p. 26; the references are to previous explanations.

Knobel reckons among the marks of P עָרֵל שְׁפָתַיִם of *uncircumcised lips*, 6:12,30 which occurs nowhere else in the Hexateuch, nor even in the entire Bible. Other alleged marks of P are "Pharaoh, king of Egypt," 6:11,13,27,29, an emphatic combination, which occurs but four times in all the Hexateuch beside, Gen. 41:46; Ex. 14:8 (verses cut out of a JE connection and assigned to P) and Deut. 7:8; 11:3; elsewhere Pharaoh and the king of Egypt are freely interchanged 1:18,19; 5:4,5; 14:5. "The land of Canaan," 6:4, which nevertheless occurs at least fifteen times in JE in the Book of Genesis, 42:5, 7,13,29,32; 44:8; 45:17,25; 46:31; 47:1,4,13,14,15; 50:5 כָּאֶחָד *one hundred*, 6:16,18; this construct form nowhere occurs in J or E, but even the absolute כְּאֶחָד is only found in J, Gen. 6:3; 26:12 and in E Gen. 33:19; Josh. 24:32, unless con-

trary to the usual critical rule the record of Joseph's age, Gen. 50:22,26 and of Joshua, Josh. 24:29 are added; and in these instances the construct could not be used. חֹסֶת *host* applied to Israel, 6:26; 7:4; but both E, Gen. 21:22,32 and J, Gen. 26:26 use this word, and E speaks of Israel, Ex. 18:18 as equipped for war, and 14:19,20 a camp, implying that they were conceived of as an army. שָׁמַיִךְ with אֵל 6:9,12,30; 7:4, while in JE it is construed with בָּקוֹל or לְקוֹל 3:18; 4:1,8,9; 5:2; but J has שָׁמַיִךְ אֵל Gen. 16:11, and E, Gen. 30:17,22. The emphatic and somewhat pleonastic phrase, Ex. 7:6, "And Moses and Aaron did as the Lord commanded them, so did they": but a like phrase occurs 12:28 at the end of a J section from which the critics sunder it for no other reason than their own assumption that it always must belong to P.

2. STYLE.

It is easy to produce from the sections assigned to J and E parallels to all that is alleged of P in this respect, *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 27 sq. How is P more "systematic" (1) in the "résumé of Jacob's family" 1:1-5 than J in Nahor's family, Gen. 23:20-24 or E in that of Keturah 25:1-4? (2) in "the use of אֱלֹהִים up to 6:3 and יְהוָה after it" (which is a mere assumption) than J in the use of Jacob up to Gen. 35:10 and Israel after it, as Dillmann claims? The systematic character of "the genealogy of Moses and Aaron" recognized in (3) and (4) and attributed to P is a sufficient reply to the cavils of critics respecting it.

How is P more "exact, numerical" in mentioning (1) "70 souls," 1:5, than J in 7 days and 40 days and 40 nights, Gen. 7:4, or E in 200 she-goats, 20 he-goats, 200 ewes, 20 rams, 30 milch-camels, 40 kine, 10 bulls, 20 she-asses, 10 foals, Gen. 32:14 sq., or 2 wives, 2 handmaids and 11 children, v. 22? or (2) the age of Levi, (3) Kohath, (4) Amram, (5) Moses and Aaron, than E in that of Joseph, Gen. 50:22,26 and Joshua, Josh. 24:29, not to speak of Gen. 37:2; 41:46 which are torn from their connection in order to assign them to P? or (6) in the recurring genealogical formulae than J in the births recorded, Gen. 29:32-35?

P is called "rigid, stereotyped," because of the constant use of the same phrases "at the opening and closing" of genealogies and "summing up" each subdivision. Genealogies are mostly assigned by rule to P,* so that there is small

* The occurrence of יָלַד in certain genealogies and הוֹלִיד in others has been made a pretext for assigning the former to J and the latter to P. This was traced by Kurtz, as stated *HEBRAICA*, V., p. 188, to variations in the old genealogical registers themselves, from which Moses has given extracts. It is observable, however, that הוֹלִיד is invariably used in the main line of descent and יָלַד as invariably in the side lines; to this 10:24 is no exception as it is here the antecedent of v. 26, and 17:20 is not in a genealogy. The more dignified word seems thus to have been set apart for the former, and the less dignified restricted to the latter, which certainly has the look of purpose rather than accident and may be more naturally explained as intentional variation by one writer, than the chance commingling of different writers.

opportunity to compare JE in this respect, yet see Gen. 22:23b; 25:4b, and ch. 36, considerable portions of which are assigned to J, though the critics are in much perplexity and disagreement. JE, however, is equally marked by the frequent use of identical phrases elsewhere, e. g., bring them into a land flowing with milk and honey, unto the land of the Canaanites and the Hittites, etc., etc., 8:8,17; 13:5; 33:1-3; cf. also 23:23; Josh. 8:10; 24:11; "the land which he swore to Abraham, to Isaac and to Jacob," Gen. 50:24; Ex. 33:1; Num. 32:11; Deut. 34:4; cf. Ex. 18:5,11; 32:13; Num. 11:12; 14:23; Jehovah, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob, Ex. 3:6,15, 16; 4:5; ויקר וישתחו "bowed the head and worshiped," Gen. 24:26,48; 48:28; Ex. 4:31; 12:27; 34:8; Num. 22:31; "not believe nor hearken to the voice," Ex. 4:1,8,9; "I will be with thy mouth and teach thee what thou shalt say," Ex. 4:12,15.

How is P more "verbose and repetitious," "(1) 1:1b," than E in Gen. 40:5a; 41:11,12? or "(2) 1:7" than the amplification of J in Gen. 15:18-21, or even Gen. 8:22? If "(3) 2:24a adds nothing to 23b," does 3:9 E add more to 3:7? If "(4) 2:25" and "(5) 6:4b are unnecessary," how is it with 5:5b after v. 4 E, or 4:10 "of a slow tongue" after "slow of speech" J? (6) Is Aaron's wife more minutely described than Nahor's wife by J, Gen. 11:29? "(7) either 6:26 or 27 is wholly unnecessary." This is a mistake: v. 26 states what the Lord said to Moses and Aaron, v. 27 what they said to Pharaoh.

3. MATERIAL.

The "duplicates," "inconsistencies," "cases in which R's work appears," and most of the "differences" have already been explained. It is sufficient to add that (1) and (2) of the "differences" are confessedly to be accounted for "as co-existing facts." (3) "In J (3:7) and in E (3:9) God sees, etc., in P he only hears;" this overlooks the explicit statement in P 2:25 and God saw ויֵּרֶא. (5) "According to JE, Israel is spoken of by God as his people (3:7,10); but in P, he is just about to make them his nation (6:7)." This again overlooks 6:4 P, "my people the children of Israel."

4. THEOLOGY.

If "(1) the cry of the suffering goes up to God, 2:23," P, so it does 3:9 E; if in J God "comes down," 3:8, a like condescension is implied elsewhere in P in God's dwelling in the midst of his people, Ex. 29:45,46, filling the tabernacle with his glory, Ex. 40:35, and going up from Abraham, Gen. 17:22 and from Jacob, Gen. 35:13 after conversing with them. And here God's delivering aid is granted, which in Scripture phrase is as far as possible from being "remote." (2) "He only hears of their suffering, 2:24," (this is not an adequate paraphrase of "hearing their groaning"); "JE he sees it as well 3:7,9," so he does in P, 2:25. (3) "He only speaks to Moses, 6:2,10; 7:1; in JE he appears visibly, 3:2 sq." This

like the other things alleged only results from the critical sundering of what belongs together. Even thus, however, God tells Moses, 6:3 P, that he had "appeared" to the patriarchs, but was about to make a more ample disclosure of himself to Israel. And when Moses spake "before the Lord," 6:12, P, there may be a suggestion of a visible manifestation, which seems to be corroborated by 5:22 "Moses returned unto the Lord."

"God's revelation is formal: (1) his compassion is due to a promise made to the patriarchs, 2:24; 6:4 sq." God's gracious love to Israel for their fathers' sake is equally implied in JE in his announcing himself to Moses and to the people as the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, 8:6 sqq. "There is no familiarity between him and Moses; he simply orders; there is no sign, no persuasion as in JE," In point of fact there is the same condescending grace to Moses in his discouragement 6:31-7:2, P, as in his initial timidity, 4:10-16, J, and God promises, 7:3 P, "to multiply his signs in the land of Egypt."

"There is no indication of anthropomorphism." "The covenant with the patriarchs is emphasized." If I am capable of judging, these two sentences are contradictory. "In the prophetic writers there is no mention of" this covenant. What then is meant by God's calling himself the "God of their fathers," 8:13,15, 16; 4:5, or by Gen. 15:18 J or Gen. 50:24 E?

B. The Portion assigned to J and E.

A glance at the conflicting modes of division, which here prevail, as they are exhibited, *HEBRAICA*, VI., pp. 28 sq., 32, is sufficient to show the hopeless perplexity and confusion in which the critics find themselves. This is frankly confessed, *ibid*, p. 35. (1) "It is freely admitted that the *prophetic* portion of this section does not show very distinctly, or even satisfactorily, a double authorship. (a) There are no duplicate stories (i. e., in a full form); (b) the language also is but a poor guide, owing probably to R's influence. [It is very convenient always to have R to throw the blame upon]. (c) Not even the names of the Deity are to be relied on implicitly, being freely intermingled. (2) We may, therefore, expect—what is actually the case—to find the greatest variation of opinion among the critics. So for instance, Kuen. and Kitt. pronounce the analysis of JE in the *early* chapters of Exodus, at least, almost impossible." When it is added that there are "sure traces" and "long passages clearly belonging to either writer," we shall see hereafter what these amount to. As to P being "very marked when contrasted with JE," we have already seen the insufficiency of the grounds for any such partition.

1. Chapter 1.

Omitting the verses assigned to P, Wellhausen partitions the remainder of the chapter by giving to J v. 6 (as a doublet of Gen. 50:26 E), vs. 8-10 the pro-

posal of the new king (as related to J in language), which is severed from its proper basis in the immense multiplication of Israel, v. 7 P in spite of the evident allusion of *more and mightier* רב ועצום v. 9 to *multiplied and waxed mighty* וירבו ויעצמו v. 7. These words must accordingly be cut out of v. 7 as a part of a hypothetical sentence belonging to J. The same words recur, v. 20b, and must be once more sundered from their connection and given to J, though there is nothing to which to attach them. Then follows v. 22 the barbarous edict issued by the king to his people to murder all male children, which thus becomes the first and only measure of repression resorted to, instead of the last desperate expedient after all others had failed. Moreover, v. 22, thus sundered from vs. 15-20, which are essential to its proper explanation and limitation,* would not apply specially to the children of the Hebrews. It is also sundered from 2:1-10 E, of which it supplies the necessary explanation. The residue, vs. 11,12,15-20a, is referred to E, and is an unexplained fragment, whose only reason and motive is found in J vs. 8-10.

Kittel abandons this division, though for the sake of finding the multiplication and consequent oppression of Israel in J as well as E he retains vs. 20b,22 for the former, the inconveniences of which have been already shown.

Other critics give up the attempt to separate what is so plainly indivisible and assign the whole to E. This is attended with the difficulty that subsequent sections of J as well as E imply this very narrative, and with the further difficulty that certain words elsewhere alleged to belong to J are here combined with those of E. Hence it has been assumed that though written by E it has been retouched by J, or that the words in question were introduced by R from a supposed parallel narrative by J, a further trace of whose existence is suspected in the imaginary doublet of v. 20a and 21. But v. 21 is obviously a more definite expansion of the general statement, 20a. And the assumption that these are traces of a parallel narrative otherwise unknown like similar assumptions with which we have met repeatedly before, has no basis but the hypothesis which it is adduced to support. A much more natural conclusion, which must stand until the contrary is proved, is that words thus bound together in one continuous passage are the common property of one and the same writer.

2. Chapter 2.

Wellhausen assigns vs. 1-10 to E and vs. 11-23a to J. But vs. 11-14 cannot be separated from what precedes. "When Moses was grown," v. 11, alludes to the previous narrative of his early childhood; "he went out (וַיֵּצֵא) unto his brethren" to his having been "brought in (וַתְּבִאֶהוּ) unto Pharaoh's daughter," v. 10; "their burdens" as 1:11; Egyptian and Hebrew, vs. 11-14 as 1:15,16,19; 2:6,7; "made thee prince over" (שָׂם שָׂר עָלָי) v. 14 as 1:11.

* The verbal correspondence between v. 22 and vs. 17,18 *saved alive* is also to be noted.

Accordingly Schrader and Dillmann give vs. 1-14 to E and vs. 15-23a to J. But vs. 11-14* is as essential to what follows as to what precedes. Moses is the brave defender of the weak and injured alike in vs. 11, 12 and in v. 17. His flight, v. 15, was in consequence of its being known that he had killed the Egyptian. Schrader's notion that the motive assigned in v. 14 differs from that in v. 15 is set aside as futile by Dillmann and Jülicher. The peril in its becoming known was that it would reach the ears of the king. "The men who sought thy life," 4:19, are, as the form of expression shows, 2:15a, cf. 18:4, Pharaoh and his emissaries, and the death of the former is recorded, 2:23a.

Dillmann rests the division on the difference of names, Reuel 2:18, and Jethro 3:1 E; and then oddly enough annuls his own argument by insisting that there is a textual error in the name, 2:18. Instead of "Reuel," he says it should be "Hobab, the son of Reuel," as Num. 10:29. But if a change is to be made from mere conjecture, without even the pretence of any ancient authority, why not read "Jethro, the son of Reuel," as Ewald proposed? This would have a *quasi* confirmation from the LXX., which critics are fond of urging when it makes in their favor, so far at least as that Jethro is there introduced into 2:16, 17. But then all pretext would be gone for assigning 2:15-23 and ch. 3 to distinct writers, and that is not what Dillmann wants. Wellhausen and Jülicher find no difficulty in ascribing 2:15 sqq. and 3:1 sqq. to the same writer, by expunging Reuel from the text of 2:18; and so the former gives both to J, the latter both to E. All which illustrates the ease with which a critic can effect his purpose; if the text does not suit him, he can construct one that will.

But if, as Dillmann contends, the same person could not have written Reuel, 2:18 and Jethro, 3:1, how could an intelligent redactor, who expected his work to be credited and understood, have put those sections together in their present form? The critics tell us that he introduces explanatory remarks upon occasion and even alterations for the sake of harmonizing discrepancies or removing difficulties. That he left the text as it is, may then be taken as a clear indication that he saw nothing that required explanation, and no discrepancy to remove. If therefore, as we must suppose, the statements here made were in the judgment of R mutually consistent and sufficiently intelligible, why may not the original writer have been of the same opinion? and why may not one and the same writer have produced both paragraphs? We fully accord with the remark of Dr. Dillmann already quoted that nothing is explained by charging incongruity upon R.

The passages before us are to be compared with Num. 10:29, Hobab, Moses' חֹתָן, the son of Reuel, cf. Judg. 4:11. They contain, as Kurtz remarks, *Geschichte d. Alten Bundes*, II., p. 53, two elastic words, viz., *father* which may be

* The falsity of the critical dictum that the same writer must always make use of the same words, is well illustrated by Jülicher from vs. 11-14, where וַיֵּלֶךְ and וַיֵּלֶךְ, וַיֵּלֶךְ and וַיֵּלֶךְ are interchanged in the same brief passage.

used either of an immediate parent or of a grandparent, and רִמְיָן which like the Greek γαμβρός may denote either a father-in-law or a brother-in-law. Hence arise various possible solutions, any one of which is a sufficient answer to the charge of discrepancy.

1. Reuel, father of Zipporah as well as of Jethro and Hobab, brothers-in-law of Moses.

2. Reuel, grandfather of Zipporah and father of Jethro = Hobab, father-in-law of Moses.

3. Reuel = Jethro, father-in-law of Moses, and the father of Hobab the brother-in-law of Moses.

This last seems to me altogether the most satisfactory. Reuel was his proper name and Jethro or Jether, Ex. 4:18 (i. e. Excellency) his official designation.* And there is no more difficulty in their being successively used in the same connection than if one should first name President Harrison and afterwards refer to him as His Excellency.

While Wellhausen gives 2:11-23a to J, and Dillmann vs. 15-23a, Jülicher insists that vs. 1-22 belong to E and only 23a to J. Verses 16 sqq. are plainly related to 8:1 by their common reference to Moses' marriage to the daughter of the priest of Midian and the flock of the latter. They are intimately linked with both of the documents, as the critics regard them, viz., with 18:2,3 E, cf. 2:21,22, a coincidence which Dillmann can only account for by assuming that J has here copied from E; also with 4:19 J, which evidently refers to 2:23a, which latter as evidently points back to 1:8 E. While thus assigning, each in his own varying fashion, one portion of the narrative to J and another to E, the critics confess that each document contains implications of and allusions to what is found only in the other. They find it impossible so to construct their documents, that they shall be independent of each other. Serious gaps are left in J, which need precisely what is given in E to fill them, and *vice versa*. Only Jülicher ventures the conjecture that E may have been the only narrator, who told of Moses' rescue by Pharaoh's daughter, J may have spoken briefly of the oppression in Egypt, and then, without knowing anything of children put to death by midwives or Egyptians, may have proceeded at once to the history of Moses. But even he is obliged to assume not only that J and E are mutually supplementary, but that P shows abundant marks of acquaintance with them. Such references from one of the alleged documents to another, of which we have found repeated instances, are indications of a common authorship.

Wellhausen is alone in the attempt to make out a separate narrative of J in ch. 2, which after all he confesses cannot be carried through. This is done by

* Posset יְתֵרוֹ Jethro nomen esse muneris aut dignitatis, ut Pharaoh; nam יֵתֵר dignitatem significat. Atque hoc videtur sensisse Josephus, II., 12, 1, qui ἐπικλημα esse dixit Ἰεθραίων. Clericus Comment. in Ex. 2:18.

interpreting vs. 1,2 to mean that Moses was the eldest child of his parents, and then slicing from vs. 6 and 10 such portions as make no mention of Moses' sister, thus producing the semblance of another form of the story in which she has no part, but which runs thus "and behold, a weeping babe, and she had compassion on him and he became her son. And she called his name Moses, and said, Because I drew him out of the water." Meanwhile the omission of these clauses does not disturb the apparent continuity of the principal narrative. This is a fair specimen of the method, which Wellhausen everywhere employs in his attempts to establish duplicate narratives, and which is in fact adopted by that class of critics generally. It is ingenious and clever but baseless. How entirely arbitrary it is and how void of all historical value are results so obtained, is apparent.

3. Chapter 3.

Knobel assigns this and the two following chapters to J, who has here in the main not written independently but transcribed two older documents. One of these, which he calls the *Rechtsbuch* or Law-book, is represented in ch. 3 and is continued in 4:18,27-31, but in this latter section with additions by J. The writer of this document uses *Elohim* interchangeably with *Jehovah*, as is seen in the frequent alternation of these names in ch. 3; he agrees with P in holding that the name *Jehovah* was first introduced in the time of Moses, 3:14sq.; he calls Moses' father-in-law not *Reuel* as in 2:18, but *Jethro*, 3:1, or *Jether*, 4:18; he speaks of the elders accompanying Moses when he went to Pharaoh, 3:18; of the women as borrowing or asking for jewels of gold and silver and costly raiment from their female neighbors, 3:22, to put upon their sons and daughters to wear in the feast which they were to observe in the wilderness, while according to 11:1 the borrowing was by every man and every woman and 12:35, by the people without distinction of sex.

The other document, which Knobel calls the *Kriegsbuch* or Book of Wars, is represented in 4:19-26, which is the direct continuation of 2:11-22. The writer of it agrees with P in making Moses demand the complete and unconditional release of Israel, 4:23, and Moses is to perform the signs before Pharaoh, 4:21. These older narratives agree with each other and with P in speaking only of miracles wrought upon or in the presence of the Egyptians, 3:20; 4:21.

On the other hand, 4:1-17 is by J himself, and tells of miracles wrought by Moses as his credentials before the Israelites, vs. 1 sqq. makes Aaron the speaker even with the children of Israel, vs. 16,30 regards Moses' shepherd staff as the rod with which the miracles were performed, v. 2, and records how Moses presumptuously declined the divine commission, v. 13, while the older accounts only speak of doubts or scruples which he entertained. Knobel further points out in minute detail the peculiar diction of each of these writers severally.

The little weight attached by critics themselves to such nice discriminations in style and in conception appears from the fact that these divisions of Knobel, sharply as they are made, and with all the array of minute distinctions both in thought and language, which he urges in their favor, have not been adopted by any of his critical successors. In fact nothing is easier than to create such factitious distinctions in any narrative. If it be divided into parts, and the separate parts be then compared together, it will of course be found that one does not relate precisely what is in the other. Each particular portion of a narrative tells its own part of the story and this naturally enough is not identical with what is told in the remaining portions. The points, in which one supplements the other, are not to be paraded as divergences, so long as there is no real variance. And a varying diction is not to be assumed because the writer has occasion to use words in one section which he does not need to employ in another.

The perplexity of the critics in ch. 8 arises from such an intermingling of what they regard as the criteria of different documents, that it is impossible to separate them. The one point in which they all agree is in assigning vs. 10-15 to E, and this not on the score of any peculiarity of diction, but simply because the fundamental postulate of this divisive hypothesis requires it. The primary assumption that a distinguishing feature of J is the use of the name Jehovah from the beginning, while in E it was first revealed to Moses, necessarily carries with it the ascription of this passage to the latter. But in all the rest of the chapter they are at sea. Wellhausen, though he acknowledges that the entire paragraph 8:1-4:17 creates the impression of unity or of one casting, nevertheless gives 8:1-9, 16-20 to J (with traces of E), and vs. 21,22 to E; Jülcher 8:7,8,16-22 to J, vs. 1-6,9-14 to E; Dillmann, the whole chapter to E (with traces of J).

When the alleged criteria of different documents are thus inseparably blended, the critics lay the responsibility upon R, who has not followed one document exclusively, but is supposed to have introduced words or phrases from an imaginary parallel in the other. But

(1) This is supporting hypothesis by hypothesis, and no particular reason can be given why R should have done this here and in other instances in which the like assumption is made.

(2) Such an assumption, moreover, undermines the very basis of the entire critical hypothesis. The determination of distinctive marks for the documents, by which the whole analysis is conducted and is held to be justified, takes for granted that the extracts from each have been preserved in their original form. If this is not the case, the foundation of their argument is gone. If R has blended and confused these documents with the frequency and to the extent that the critics are themselves obliged to assume, where is the guarantee that he has not done the same in other instances?

(3) What hypothesis, however unreasonable, could not be successfully main-

tained, if everything at variance with its requirements is held to be sufficiently accounted for by attributing it to R?

(4) The obvious inference from the premises before us is not that the text is at fault, nor that R has jumbled his sources together, but that the critics are not infallible. Their previous conclusions are based on insufficient data. What they have taken to be marks of distinct writers, are here shown to belong alike to one and the same.

4. Chapter 4.

The critical analysis of this chapter is based on certain alleged discrepancies, which are no discrepancies at all.

(1) After the Lord appeared to Moses in Horeb and commissioned him to deliver Israel, Moses asks, v. 18, and obtains permission from Jethro to return to Egypt. In v. 19 the Lord bids him to return to Egypt, assuring him that the men are dead, who sought his life. And it is gravely represented that these are mutually exclusive, which they manifestly are not.

(2) It is charged that v. 20a, in which Moses takes his wife and sons with him to Egypt, conflicts with 18:2sq. from which it appears that they were subsequently with Jethro,—not, as the critics infer in direct contradiction to its express language, that he left her behind, but he *sent her back*. This clause the critics strike out and assign to R for no reason whatever, except that by doing so an apparent contradiction can be created. Those, to whom it is not an accepted canon that everything is to be expunged from the text, which establishes its coherence and consistency, will see no contrariety here.

(3) In v. 20, we read of Moses that “he returned to the land of Egypt.” And yet in the following verse the Lord says to him “When thou goest to return into Egypt,” etc. This, it is claimed, is not a continuous narrative. But the explanation is perfectly simple. Upon the first mention of his setting out the general statement is made, as is usual in Hebrew narrative, respecting his whole journey, “he returned to the land of Egypt.” The incidents of the journey are then recited particularly, his taking the rod, the Lord’s direction to him what to do with it, and what to say to Pharaoh, the affair at the lodging-place, and the meeting with Aaron.

(4) Wellhausen further charges that v. 27 is not the sequel of vs. 24–26, for at the lodging-place where the latter incident occurred, Moses was already beyond the mount of God, where Aaron was to meet him. How he knows where the lodging-place was, he does not inform us. But supposing him correct in this particular, the whole point of his objection lies in the assumption that a continuous narrative cannot deviate from the exact chronological arrangement of every detail. The writer here chooses to follow a topical order instead. As he has mentioned Moses’ wife and sons, v. 20, he mentions an affair in which they

were concerned before proceeding to speak of his meeting with Aaron who was to act with him upon his arrival in Egypt. The chronological sequence does not lie in the initial term *וְאַהֲרֹן*, but in the transaction, which it introduces, vs. 27-31, considered as a whole. See numerous similar examples in the discussion of Gen. 2:19; *HEBRAICA*, V., p. 148.

(5) It is alleged that vs. 17, 20b, 21 the rod with which Moses was to do signs before Pharaoh is quite a different conception from vs. 1-9, which records a series of miracles designed to accredit Moses before the people, in only one of which a rod is mentioned and that not as the instrument but as itself the subject of the miracle. Hence it is claimed that v. 17 does not refer back to the rod of vs. 2, 4, but to some narrative not preserved, in which a rod was consecrated and endued with miraculous virtue for Moses' use in Egypt. But there is not the slightest discrepancy here, nor any suggestion of different narratives. All proceeds regularly and continuously. Moses was solicitous lest the people would not believe that the Lord had appeared to him, and the Lord gave him a series of signs to convince them. He was further charged to work miracles before Pharaoh, and for this purpose was bidden to take "this rod," i. e. the rod which had been changed to a serpent, as 7:15 explicitly declares. This testimony the critics seek to evade by ascribing it to R, it being their invariable usage to put an unwelcome witness summarily out of court.

(6) Wellhausen and Jülicher find an inconsistency between vs. 10-12, in which, upon Moses' plea of incapacity to speak, the Lord promises to be with his mouth, and vs. 13-16, where his continued reluctance is overcome by associating Aaron with him, as though Aaron's help were more reassuring than that of God himself, and besides in chs. 7-11 it is not Aaron but Moses who speaks to Pharaoh. On critical principles, then, vs. 13-16 must be by another writer than vs. 10-12, J; it cannot be by E, who gives no such prominence to Aaron, nor by P, whose parallel they find in 7:1, 2. Wellhausen and Jülicher accordingly refer it to Rj (who combined J and E). But Kittel aptly replies, why should Rj introduce Aaron here, if he was not mentioned in either of his sources? If this is a case of redactional interference, it can only be attributed to Rd (who added Deuteronomy) or Rh (the final redactor of the Hexateuch), who sought to conform this passage to P's representation. But even this, he urges cannot be so, for the manner of its introduction shows that this was not inserted by the Redactor purely of his own motion. If he were disposed to lay stress on Aaron's presence, and claim for him a prominent share in these transactions, he would have inserted his name elsewhere, or at least whenever Moses came before Pharaoh. But just there it is lacking. This, then, is not something bodily introduced by the Redactor with a purpose; it must have belonged to the original text.

Kittel suggests the possibility that J may have mentioned that Aaron was to be associated with Moses, though not to speak, and this may have been modified

by Rd in 4:13-16 into accordance with P. But the same difficulty arises here as before, that upon this supposition Rd would have made more extensive alterations in what follows. His only resource is to assume that J is itself composite, one of its constituents representing that all goes forward without Aaron, the other assuming his presence and co-operation.

But all this critical floundering is unnecessary. It grows out of the attempt to create a discrepancy, where, as Dillmann has shown, none exists. God's promise to be with Moses is not withdrawn in making Aaron his coadjutor, but he engages to be with them both. And Aaron is to assist Moses, not supersede him either in speech or action. The Lord says, v. 15, "I will be with thy mouth and his mouth and will teach you what ye shall do." Moreover, as this was intended to quiet Moses' anxiety lest the people should not believe him nor hearken to his voice, 4:1, it is unto *the people* that Aaron was to speak for Moses, v. 16, as it is recorded v. 30 that he actually did.

(7) Verses 27-31 are a puzzle to the critics, no one of whom has yet been able to bring them into accord with the marks which he has laid down for distinguishing the documents. Wellhausen admits the close connection of these verses in their present form to be undeniable and that they cannot be parcelled between distinct writers. The gathering of the elders, v. 29, cf. 3:16, and doing the signs before the people, v. 30, cf. vs. 1-9, point according to his scheme to J, who ascribes these acts to Moses. Hence he concludes that in the original form of vs. 29-31, it must have been Moses, who spake to the people and did the signs. Rj inserted Aaron along with him, and prefixed vs. 27, 28, that Aaron as well as Moses might have the honor of having previously been at Horeb.

Jülicher credits Rj with a still larger share in the production of these verses. As he assigns 3:16 to E, and makes it a mark of distinction between J and E, that the former speaks of the people and the latter of the elders (not J of both, as Wellhausen), the elders as well as Aaron must have been interpolated in this passage of J. J merely wrote "Moses went and gathered the children of Israel and did the signs before the people." Rj is responsible for all the rest of vs. 27-30.

Dillmann, who concedes that vs. 14-16 belong to the original record and assigns them to J, has no difficulty in reconciling the part attributed to Aaron in vs. 27-31 with their composition by J. But as on his division E speaks of the elders, 3:16, and J of signs wrought and words spoken before the people, 4:1 sqq., 16, he is obliged to parcel these verses between J and E. To the latter he assigns 4:29 and the middle clauses of 31, leaving to J vs. 27, 28, 30 and the first and last clauses of 31. E wrote "And Moses ['and Aaron,' of whom E says nothing is an interpolation by Rj] went and gathered together all the elders of the children of Israel. . . . and they heard that Jehovah had visited the children of Israel and that he had seen their affliction." J wrote "And Moses told Aaron all the words of

Jehovah wherewith he had sent him and all the signs wherewith he had charged him. . . . And Aaron spake all the words which Jehovah had spoken unto Moses and did the signs in the sight of the people. And the people believed . . . and they bowed their heads and worshipped."

The perfectly arbitrary character of all these divisions is obvious. The critic, on the basis of his partition elsewhere, lays down marks to distinguish the documents, and then carries them relentlessly through, however the passages to which they are applied may be mangled in the process. The plain fact is that none of the critical schemes can be made to fit this passage. It gathers up in itself references to and exact correspondences with the entire preceding narrative, which the critics insist upon sundering, but whose unity and common origin are here palpably demonstrated.

(8) Certain dislocations are also alleged, which require transpositions of the existing text for their correction. Thus, Dillmann urges that vs. 22,23, though belonging to J, are inappropriate where they are and must originally have stood just before 10:28. As vs. 20b,21 are assigned to E, v. 22 would in J connect directly with v. 20a, so that the very first message, which Moses is instructed to deliver to Pharaoh on his return to Egypt, is the announcement of the last of all the plagues, which was not in fact made till 11:4. And further, according to v. 23 (Hebrew text and Revised version) the demand had already been made upon Pharaoh to let Israel go and he had refused. But all the seeming incongruity is the work of the critics themselves, in sundering what belongs together. It is their thrusting v. 21 from the text, which has destroyed the connection and made all the trouble. Moses is there bidden to do all those wonders before Pharaoh, which God had put in his hand, viz., those that were to be wrought by the rod given him for that purpose, v. 17, but is at the same time informed that in spite of all Pharaoh's heart should be hardened and he would not let the people go. Thereupon it is entirely in place for God to inform Moses of the final result of Pharaoh's obstinacy, and of the message which he shall not immediately indeed, but at the proper time deliver to the recusant monarch. And there was a special reason why this disclosure should be made just then and why the fact should be recorded precisely where it is, as preliminary to the occurrence at the lodging-place, vs. 24-26. God's instrument in avenging Israel against Pharaoh cannot be suffered to be himself regardless of the obligations of an Israelite.

Again, as 4:19 plainly refers back to 2:23a, Wellhausen and Jülicher infer that they belong together, the former claiming that the original place of 2:23a was immediately before 4:19, and the latter, on the contrary, that 4:19 ought to stand immediately after 2:23a. Each succeeds in creating a new divergence between the documents by the transposition. Wellhausen finds that in J Moses resolved to return to Egypt as soon as he received the commission to deliver the children of Israel, 4:18; but in E the direction to return was not given

until a later time after the king of Egypt had died. Jülicher by reversing the transposition discovers that in J Moses had already returned to Egypt before God appeared to him to bid him deliver the people, while in E he was still in Midian when this occurred. It is plain enough that neither discrepancy is in the text: they alike result from a critical process, which is altogether unwarranted.

As the discrepancies and dislocations, which are the only pretext for a critical division of this chapter, turn out upon examination to be imaginary, the division built upon them collapses entirely.

5. Chapter 5:1-6:1.

This passage is according to Wellhausen borrowed entire from J, as shown by the correspondence of 5:3 with 8:18, and נָשִׁים vs. 6,10,13,14 a different word for "taskmasters," from שְׂרֵי מִסִּים 1:11 E, though he notes two words for "task" or "tale" מַתְכֵּנָה v. 8 and תָּכַן v. 18,* and a redundancy of expression in vs. 4,5. In 5:1 he claims that R has substituted "Moses and Aaron" for "Moses and the elders," which according to 8:18 J must have written.

As, however, Dillmann gives 8:18 to E, this entire passage takes the same direction with him, for which he further pleads the occurrence of פָּנֵעַ vs. 3,20, showing upon what slender grounds the assignment of whole chapters hither and thither may be made. He traces the hand of R in the omission of "the elders" v. 1, the insertion of Aaron vs. 1,4,20, "hold a feast," v. 1, instead of "sacrifice," as 8:18; 5:3, etc., the doublet v. 5 (cf. v. 4), v. 9 (which has a word of P עֲבָדָה and one of J שָׁעָה), 11b (which he fancies would be more appropriate after v. 13), and v. 22 where "returned" is introductory to the renewal of Moses' commission, 6:2sq., and is therefore unwelcome to the critics, who will have it that this is no renewal at all but simply P's account of what E had already described in ch. 3. These alleged manipulations of R, as we have repeatedly seen, merely betoken critical embarrassment and are an acknowledgment that the passage is not in these particulars, what according to the critic's scheme it ought to be; an acknowledgment, which is but scantily covered up by the assumption that R has been borrowing snatches from a hypothetical parallel narrative in J.

Jülicher assigns vs. 1,2,5 to E and the remainder to J, assuming that Rj inserted Aaron, v. 1, and erased from v. 3 "Moses and the elders of Israel," which he supposes to have been expressed as the subject in its original form; though if Rj made this erasure because in his view no other than Aaron was associated with Moses in this transaction, why did he not erase "the elders of Israel" from 8:18 likewise?

* Jülicher remarks that like variations in the use of terms occur several times in the preceding chapters within the limits of what is accounted the same document, and are common in good writers; moreover these very words תָּכַן and מַתְכֵּנָה occur together in the same verse, Ezek. 45:11.

It is of course easy enough for the critics, by the aid of R, to construct a text that will suit their hypothesis, as the present text manifestly does not. The combination here of "Moses and Aaron" will not answer either for Wellhausen's J, or for Dillmann's or Julicher's E. It enters its decided protest against the sun-dering of 8:18 from 4:14-16; which is a feature of every critical scheme. That "the elders" are not particularly mentioned in 4:1-3 is not due to any manipula-tion by R, as the critics think it necessary to assume. It merely shows that the writer was not so painfully precise as to record subordinate details, which were sufficiently implied in statements already made. It is plain enough from 8:18 that the elders were to accompany Moses and Aaron when they went before the king. Their presence was altogether subsidiary and it is simply taken for granted without further mention that the divine direction was complied with.

The minute and complicated apportionment, which the critics make of the next section, the narrative of the plagues, is based upon a rigorous demand for the explicit statement of every minute particular, which as the instance before us plainly shows is not always to be expected, a refusal to admit implications how-ever obvious in lieu of it, and insisting upon finding a divergence in trifling variations in the form of statement, which are readily explicable without such an assumption.

1. LANGUAGE OF J.

OLD WORDS.

(1) בָּקָשׁ see Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (2) הָרַג also in E, Gen. 20:4,11; 27:20, etc. (3) יָרֵחַ Sect. 8, Lang. of J. (4) נֶרֶשׁ HEBRAICA, V., p. 154 (also in E and P). (5) מָדוּעַ Sect. 7, Lang. of J (also in E). (6) מָדוּר Sect. 6, Lang. of J (also in E). (7) הֶצִיל Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (8) אִידָּה also in E, Gen. 22:7. (9) לִמְדָּה זֶה Sect. 6, Lang. of J (also in E). (10) עָזַב also in E, Ex. 22:5; Josh. 8:17; 24:16,20. (11) יָאֵל (Hiph.) also in E. (12) יָהוּדָה. (13) צַעֲקָה Sect. 6, Lang. of J (also in E). (14) וַעֲתָה also in P, Gen. 48:5 and E, Gen. 21:22, etc. (15) שָׁמַע בְּקוֹל Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (also in E). (16) שָׁלַח יָד Sect. 6, Lang. of J (also in E). (17) נָא Sect. 12, Lang. of E (also in P, Gen. 24:8). (18) בִּי Sect. 11, Lang. of J. (19) אָנֹכִי Sect. 5, Lang. of J (also in P, Gen. 22:4, often in E). (20) נָם...נָם Sect. 12, Lang. of J (also in E and P). (21) חָמֹל שֶׁלֶשׁ Sect. 8, Lang. of E (also in P). (22) חָרָה HEBRAICA, V., p. 163 (also in E). (23) לִקְרָאתָ Sect. 5, Lang. of J (also in E). (24) שֵׁם HEBRAICA, V., p. 154 (also in E and P). (25) כָּאֵן Sect.

10, Lang. of E. (26) מָלֹן HEBRAICA, VI., p. 22. (27) אִם Sect. 12, Lang. of J (also E and P). (28) קָרַד Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (29) שָׁעָה Ex. 5:9 and only Gen. 4:4,5 in Hex. beside. (30) עָנִי Gen. 16:11; 29:32 J; 31:42; 41:53 E; Ex. 3:7,17; 4:31 J (Well.) but E (Dill.). (31) חֵיק Ex. 4:6,7, in Hex. beside only Gen. 16:5; Num. 11:12. (32) אֶרְנִי also in E, Gen. 20:4.

NEW WORDS.

(1) רָלָה Ex. 2:19^b J; 2:6 E. (2) מִכְאוֹב Ex. 3:7 J (Well.), E (Dill.); all in Hex. (3) יָד חֲזָקָה Ex. 12:9; 22:11 J; Num. 20:20 E; Ex. 3:19; 6:1 J (Well.), E (Dill.). (4) וָנֶב Ex. 4:4 J; all in Hex. except twice in Deuteronomy. (5) שָׁלַג Ex. 4:6 J; Num. 12:10 E worked over by J; all in Hex. (6) אֵלִים Ex. 4:4 J; all in Hex. (7) פָּקַח Ex. 4:11 J; 23:8 E; all in O. T. (8) רָפָה *let go* Ex. 4:26 J; Q&l only here in Hex.

* The numbers are those of HEBRAICA, VI., p. 30.

It will be observed that no characteristic diction is made out for J; nearly all the words in the foregoing lists are found also in E.

2. LANGUAGE OF E.

OLD WORDS.

(1) הָרָהֵב see V., p. 176, Lang. of J (רָהֵב). (2) הוּא Sect. 6, Lang. of J. (3) שֵׁם Sect. 13, Lang. of J. (4) קָרָא (happen) Sect. 11, Lang. of J. (5) פָּרַץ Sect. 8, Lang. of J. (6) מְדוּעַ Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (7) טָרַם V., p. 155, Lang. of J. (8) הָרָה V., p. 155, Lang. of J. (9) חָמַר verb Ex. 2:3 E, all in Hex; noun, Gen. 11:3 J (Dill. J); 14:10 special source (Dill. E), Ex. 2:3 E; all in Hex, (10) יָלַד also in J, Gen. 32:23; 38:1-14; 44:20. (11) יָאֵר also in J, Ex. 4:9; 7:25,28; 8:5,7; in P, 7:19; 8:1. (12) אָמַח Sect. 6, Lang. of E, referred by rule to E. (13) נָדַל Sect. 6, Lang. of J. (14) טָמַן Sect. 9, Lang. of E (also in J). (15) אָמַן Sect. 8, Lang. of J. (16) אָנַח Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (17) עָתָה V., p. 155 in J. (18) נָא Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (19) נָתַן (permit) Sect. 6, Lang. of E (also in J). (20) פָּן V., p. 155, in J. (21) לִבְנִים Gen. 11:3 J (Dill. J); Ex. 1:14 P (this word cut out solely on account of its evident allusion to ch. 5); 5:7,8,16,18,19 J (Well.), E (Dill.). (22) פָּנַע Sect. 8, Lang. of E (also in P). (23) תְּמוּל שֵׁשֶׁם Sect. 13, Lang. of J. (24) עַל-כֵּן Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (25) אָוִן Sect. 6, Lang. of J. (26) גָּם....גָּם Sect. 12, Lang. of J. (27) לִקְרָאָה Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (28) דְּבִיטָה Sect. 6, Lang. of J. (29) הָלַם Gen. 16:13 J; Ex. 8:5 J (Well.), E (Dill.); all in Hex. (30) פָּנַשׁ Gen. 32:18 E; 33:8 J; Ex. 4:24,27 J (Dill. and Well.); all in Hex. (31) פָּוִץ Gen. 10:18; 49:7; Num. 10:35 J; Gen. 11:4,8,9 J (Dill. J); Ex. 5:12 J (Well.), E (Dill.); all in Hex. except three times in Deuteronomy. (32) עִבְרִי Sect. 6, Lang. of J.

NEW WORDS.

(1) מִלֵּדָה Gen. 35:17; Ex. 1:15-21 E; Gen. 38:28 J; all in O. T. (2) צָפַן Ex. 2:2,3 E; Josh. 2:4 uncertain whether J or E (Dill.); all in Hex. (3) חָרַב Ex. 8:1 J (Well.), E (Dill.); 17:6 E (Dill.), uncertain; (Well.) 33:6 E, and repeatedly in Deuteronomy; כִּי is commonly referred

to P or J, but occurs in E, Ex. 19:11,18 (where Dill. says it was introduced by R from J), Deut. 32:2. Sinai is the name of the particular peak from which the law was given, Horeb a more general term for the whole cluster of mountains. While Israel lay encamped at its base, and in reference to laws enacted there it was natural to use the term Sinai; prior to God's descent upon Sinai and subsequently when they were at a distance, in the plains of Moab, as in Deuteronomy, it was equally natural to say Horeb.

(4) סָקַח Ex. 3:2,3,4 J (Well.), E (Dill.); Deut. 33:16 E; all in Hex.

(5) שָׁל נֶעֱלָךְ וְגו' Ex. 3:5 J (Well.), E (Dill.); Josh. 5:15 J; all in O. T.

(6) לִדְוִץ noun Ex. 3:9 J (Well.), E (Dill.); Deut. 26:7; all in Hex; verb, Ex. 3:9 J or E; 22:20; 23:9 E; Num. 22:25 J; all in Hex.

(7) נִפְלְאוֹת Ex. 3:20 J (Well.), E (Dill.); 34:10 R; Josh. 3:5 E; all in Hex. [Josh. 5:9 cited VI., p. 34 is probably an inadvertence for Job 5:9.]

(8) רִיקָם Gen. 31:42; Ex. 3:21; 23:15 E; 24:20 J; all in Hex. except twice in Deuteronomy.

(9) נִגַּשׁ Ex. 3:7; 5:6,10,13,14 J (Well.), E (Dill.); all in Hex.

(10) שָׁמַר Ex. 5:6,10,14,15,19 J (Well.), E (Dill.); Num. 11:16 J; all in Hex. except Deuteronomy and passages in Joshua referred to D.

(11) קָשַׁשׁ Ex. 5:7,12 J (Well.), E (Dill.); Num. 15:32,33 P or a later addition to P; all in Hex.

(12) בָּאֵשׁ Gen. 24:30; Ex. 8:10 J; 7:21 E; 5:21; 7:18 J (Well.), E (Dill.); 16:20,24 P; all in Hex.

RARE WORDS.

These, of course, afford no indication of a writer's ordinary diction.

(1) Nowhere else in Hex., a, גָּמָא 2:3; b, זָקַת 2:3; c, סוּף 2:3,5; d, מִשְׁה 2:10.

(2) Nowhere else in O. T., a, אֲבָנִים (birth-stool) 1:16; b, לִבְת 2:2; c, נִרְפִּים Niph. 5:8,17.

It will be seen how total is the failure to establish any characteristic diction for

* The numbers are those of HEBRAICA, VI., p. 34.

E; almost every word in the above lists occurs likewise in J. Nearly the entire narrative portion being given to J or E, and only a few insignificant scraps reserved for P, it is to be expected that a large proportion of the words employed will not be found in the latter.

J and E are so indistinguishable in "style," "material" and "theology," that they are considered together in all these respects, *HEBRAICA*, VI., pp. 30, 32, 35. This is an admission that no argument can be thence derived for sundering J from E. The only thing calling for remark is the following summary of "E's special characteristics," *ibid.*, p. 34.

1) "This writer calls Mt. Sinai *Horeb*, 3:1." Explained above under "New Words" (3).

2) "An angel appears unto Moses, 3:2." So also to Hagar, Gen. 16:7-13 J; Lot, 19:1 J; Jacob, 32:24 (cf. Hos. 12:4) J (Well.); Balaam, Num. 22:22-35 J; Joshua, Josh. 5:13-15 (with explicit allusion to Ex. 3:5) J; to which in all fairness should be added Abraham, Gen. 22:11,15, though v. 11 is by the critics referred to E in spite of the name "Jehovah," and v. 15 though admitted to be akin to J in thought and expressions is ascribed to R.

3) "Moses' name is repeated in calling, 3:4." There are but two other instances of such repetition, Gen. 22:11; 46:2, the former of which ought on critical principles to be assigned to J; in other passages in E the name is not repeated, e. g., Gen. 31:11; 22:1,7; 21:17.

4) "Fondness for 'three days' journeys," 3:18; 5:3." So J, Gen. 30:36; Num. 10:33b, cf. also Josh. 9:16; P, Num. 33:8.

5) "Even after recording the revelation of the name *Yahweh* in 3:15 sq., he continues regularly with אֱלֹהִים in the rest of his narrative, e. g., 4:20,27.*" So far is this from being the case that the critics have frequent recourse to R to account for the absence of אֱלֹהִים in E, as is confessed, *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 35, "not even the names of the Deity are to be relied on implicitly, being freely intermingled."

SECTION 14. Ex. 7:8-12:51.

The questions raised by the critics now become grave indeed in their bearing upon the truth and divine origin of the religion of the Old Testament. The details of patriarchal history are less vital than the events which we now approach, which are the credentials of the Mosaic revelation and the divinely given attestation that it is from Him whom all nature obeys and that it is charged with His supreme authority. The formula which declares the source of the Pentateuchal laws and their claim upon Israel's homage and obedience is "I am Jehovah thy God, who have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the

* Neither Wellhausen, Dillmann, nor Jülicher refer 4:27 to E.

house of bondage." And the fact that they were led forth "with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm and with signs and wonders," is repeatedly appealed to in evidence that it was indeed Jehovah himself, who had wrought their deliverance. If now the record of these events is framed out of divergent and conflicting sources, as the critics claim, their credibility is, to say the least, seriously impaired. But if it is, as has always been believed, a contemporaneous and self-consistent narrative, this carries with it unimpeachable evidence of its truth and accuracy.

In a matter such as this we surely have the right to demand something more than plausible conjecture resting upon slight and dubious grounds. There should be clear and unambiguous proof proportionate to the gravity of the consequences suspended upon it. Can such proof be furnished? Let us see.

1. The Grounds of Partition.

It is alleged that there are such characteristic and pervading differences in the narratives of the plagues as betray a diversity of writers.

1. The miracles are sometimes wrought by Aaron with his rod (P), 7:10,19; 8:1 sq.,12 sq. (A. V., 5 sq.,16 sq.); sometimes by the rod or hand of Moses (E), 7:17 (cf. 14); 9:23; 10:13,22; and sometimes without human instrumentality by the sole and immediate agency of Jehovah himself (J), 7:25,27 (A. V., 8:2); 8:17,20 (A. V., 21,24); 9:3,5 sq.,18,23b; 10:4,13b.

2. The miracles described by P are to be classed as signs rather than inflictions; they are successive trials of strength between Aaron and the magicians of Egypt in which the latter are each time worsted more seriously than before, until finally they are discomfited altogether. These are framed after a uniform pattern: "Jehovah spake unto Moses, Say unto Aaron, Stretch forth thy rod and do so and so that there may be....and they did so (as Jehovah commanded) and Aaron stretched out his rod and did so and so and there was ...and the magicians did so with their enchantments and.... But Pharaoh's heart was hardened [or Jehovah hardened Pharaoh's heart] and he hearkened not to them as Jehovah had said." These form a regularly advancing series from the preliminary sign of rods changed to serpents through the first, second, third, and sixth plagues (blood, frogs, lice, boils). But in the remaining plagues (fourth, fifth, seventh, eighth, ninth) there is no allusion to the magicians whatever.

3. Certain of the plagues are announced beforehand (uniformly J). Moses is bidden to go to Pharaoh and demand the release of Israel, at the same time notifying him that if he refused to let them go such and such a plague would be sent, commonly at a specified time; so in the plagues of blood, frogs, flies, murrain, hail and locusts (first, second, fourth, fifth, seventh, eighth (but not the third, sixth, and ninth).

4. In certain of the plagues the effect produced upon the king is expressly

stated (JE); he summons Moses and Aaron and begs them to entreat Jehovah for its removal and makes larger and larger concessions; but, when the plague was over, Pharaoh hardened his heart and would not let the people go. This takes place in the second, fourth, seventh, eighth and ninth plagues (frogs, flies, hail, locusts, darkness) but not in the third, fifth, and sixth.

Hence it is argued that the plagues not being regarded from the same point of view, nor described in the same manner, nor forming a continuous series in any of the respects named above, cannot all have been recorded by the same hand. Different accounts have been mingled together; but when these are disentangled and restored each to its proper separate form, the regular and orderly arrangement which is now confused will be brought to light.

In addition to the rod changed to a serpent the critics find the following plagues in

P (1) blood, (2) frogs, (3) lice, (6) boils.

J (1) blood, (2) frogs, (4) flies, (5) murrain, (7) hail, (8) locusts.

E (1) blood, (7) hail, (8) locusts, (9) darkness, with possible traces of two others, perhaps frogs and flies.

In reality, however, the plagues form a symmetrical and regularly unfolding scheme, as they stand in the record, without any confusion or derangement. The first nine plagues spontaneously divide themselves into three series of three each.

- | | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. (1) blood, 7:14-25. | (4) flies, 8:16-28. | (7) hail, 9:13-35. |
| 2. (2) frogs, 7:26-8:11.* | (5) murrain, 9:1-7. | (8) locusts, 10:1-20. |
| 3. (3) lice, 8:12-15. | (6) boils, 9:8-12. | (9) darkness, 10:21-27. |

In each series the first and second are announced beforehand; the third is sent without warning. The regularly repeated formula in the first is with slight variations: "And Jehovah said unto Moses, Rise up early in the morning and stand before Pharaoh,—lo! he cometh forth to the water,—and say unto him, Thus saith Jehovah (the God of the Hebrews), Let my people go that they may serve me; and if thou wilt not let my people go, behold I"... .

The second of each series is introduced thus: "And Jehovah said unto Moses, Go in unto Pharaoh and say unto him, Thus saith Jehovah (the God of the Hebrews), Let my people go that they may serve me; and if thou refuse to let them go, behold I"†....

While the first in each series was thus pre-announced to the king by the river's side, and the second in his palace, the third was wrought without premonition, Jehovah simply giving direction to Moses or to Moses and Aaron.

This orderly arrangement of the plagues is rendered still more significant by their number, which cannot be merely the accidental result of combining separate

* In A. V., 8:1-15, with a corresponding change in the verses throughout ch. 8.

† These recurring formulae would be called "stereotyped" and "repetitious," if they were found in P.

accounts, which differ both in the number of the plagues and in the substance of the plagues themselves. Nine follow in immediate succession, three times three, suggestive of the three degrees of comparison, each series rising to a climax, the final series the climax of all that preceded; and these are but the prelude to the tenth, which seals the completeness of the whole, like the ten digits and the ten commandments.

And not only in numerical structure but in intrinsic character the plagues proceed by regular gradation, growing in their intensity and severity from first to last. The water of the river, which was adored as divine, the source of Egypt's fertility, became so offensive, that the fish in it died and men could no longer drink of it. It next poured forth multitudes of disgusting vermin, frogs covering the land, filling the houses and the very bedchambers and beds of both king and people. Then the ground was smitten and its dust was alive with troublesome insects, lice (or fleas) upon man and beast. The insect pest was next intensified, swarms of stinging flies, abounding everywhere. Then a fatal pestilence attacking cattle, followed by boils and painful eruptions on the persons of men. To this succeed widespread destruction by an unheard of storm of hail with thunder and lightning, the still more extreme desolation by locusts, the awful darkness paralyzing all and filling all with terror, the precursor of the last, most terrible and crushing blow, the death of all the first-born throughout the land of Egypt from the palace to the dungeon.

A similar progress is observable in the specific aim of the several plagues, their range, and their attendant circumstances. In the first series the Egyptian magicians vie with Aaron, as they had done in the preliminary sign exhibited before Pharaoh of a rod turned into a serpent, 7:9-12. This is not a duplicate account of the miracle in the wilderness of Horeb, 4:2-4,* intended as a sign wherewith Moses might convince the people, and afterwards wrought in their presence by Aaron as his representative, 4:30. This is a like sign wrought on a separate occasion by special divine direction for Pharaoh's conviction. His serpent charmers imitate it, but Aaron's rod swallowed up theirs. The first two plagues they also imitated, but appeal had to be made to Moses and Aaron for the removal of the second. In the third they altogether failed and confessed, "This is the finger of God." This ends the contest with the magicians. They make no further effort to repeat any of the miracles and are only mentioned once again in the plague inflicted upon persons. They are stricken like the rest.

* "Serpent" in 4:8 is שׁוֹרֶשׁ, but in 7:9-12 תַּנִּין. This has been thought to indicate different writers. But שׁוֹרֶשׁ and תַּנִּין both occur in the same verse and in application to the same object, Isa. 27:1; and תַּנִּין is used in this same sense, Deut. 32:33; Ps. 91:13. תַּנִּין as the more comprehensive word is sometimes used generally of such reptiles as infest the water, and it may be suggestive of larger size. But in the passages now in question the words seem to be used as equivalents, which need create no more surprise than if a writer should use "serpent" in one passage and "snake" in another.

With the second series of plagues begins their explicit limitation to the Egyptians in contrast with the land of Goshen where Israel dwelt. The protection of Israel is expressly remarked in every plague from the fourth to the tenth, except two, viz., boils and locusts; and in these it is distinctly implied in their being specifically sent upon the Egyptians and the land of Egypt.

Once in the first series of plagues, once again in the second, and at each successive plague of the third series, Pharaoh sent with increasing urgency to Moses and Aaron to solicit their intercession on his behalf. He first promises to let the people go and asks to have the frogs taken away to-morrow. When flies are sent, he offers with more definiteness to let the people sacrifice in the land or to go into the wilderness for the purpose, if they do not go very far away. The hail wrings from him the confession I have sinned; I will let you go, and ye shall stay no longer. When he is threatened with locusts, Pharaoh's servants urge him to yield, and he proposes to let the men go but not the children. When they are actually sent, he calls in haste for Moses and Aaron, confesses his sin and begs to be forgiven only this once. In the plague of darkness he permits them to take their children but not their cattle. In the consternation at the death of the first-born he concedes everything; they may take their cattle too.

The first series is uniformly wrought by the rod of Aaron, and the third with equal uniformity by the rod of Moses.* In the second series no rod is mentioned. The first two plagues of this series are simply announced by Moses. In conformity with the scheme upon which all the plagues are conducted, the third is not preannounced. It is linked with Moses by his being concerned in its production; it follows upon his act, not as those before it upon his word.

But here we are met by the question, Does the agency respectively attributed to Moses and to Aaron in their dealings with Pharaoh correspond with that which is outlined for them in 7:2? If to justify their partition of the text the critics infer from this verse that according to P, Aaron, not Moses, is to speak before Pharaoh, they gain nothing by it; for P does not, in all that they assign to him, record a single address to Pharaoh by either of the brothers from this verse forward.

It is plain, however, upon the face of this passage that Aaron is not to supersede or displace Moses. Moses was from the first the chosen organ of divine communication, and he holds throughout the superior rank, as 7:1 distinctly affirms. Aaron is simply called in as his assistant and coadjutor. Moses is to speak all that God commands him. Aaron is to aid him before Pharaoh. In conformity with this Jehovah directs Moses to speak to Pharaoh, 7:14, etc., etc. But Aaron uniformly accompanies him, and unites in the delivery of the message, 10:3, which is further implied in the repeated phrase, "Pharaoh hearkened not unto

* Stretching forth his hand toward heaven, 10:22, is equivalent to stretching forth his rod, as is apparent from the comparison of 9:22 with v. 23 and 10:12 with v. 13.

them," 7:13,22, etc. He works the miracles, by which it is enforced, to the end of the first series of plagues;* all after this are wrought by Moses. Pharaoh pressed by necessity invariably summons both Moses and Aaron and asks their intercession; but as Moses is the organ of communication with God, it is invariably he alone who intercedes. The critics, who wish to establish a distinction between P and J in regard to Aaron, are puzzled to account for his presence at all in the interviews with the king, which they assign to J. But if his name was inserted by R, to enhance the credit of the future high priest, why did he not make him the intercessor with God and give him altogether a more conspicuous part in the narrative?

The evidences of unity, that have now been recited, growing out of the structural arrangement of the plagues, and the various indications of one consistent plan ruling in the whole, cannot be easily set aside and certainly cannot be accidental.

Scarcely any account is made of diction in dividing this section; and as it would appear, with good reason, for what is urged is meagre enough. P uses the term "wonders," 7:3,9; 11:9,10, (but so does E, 4:21); and "pool," 7:19, which occurs but twice besides in the whole Pentateuch. "Magicians," though in Genesis used by E, is here ascribed to P. Three words are employed to denote the hardening of Pharaoh's heart, which vary slightly in signification, קשה hard or obdurate, חזק stout or obstinate, כבד heavy, hard to move or stubborn. These are used in both intransitive and transitive forms, and the latter with Jehovah or Pharaoh himself as subjects. It is alleged that J always uses כבד, yet he interchanges the adjectives כבד and חזק, 10:14,19; P and E alike make use of חזק and that in both its transitive and intransitive forms, a result reached in disregard of the critical dictum that E uses אלהים and not יהוה;† P also uses קשה, which occurs but once in this connection. כבד and חזק both occur after the plague of hail, 9:34,35, the former transitive attributing the hardening to Pharaoh's own agency, the latter intransitive. Instead of admitting that J has here used both words, the critics isolate v. 35 from its context and attach it elsewhere. The same is done with 10:20, which though in a J connection is referred to E notwithstanding יהוה, because it has חזק.

It is said that the P formula is "Pharaoh's heart was hardened, and he hearkened not unto them, as Jehovah had said;" while that of JE is "Pharaoh's heart was hardened, and he would not let the people go." Yet P has the latter phrase, 11:10; cf. also 6:11; 7:2. "Thou has not hearkened hitherto," 7:16 J, is a plain allusion to P's phrase just before, v. 13. In 8:11 (A. V. 15) J's phrase

* Aaron is not the only miracle worker in P, according to the critics themselves. It was Moses who wrought the plague of boils, 9:10, and divided the Red Sea, 14:16,21; cf. 11:10 P.

† HEBRAICA, VI., p. 47. "In this section the name of the Deity is *exclusively* יהוה, which must have been substituted by R in all the passages; or else even E uses this name in this section, on the strength of 3:15, where Yahweh is revealed."

כָּבַד for the hardening of the heart and P's "hearkened not unto them" occur together, but instead of drawing the natural conclusion that one writer uses both expressions the critics split the sentence and divide it between J and P. If, as we are told, R has here erased חָזַק, P's word for "hardened," as superfluous after כָּבַד J, why did he allow both to remain, 9:34,35? In 9:35, moreover, E has a part of P's phrase "as Jehovah had said," which Jülicher finds it convenient to attribute to R. Where the presence of the magicians is noted, obstructing attention to the demand of Moses and Aaron, it was natural to say "Pharaoh hearkened not unto them;" everywhere else the statement is "he would not let the people go."

2. The Plague of Blood 7:14-25.

According to Knobel and Schrader P's account of this plague is found in 7:19-22. But if that be so, one of the discrepancies insisted upon between P and JE ceases to exist. It is said that P represents all the water in the land of Egypt as turned to blood, while JE limits this to the water of the river. But while v. 19 speaks of streams and rivers and ponds and pools and even the water in wood and stone as converted into blood, v. 20 lays stress only upon the water of the river, and v. 21 speaks of the fish dying in the river and the impossibility of drinking of the water of the river. Nöldeke and Kayser, therefore, assign these last two verses, which occur in the midst of P's statement, to JE, with the exception of the first clause of v. 20 "And Moses and Aaron did so as Jehovah commanded." Dillmann and Wellhausen do the same, only they except in addition the last clause of v. 21, "And there was blood throughout all the land of Egypt."

The further attempt to separate J from E leads to the splitting up of this entire paragraph into minute fragments. In the first place it becomes a question whether on critical principles J can be assigned any part here whatever, for he had already spoken, 4:9, of the change of water to blood in a different connection and for a different purpose, not as an infliction upon Egypt, but as a sign to convince the children of Israel. And there is quite as much reason for regarding that as a divergent account by J of the transaction here recorded, as there is for a similar allegation respecting 4:2-4 J and 7:8-12 P. But critics must be allowed to draw different conclusions from identical premises, when it suits their convenience.

7:14 is given to J because of כָּבַד. But 15b cannot be from J, who knows nothing of miracles wrought with a rod, nor from E who knows nothing of a rod turned into a serpent. This combined reference to 4:17 E and 4:3 J would seem to show that those verses cannot be sundered, as is done by the critics. They have, however, one refuge in every perplexity; this clause must have been inserted by R. If that is the case it is clear that in the judgment of R the rod which was turned to a serpent, 4:3, is the rod which Moses was to take in his

hand wherewith to do signs, 4:17, the critics to the contrary notwithstanding. And furthermore in the intent of the author of this paragraph in its present form the rod aforesaid is the one with which this miracle was wrought; it is identical, therefore, with the rod used by Aaron, v. 19.

Still further, v. 16 J is a plain reference to 3:18; 5:3, which are assigned by Dillmann to E; he is consequently obliged to assume that J has here made use of E. Verse 17a "In this thou shalt know that I am Jehovah," is by Jülicher attributed to Rj, who gives this religious aim to the miracle. The sudden change of speaker in v. 17 is particularly urged in proof that there is a confusion in the text arising from the blending of two distinct sources. "I will smite with the rod" is plainly the language of Moses, and yet it is prefaced with "Thus saith Jehovah." Such a transition from the words of God to those of his human messenger is, however, of too frequent occurrence to create surprise, cf. Isa. 48:16; Zech. 2:11; 4: 8,9. According to the critics, vs. 14-17 as far as the words, "Behold, I..." or "I will smite"... belong (with the exceptions already noted) to J, who attributes the plagues to the immediate agency of Jehovah. The remainder of v. 17 and perhaps v. 18 belong to E, who always employs the instrumentality of Moses' rod. E's account recommences v. 20 with the words, "And he (the pronoun is by the critics referred to Moses) lifted up the rod," etc., and continues in v. 21 as far as "water of the river," and finally embraces v. 24. Then v. 25, which speaks of Jehovah smiting the river is the conclusion of J's account. About v. 23 there is some perplexity. Wellhausen assigns it to P, Dillmann to E, Jülicher to J. "And this also he did not lay to heart," i. e., this miracle like the one before it failed to influence him, is an evident allusion to 7:9-12 P, whereas "Pharaoh turned and went into his house," refers back to his going out in the morning, v. 15 J (according to Dillmann on the basis of E). Here is again a combined reference to two passages sundered by the critics, which on their principles admits of no explanation. Hence their uncertainty what to do with it.

And now all this sundering and recombining simply makes a confused jumble of the whole matter.

1. The message to Pharaoh, vs. 14-18, the direction to Aaron to execute what had been announced to Pharaoh, v. 19, and his doing as he was directed, v. 20, belong together and are necessary to complete one another. They cannot be assigned to different writers without making each part a disconnected fragment. According to the critics' division J gives no account of the infliction of the plague; E's portion begins in the middle of a sentence, with no intimation who is speaking or to whom the words are addressed; P states in general, v. 20a, that Moses and Aaron did as they were commanded, but according to the analogy of 8:2,13 (A. V. 6,17) this should be followed by the specific act performed and its result,—precisely what in fact does follow in the rest of the verse but is by the critics ascribed to a different document.

2. The close verbal correspondence between vs. 17b,18 and 20b,21a, and the correspondence again between v. 19 and 8:1 (A. V. 5) is no argument for the critical division, for it is at once explained if all is from the same writer. The assumption that the double application of the pronoun "I" in v. 17 is due to R's confusing separate sentences imputes a degree of carelessness or stupidity to him that is quite inconceivable. And the mention of the rod, so far from being out of place or requiring the assumption of a different writer is just what v. 15 prepares us to expect.

3. There is no inconsistency in Moses speaking of smiting the waters, when in fact they were smitten by Aaron at his bidding. Moses simply acts through the instrumentality of Aaron. Nor is there any want of agreement between the command "Take thy rod and stretch out thine hand upon the waters" and the consequent action "he lifted up the rod and smote the waters." Stretching out the rod and smiting with the rod are similarly combined 8:12,13 (A. V. 16,17), only there both terms are inserted in each clause, while here the two clauses supplement each other. Nor is there any discrepancy in all the waters of Egypt becoming blood, whereas Moses had simply spoken to Pharaoh of the water of the river. This was singled out as the most conspicuous and important; and so again in recording the fulfilment, which yet proceeds to add that there was blood throughout all the land of Egypt. And the suggestion that Jehovah's smiting the river involves a different conception from its waters being changed to blood when smitten by divine direction refutes itself.

The space allotted to this article will not permit a like detailed examination of the remaining plagues. Wellhausen admits the impossibility of separating J from E in the plague of blood, frogs, hail and locusts. He would certainly have added that of flies, if he could have anticipated the hair-splitting analysis, which Dillmann struggles to carry through. And as these are the only ones, in which both these documents are supposed to enter, this is equivalent to a surrender of the whole case. The division which is attempted, rests not upon criteria of diction such as are held to distinguish the documents elsewhere, but solely upon distinctions arbitrarily assumed and which are relentlessly forced through in the manner already sufficiently illustrated.

3. Style, Material and Theology.

Such particulars as are grouped under these heads, *HEBRAICA*, VI., pp. 37sq., may now be considered, so far as they appear to call for remark and have not been answered already.

"P is systematic," precisely as the entire scheme of plagues is systematic, as has been fully shown.

When in P, Aaron is to "stretch his hand over the waters of Egypt, over their rivers, over their streams, over their pools, and over all their ponds," and

particulars are given in other cases, this is called "minute, exact," *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 30. But when J says, the frogs shall "come into thine house and into thy bed-chamber and upon thy bed and into thine ovens and into thy kneading troughs," and like specifications are given regarding the flies, or the cattle that suffer from the murrain, this is called "vivid," p. 44.

If P is "minute, exact" when stating the duration of "Israel's stay in Egypt," so JE, seven days plague of blood, 7:25; three days darkness, 10:22,23; time defined "tomorrow," 8:6,19 (A. V. 10,23), 9:5,6,18; about midnight, 11:4; exact condition of the several crops, 9:31,32.

P is "stereotyped;" so JE **שָׁלַח אֶת עַמִּי וַיַּעֲבְדֵנִי** (six times), 7:16,26; 8:16 (A. V., 8:1,20); 9:1,13; 10:3. **יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי הָעֲבָרִים** (six times), 8:8; (5:3); 7:16; 9:1,13; 10:3. **אִם מֵאֵן אַתָּה לְשַׁלַּח** (three times), 7:27 (A. V., 8:2); 9:2; 10:4; cf. 4:23; 7:14; 8:17. **וַיִּקְרָא פֶּרַעַה לְמֹשֶׁה וּלְאַהֲרֹן וַיֹּאמֶר** **הֲעֵתִירוּ אֵל יְהוָה** 8:4,21,25; 9:27,28; *10:17; **וְלֹא שָׁלַח** 8:28 (A. V., 32); 9:7,35; 10:20,(27); (11:10 P).

P is "verbose and repetitious;" so is JE, if the same standard and method of treatment be applied. 7:18b is repeated vs. 21,24; 7:29 (A. V., 8:4) adds nothing to v. 28; 8:7(11) is unnecessary after vs. 5,6(9,10); v. 9b(13b) is unnecessary after 9a(13a); v. 17(21) is needlessly amplified; v. 19a(23a) is needless after 18(22); the opening words are all that are needed in v. 20(24); v. 22(26) might have been expressed more briefly; v. 25(29) is needlessly amplified; the opening clause is all that is needed in v. 27(31). We might go similarly through the rest of the chapters if it was worth while.

The mode of inferring "duplicates" is peculiar. Unless there is fresh mention at every step of all that had gone before, it is assumed that the writer knew nothing of it. "(1) 7:9 starts out as if *there never had been any thought* of showing wonders to Pharaoh; yet 4:21, etc. (2) The 'rod turning serpent' appears here as *something entirely original*, a representation which could hardly have been made by the writer of 4:3. (3) 7:19 has the air of a *perfectly new order* about the plague of blood, not appearing as if it had just been mentioned in v. 17." The words italicized above are entirely gratuitous, and not suggested by anything in the text itself. The writer surely could trust his readers to remember what he had said shortly before. It might as well be said of 7:20b that lifting up the rod and smiting the waters has the air of a perfectly new act never thought of before and it does not appear as if it had been announced, v. 17.

The want of connection alleged (4) between v. 19, all the waters and v. 20 the river *only* is created by inserting "only" which is not in the text and is annulled by "(5) 21b is a clumsy addition." Very clumsy in critical estimation because it overturns the false interpretation put upon the preceding, as though it limited the miracle to the river.

"(6) Verse 23 is a repetition of 22b, such as is not found elsewhere after the

same or similar formula." But it is found here and is a *crux criticorum* as has been shown before.

"(7) 8:1-3 does not seem to imply 7:26-29,"* the same fallacy as in Nos. 1-3; "and it does not go with 8:4." But though the magicians might aggravate the plague, they could not remove it. There was every reason, therefore, why the prayers of Moses and Aaron should be asked for.

(8) Seven plagues "have warnings, while three come without any notice." This grows out of the symmetrical plan, exhibited above.

"Differences." (1) In JE "Moses is to perform the wonders before Pharaoh *without waiting for Pharaoh to ask for them*, 4:21; in P Aaron is to do them, at the request of Pharaoh, 7:9." Eliminate the italicized words, which are not in the text, and remember that Aaron was appointed to be Moses' helper, and where is the discrepancy? (2) מִן־הַיָּם and מִן־הַיָּם: this is explained above. (3) and (4) P every collection of water, J and E the Nile; explained above. (5) Magicians in but four of the ten plagues; explained above.

"Inconsistencies." (1) "Some of the differences mentioned above amount to incongruities." It has been shown that this is not the case. (2) "11:9 says 'that my wonders may be multiplied,' while 11:1 says 'yet one more plague will I bring.' But that plague was multitudinous; there was a death in every household. And to add one more was to increase the number and thus make them more numerous. Apart from this, however, the whole apparent force of the objection lies in the tacit assumption that a sequence in the order of the record must necessarily indicate chronological succession. 11:9,10 do not in the order of time follow the foregoing, but are a summation of all that has preceded. This is obvious in v. 10. It is equally true of v. 9.

"R's free arrangement." Several suggestions are made under this head of an improved order of the verses. This is purely a matter of taste and may be left to be settled between R and the critics.

In P "God's revelation is formal and stiffly sublime: (1) He orders Moses and Aaron to do a certain thing and 'they did so.'" But the orders in JE, 9:22, 23; 10:12,13,21,22 are precisely parallel to those in P, 7:19; 8:1,2,12,13 (A. V. 5, 6,16,17). (2) "His orders are usually the simple fiat 'let it become a serpent'" etc., but precisely so JE, 9:22, "let there be hail;" 10:21, "let there be darkness." (3) He does according to his will, without warning Pharaoh of his plans." Exactly so E, 10:21 sqq.

"(1) No miracle is shown, except when Pharaoh demands one, 7:9." A sign is provided in advance for convincing Pharaoh, 7:9 P, precisely as for convincing Israel, 4:1sqq. J. "(2) Each succeeding plague comes only because the preceding

* The massoretic punctuation of מִן־הַיָּם 7:27 does not annul the fact that the article הַ does not appear with מִן־הַיָּם when first mentioned in the announcement to Pharaoh, but it is made definite both by הַ and אֵת in the direction to Aaron.

one did not touch Pharaoh's heart." Exactly so in JE. "It is only after the last plague (of boils) that Yahweh hardens the king's heart, and for that there is no punishment as in the prophetic story." Even as the critics parcel the plagues, was the death of the firstborn no punishment? And was the overthrow in the Red Sea no punishment, 14:4,8 P? "(3) It would seem that God did this in order that the exodus might be due directly to his intervention and not to Pharaoh's subjection." There is no difference here between P and JE. It was God's mighty hand that led Israel out in one as in the other. P speaks of the plague of the first-born, but says nothing of any hardening of Pharaoh's heart in connection with it as invariably with the other plagues. The implication is that this broke his obstinacy for the time, until Israel was some distance on their way, when he recovered himself sufficiently to pursue them.

"God is remote from man : (1) he enters into no negotiations with Pharaoh. (2) On the other hand he does not torment or vex Pharaoh [whatever this may mean] as in the representation of J." This is wholly due to the critical partition. That part of the record, which is assigned to J, is of course not left for P.

"The importance of Aaron is emphasized : (1) Aaron is invariably associated with Moses;" so in JE, 8:4,8,21 (A. V., 8,12,25); 9:27; 10:3,8,16. "And in all the plagues but one (the last) Aaron does the work." In the first series of plagues he acts by Moses' direction; in the remaining series Moses acts for himself. "(2) Even in receiving the divine orders, Aaron is mentioned in the first two, 6:13; 7:8, and in the last two, 9:8; 12:1." Nevertheless in P as in JE, God commonly speaks to Moses, 6:2,10; 7:1,2, etc., etc.

It seems unnecessary to pursue these details further, the bare statement of which suggests the answer. But it would be unpardonable not to notice the egregious misrepresentations on p. 48; I beg pardon, but I can call them by no milder name. "Yahweh encourages stealing (at least plundering) goods of the Egyptians, which are to be gotten only by lying, 11:2sq." The only seeming plausibility in this gross misstatement arises from the erroneous translation of a Hebrew word. The people were not bidden to "borrow" nor did the Egyptians "lend," 12:35,36, with any expectation or implication of the things being returned. They asked and the Egyptians bestowed. The Lord gave his people favor in the sight of the Egyptians, who were, moreover, in too great terror to refuse. They were urgent upon the Israelites to send them out of the land in haste and were only too glad to be rid of them at any price, since their detention by the king had been followed by such awful scourges. There was thus no deception in the case, and the transaction was legitimate from a triple point of view; the right of divine gift, the Sovereign Proprietor and Lord of all could justly dispose of the wealth of Egypt as he saw fit; the right of conquest, Israel was victorious in the struggle with Egypt and was in a position to dictate their own terms; the right of compensation for unrequited service which they had rendered and oppressive bondage which they had endured.

"Moreover, the asking for a three days' journey only, 8:23, was under the circumstances not an honest request." If one, who had a rightful claim and the power to enforce it, should in the first instance ask for a mere fraction of what was due him, in order to try the temper of the party with whom he was dealing, what suspicion of dishonesty would there be in such a course? It was with the view of setting the unreasonable obstinacy of Pharaoh in the most glaring light that so trifling a concession was asked. It was no stratagem for the sake of gaining an advantage. Jehovah had the power to set his people free and he meant to use it. He could just as easily have declared to Pharaoh his whole purpose at the beginning. But the despicable nature of the Egyptian tyrant, and the pitiless bondage to which Israel was subjected, would not have been so clearly exhibited.

"The necessity of indicating the Hebrew houses by blood upon the door-post is hardly compatible with the idea of an omniscient Deity." It is difficult to repress one's indignation at the irreverence of such suggestions. The blood on the door-posts was not to aid God's omniscience, but to teach the need of atonement, to impress upon Israel that they too were exposed to death and must be delivered by the shedding of blood. It is the doctrine incessantly set forth in the whole sacrificial ritual, proclaiming the holiness and the pardoning mercy of God, but impairing none of his infinite perfections.

4. Chapter 12.

I must here be permitted to refer to the detailed discussion of the unity of this chapter in my Hebrew Feasts, Lectures 3 and 4, to which I have nothing material to add, and which there is not now space to repeat.

1. LANGUAGE OF P.*

OLD WORDS.

(1) תָּנִין (= נָחַשׁ in JE, as explained above), V., p. 151 (also in J). (2) מִקֹּה V., p. 151, only three times in Hex. (3) נַפֶּשׁ (= person) VI., p. 117 (also in J). (4) זָכַר Sect. 5, Lang. of P (also in J). (5) נָתַן (= שָׁם) V., p. 152 (also in J and E). (6) לָדַרַת Sect. 5, Lang. of P (legal phrase). (7) וּנְכִרְתָּהּ הַנֶּפֶשׁ Sect. 5, Lang. of P (legal phrase). (8) בַּעֲצֵם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה V., p. 174 (7:13). (9) בֵּן נָכַר Sect. 5, Lang. of P (also in J and E). (10) מִקְנֵת כֶּסֶף Sect. 5, Lang. of P (legal phrase). (11) מוֹל Sect. 5, Lang. of P (also in J and E). (12) יְהוָה.

NEW WORDS.

All of these (except No. 1) and several of the preceding are legal phrases and not to be looked for in any but a ritual connection.

(1) שָׁחִין in but two passages in P, Ex. 9:9,10 11; Lev. 18:18,19,20,23, and one in Deuteronomy viz.: 28:27,35; all in Hex. (2) עֶרְתַּיִשׁ (with or without בְּנִי) legal phrase. (3) כֶּסֶם Ex. 12:4 P, all in O. T.; מִכְסֵּה Ex. 12:4; Lev. 27:23 P, all in O. T.; a cognate word מִכָּס is found in a single passage, Num. 31:23,37,38,39,40,41 said by Dill. and Well. not to be by P, but a late addition. (4) מִשְׁמֶרֶת legal phrase; in Gen. 26:5 referred to R in a J connection. (5) בֵּין הָעַרְבִים legal phrase. (6) חֻקַּת עוֹלָם legal phrase. (7) מִקְרָא קָדֵשׁ legal phrase. (8) אֲחֻזָּה legal phrase.

WORDS USED IN ONE PASSAGE ONLY.

These, of course, afford no indication of a writer's style.

(a) לָטִים (or לְהָטִים) 7:11,22; 8:3,14. (b) פִּיחַ 9:8,10. (c) אֲבַעֲבַעַת 9:9,10.

* The numbers are those of *HEBRAICA*, VI., pp. 36,37.

2. LANGUAGE OF J.*

It will be observed that almost every word here classed as belonging to J occurs likewise in E, so that they are indistinguishable in diction.

OLD WORDS.

(1) **מִאֵן** Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (2) **יְהוָה** (also in E). (3) **לִקְרֹאת** Sect. 5, Lang. of J (also E, once P). (4) **מִטָּה** Sect. 12, Lang. of J (only four times in Hex.; twice J, twice cut out of an E and P context and ascribed to J). (5) **עָתִיד** Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (6) **צֶעֶק** Sect. 2, Lang. of J (also E). (7) **עַל רֹכֵב** Gen. 12:17; 48:18; Ex. 8:8 J; Gen. 20:11 E; Num. 17:14; 25:18 *bis* P; Gen. 30:18; Num. 31:16 R; Deut. 22:24 *bis*; 23:5 D; all in Hex. (8) **שִׁים** V., p. 154 (also in P and E). (9) **בָּאֵשׁ** Sect. 13, Lang. of E. (10) **הַשֹּׁכֵם** Sect. 6, Lang. of J (also E). (11) **רֶק** Sect. 3, Lang. of J (also E). (12) **יָכַף** Sect. 2, Lang. of J (also E). (13) **פָּעַם** V., p. 155 (Josh. 6:16a E). (14) **מִקְנֵה** Sect. 5, Lang. of J (also E and P). (15) **אֲנֹכִי** Sect. 5, Lang. of J (also E, once P). (16) **חֹדֵל** Sect. 10, Lang. of E (once P). (17) **מֵרֶם** V., p. 158 (also E, once P). (18) **מָהֵר** Sect. 6, Lang. of J (also E). (19) **נָשָׂא** (= forgive) Sect. 6, Lang. of J (also E). (20) **נָא** Sect. 12, Lang. of E. (21) **הַשֹּׁמֵר לִךְ** Sect. 7, Lang. of J (also E). (22) **נָתַן לְ** (= permit) Sect. 6, Lang. of E. (23) **קָדַר** Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (24) **נִרְשָׁה** V., p. 154 (also E and P). (25) **הַתְּמוֹהֶמָה** Sect. 11, Lang. of J (only three times in Hex.). (26) **עֹזֵב** (= Nile) Sect. 13, Lang. of E. (27) **עֹזֵב** Sect. 13, Lang. of J (also E). (28) **חֹרֵר** Gen. 43:30; Ex. 7:28 J; Deut. 32:26 poem inserted by J

but not composed by him; all in Hex. (29) **מִדְּמָה** V., p. 153 (also P and E). (30) **צָבָר** Ex. 8:10 J; Gen. 41:35,49 cut out of E connection and assigned to J; all in Hex. (31) **תָּלַל** Gen. 31:7 E; Ex. 8:25b J (Well.) E (Dill.); all in Hex.

NEW WORDS.

(1) **נָגַף** Ex. 7:27; 12:23 *bis*, 27; Lev. 26:17; Num. 14:42 J; Ex. 21:22,35 E; Josh. 24:5 cut out from E context and referred to J purely on account of this word; Ex. 32:35 R; all in Hex. except three times in Deuteronomy. (2) **מִשְׁמַרֵּת** Ex. 7:28; 12:34 J; all in Hex. except twice in Deuteronomy. (3) **פָּלַה** Ex. 8:18; 9:4; 11:7; 33:16 J; all in Hex. (4) **יָסַר** Ex. 9:18; Josh. 6:26 J; all in Hex. (5) **כִּסְהָ עֵין הָאָרֶץ** Ex. 10:5,15 J; Num. 22:5, 11 E; all in Hex. (6) **חֹרֵץ לְשׁוֹן** Ex. 11:7 J; Josh. 10:21 E; all in Hex. (7) **חָרִי אָף** Ex. 11:8 J; all in Hex. except once in Deuteronomy.

WORDS FOUND NOWHERE ELSE IN THE HEXATEUCH.

These, of course, are destitute of all significance.

(1) **רוּחָה** Ex. 8:11. (2) **עָרִיב** Ex. 8:17 *bis*, 18, 20 *bis*, 25, 27. (3) **פְּרוֹת** Ex. 8:19. (4) **סָלַל** Ex. 9:17. (5) **עוֹן** Hiph. Ex. 9:19. (6) **סָף** Ex. 12:22. (7) **פָּסַח** verb Ex. 12:23,27 J; 12:13 P.

3. LANGUAGE OF E.†

Every one of these words, that occurs in the Hex. more than once, is to be found likewise in J.

OLD WORDS.

(1) **הַיָּאֵר** (= Nile) Lang. of J just preceding. (2) **בָּאֵשׁ** Lang. of J just preceding. (3) **לֵאמֹר** Sect. 6, Lang. of J. (4) **שָׁמַיִת** Sect. 8, Lang. of J. (5) **חֹפֵר** Sect. 6, Lang. of E (also J). (6) **רֶק** Lang. of J just preceding. (7) **חֹדֵל** Lang. of J just preceding. (8) **טָף** Sect. 11, Lang. of J. (9) **נָא** Lang. of J just preceding. (10) **בִּקֵּשׁ** Sect. 10, Lang. of E (also J). (11) **נִרְשָׁה** Lang. of J just preceding. (12) **קָדַים** Sect. 10, Lang. of

E (also J). (13) **נָם** + personal pronoun Sect. 6, Lang. of E (also J and P).

NEW WORDS.

(1) **וְאֵשׁ מִתְּלַקַּחַת** Ex. 9:24; all in Hex. (2) **פִּשְׁתָּהּ** Ex. 9:31 *bis*; all in Hex. (3) **נִבְעַל** Ex. 9:31; all in Hex. (4) **נָתַן** Ex. 9:33 J; nowhere else. (5) **אֲפִלִּיָּה** Ex. 9:32; nowhere else. **אֲפִלָּה** Ex. 10:22; all in Hex. except once in Deuteronomy. (6) **נָבַר** Ex. 10:11; 12:37 E; Num. 24:3,15; Josh. 7:14,17,18 J; all in Hex. except once in Deuteronomy.

* The numbers are those of *HEBRAICA*, VI., pp. 42,43.

† The numbers are those of *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 47.

PENTATEUCHAL ANALYSIS.

BY BENJAMIN W. BACON,

Oswego, N. Y.

Since the analysis of Wellhausen in *Jahrbuch f. Deutsche Theologie*, XXI., 1876, some of the more important elements in this problem, the separation of the two strands J and E of the prophetic narrative, may be considered determined. It is certain that both J and E related almost identically the same story of usurpation on Jacob's part (cf. Gen. xxxii. 3 sqq. in J, and xxxv. 1 in E) and that the two accounts are closely interwoven in chapter xxvii. J's story certainly turned upon the deception of Isaac through the smell of Esau's garments which Rebekah had put upon Jacob (cf. v. 15 with vs. 24-27), and E's upon a much more improbable deception of the blind father by the sense of touch, the goat's hair covering of neck and hands suggesting to Isaac the hairy arms and neck of Esau (cf. vs. 11-14, 16, with 21-23). A few other doublets (30a = 30b, 44 = 45a), some few allusions to already determined portions of J or E (cf v. 29b with xii. 3; Num. xxiv. 9, and v. 36 with xxv. 29 sqq), with a few linguistic marks (יְהוָה vs. 7, 20, 27, אֱלֹהִים, v. 28, E's formula of address vs. 1, 18,—cf. xxii. 1, 7, 11; xxxi. 11, etc.—“his eyes were dim so that he could not see”—cf. xlviii. 10; Deut. xxxiv. 7 and contrast 1 Sam. iv. 15, 1 Kgs. xiv. 4, אַךְ vs. 13 and 30, and others less important) are all the *prima facie* clews afforded by this singularly difficult chapter.

For the purpose, however, of an approximate analysis we may rely with a fair degree of confidence upon the recurrence of certain characteristic phrases such as every writer is prone to repeat. When a certain reiterated idea is expressed by the same formula again and again in one series of sentences and in a second parallel series a somewhat different formula is employed, the *prima facie* evidence of unity of authorship in each series is tolerably strong, even when no shade of difference in the conception is discernible. Such recurrent phrases meet us in ch. XXVII. In vs. 19, 25, and 31 the collocation of the words, "venison, that { thy / my } soul may bless { me / thee }" is quite striking.

The same phrase meets us also in vs. 3,4, but broken in two by one of similar import but different form of expression: "Make me savoury meat such as I love, and bring it to me, that I may eat and bless thee before my death." This second, longer phrase reappears as regularly as the first. It is quoted somewhat more briefly in v. 7, with the brief interruption "before Yahweh," as what Rebekah

heard said before (v. 4). In v. 10 she again repeats it exactly, uninterrupted and complete. Part appears again in v. 14, and part in vs. 17 and 31.

Now, although the conception of both writers is doubtless as nearly as possible identical, xxv. 28 (J), which specifies "venison" as the occasion of Isaac's preference for Esau, suggests strongly that J is to be regarded as the user of the phrase "Bring me venison that my soul may bless thee," and this hypothesis agrees with the other phenomena of the text. The converse holds true of the longer phrase and the E passages. I venture, therefore, to connect together the fragments in vs. 3, 4, and 7, as follows: "Go out to the field and take me venison," "that my soul may bless thee," "before Yahweh;" and to complete E in v. 4 by inserting, as vs. 7 and 10 require, "and bless thee" in place of, "that my soul may bless thee."

Another recurrent phrase is the thrice repeated שָׁמַע בְּקוֹלִי as a form of address, "and now, my son, obey my voice," fullest in v. 8 but occurring also in vs. (3?) 13 and 43. No exactly equivalent example is found except Ex. xviii. 19, an indisputable E passage, and hence a certain degree of probability is given for assigning these verses to E. Here again we find ourselves in harmony with all other clews.

The first half of the chapter, vs. 1-27, may therefore be divided with some degree of confidence as follows. J = v. 1 to מֵרָאָה, v. 3 except וְעַתָּה, the words בַּעֲבוּר תְּבָרַךְ נַפְשִׁי in v. 4 + the words לִפְנֵי יְהוָה from v. 7, 5b, 6, צִיד הַבְּיָאָה לִי צִיד in v. 7, v. 15, 18, from מִי אָתָּה בְּנִי (cf. v. 32), 19, 20, 24-27. The remaining portions constitute E's narrative.

According to this analysis the two accounts will be read as follows:

J.

1a. And it came to pass, when Isaac was old, that his eyes were dim so that he could not see. [And he called Esau and said,] 3. Take, I pray thee, thy weapons, thy quiver and thy bow, and go out to the field and take me venison, 4, that my soul may bless thee before Yahweh. 5. And Esau went to the field to hunt for venison and to bring it. 6. And Rebekah spake unto Jacob her son, saying, Behold I heard thy father speak unto Esau thy brother, saying, 7. Bring me venison. . . . 15. And Rebekah took the goodly raiment of Esau her eldest son, which were with her in the house and put them upon Jacob her younger son, [and gave him the flesh of the kids which she had prepared and he came unto his father. And Isaac said] 18b. Who art thou my son? 19. And Jacob said to his father, I am Esau, thy firstborn; I have done according as thou badest me: arise, I pray thee, sit and eat of my venison, that thy soul may bless me. 20. And Isaac said unto his son, How is it that thou hast found it so quickly, my son? And he said, Because Yahweh thy God sent me good speed. 24. And he said, Art thou my very son Esau? And he said, I am. 25. And he

said, Bring it near to me and I will eat of my son's venison, that my soul may bless thee. And he brought it near to him, and he did eat: and he brought him wine and he drank. 26. And his father Isaac said unto him, Come near now, and kiss me, my son. 27. And he came near and kissed him: and he smelled the smell of his raiment, and blessed him, and said, See, the smell of my son is as the smell of a field which Yahweh hath blessed."

E.

"1b. And [Isaac] called Esau his elder son and said unto him, My son; and he said unto him, Here am I. 2. And he said, Behold now I am old, I know not the day of my death. 3. Now therefore...and make me savoury meat, such as I love, and bring it to me that I may eat [and bless thee] before I die. 5. And Rebekah heard when Isaac spake to Esau his son [and she said unto Jacob, Behold thy father hath commanded Esau saying], 7. Make me savoury meat that I may eat and bless thee before my death. 8. Now therefore, my son, obey my voice according to that which I command thee. 9. Go now to the flock, and fetch me from thence two good kids of the goats: and I will make them savoury meat for thy father such as he loveth: and thou shalt bring it to thy father, that he may eat, so that he may bless thee before his death. 11. And Jacob said to Rebekah his mother, Behold, Esau my brother is a hairy man, and I am a smooth man. 12. My father peradventure will feel me, and I shall seem to him as a deceiver; and I shall bring a curse upon me, and not a blessing. 13. And his mother said unto him, Upon me be thy curse, my son; only obey my voice, and go and fetch them. 14. And he went and fetched, and brought them to his mother: and his mother made savoury meat such as his father loved. 16. And she put the skins of the kids of the goats upon his hands, and upon the smooth of his neck: 17. and she gave the savoury meat and the bread which she had prepared into the hand of her son Jacob. 18. And he came to his father and said, My father: and he said, Here am I... 21. And Isaac said unto Jacob, Come near, I pray thee, that I may feel thee, my son, whether thou be my very son Esau or not. 22. And Jacob drew near unto Isaac his father; and he felt him, and said, The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau. 23. And he discerned him not, because his hands were hairy as his brother Esau's hands: so he blessed him."

It is in the latter half of the chapter that we meet the real puzzle, and here the most trustworthy key is certainly the antistrophe, vs. 39 and 40.

Here, where there is no trace of more than one hand (cf. vs. 27-28, יְהוָה and אֱלֹהִים), if anywhere, we shall best be able to make out the metrical form, if such there was, in the poem of the blessing of Isaac which underlies and is quoted in the present narrative. So long however as it can still be considered a question whether Hebrew poetry possessed a metrical form, conjectures in this field must

of course be open to the freest criticism and can be offered only with the greatest diffidence. Still vs. 39, 40 stand in an unmistakable relation of contrast to vs. 28, 29, and offer such an inviting appearance of regularity that one can scarcely resist the impression of strophe and antistrophe to which the sense so admirably lends itself. If so, the later verses must give the metrical norm, for the reason above stated. Without alteration of the text or violence to sense or parallelism the verses resolve themselves into an antistrophe consisting of two pairs of alternate pentameter and trimeter lines, the former divided by caesura after the third foot, and the strophe itself concluded by a line of four feet without caesura, or pentameter catalectic. Thus divided the verse reads as follows :

הנה משמני הארץ || יהיה מושבך
ומטל השמים מעל
ועל חרבך תחיה || ואת-אחיך תעבד
והיה כאשר תריד
ופרכת עלו מעל צווארך

or, reproducing the meter and cadence in the translation,

Far from the fatness of earth || henceforth be thy dwelling
Far from the dews of the heavens.
Subsistence thou'lt gain by thy sword, || subject still to thy brother ;
But struggling at length to be free,
Shalt ever shake off his yoke from thy shoulder.

Applying this antistrophe to the lines of verses 27-29, the greater length of the latter confirms at once the judgment of analytical criticism that the two poetical stanzas are here combined in one. Unfortunately the meter in both portions (J and E) appears to be identical and hence gives no assistance in the separation. We have, however, other clews. The first two lines are assured to J by יהוה and by the connection with 27a. The last two lines also can scarcely be denied to the author of Gen. xii. 3, and the first two lines of v. 29 remind one strongly of the blessing of Abram as it appears in J.

On the other hand, האלהים establishes the derivation of the first two lines in v. 28 from E, and, as a necessary consequence, the first two lines of the antistrophe which depend upon them for significance. But the antistrophe is not separable, and involves with itself v. 37. This latter verse determines in its turn the source of the third line in v. 28 and the third and fourth lines of v. 29. The result is two strophes as follows :

J.

ראה ריח בני || כריח שדה
 אשר ברכו יהוה
 ישתחו לך לאמים || ועבדוך עמים

 ארריך ארור ומברכך ברוך

Possibly we should supply as the fourth line a phrase usually occurring in these blessings (cf. Gen. xii. 3) **ונברכו בך כל-המשפחות**. Translating as before, we should have the following strophe:

Is not the smell of my son || like the smell of a field
 Which Yahweh hath watered with blessing?
 Nations shall bow before thee || and peoples shall serve thee,
 [For in thee all tribes shall be blest].
 Blessing thee shall be blessing, and cursing thee curse.

In this case the order of the two portions of line three is inverted. But it may equally well be that **וישתחו לך לאמים** is in its proper position and the missing portion is the first part of line three.

The strophe of E seems also to be slightly deficient.

יתן לך האלהים || מטל השמים
 ומשמני הארץ
 רב דגן ותירוש ||
 הוה גביר לאחריך
 וישתחו לך בני אמך

The second and third lines appear incomplete. In the former the corresponding line of the antistrophe suggests **מתחת** as the missing word. In the latter case v. 37 supplies something like **יסמך הארמה**— We translate:

Abundance of dew from the heavens || thy God shall afford thee,
 And the fatness of earth [from beneath.]
 With plenty of corn and wine || [thy land shall sustain thee.]
 A lord thou shalt be to thy brethren.
 To thee shall bow down all the sons of thy mother.

The prose portion of the narrative, vs. 30-38, 41-45, according to the clews already employed offer the following analysis, J = 30a, etc., 31b-33, 36a, 41a, 45. E = 30b, 31a, 34sq., 36b-40, 41b-44. V. 46 is, of course, a part of the Priestly element though probably due to R. No certainty can attach to the details of the

above analysis, yet there can be no doubt of the main points, and it is satisfactory to be able to complete the parallel columns of J and E in even an approximate way.

If anything of our attempted analysis of the poetic portions survives the criticism of more experienced judges, it will be not only a matter of interest to bring to view so noble an example of strophe and antistrophe, employing such a variety of meter, but the recognition of two poetical fragments so closely allied and apparently identical in meter, underlying respectively J and E, will prove of importance to the problem of the origin and mutual relation of these two elements of the Prophetic Narrative. Other examples of a combination of nearly identical poetic fragments in JE are not wanting, as e. g., in the Song of Balaam. Cf. Num. xxiii. 21b-24 with Num. xxiv. 7b-9; the Song of Miriam, Ex. xv. 1 and 21. But these have been disputed, the resemblance of the passages being considered due to an interpolation, or accounted for otherwise than as part of the general parallelism of J and E. The possibility suggests itself that Gen. xlix. 22-26 is another instance of a fragment derived from E's poetical source corresponding to a similar source employed by J and followed by JE in the rest of the Blessing of Jacob. (Cf. **אל שרי** v. 25 with **יהודה** v. 18, and the failure in v. 22 alone to begin the strophe with the name of the tribe; notice also the strongly marked peculiarities of this part of the poem, and contrast the assigning of the hegemony of the tribes to Joseph with the similar tribute to Judah in vs. 2-10; finally compare the unity of the remaining portions, their apparent relation to the Song of Deborah and adaptation to the period not long after, with the seeming allusion to the Syrian wars in v. 23. There are, however, strong objections).

A recognition of this, as the true explanation of the resemblances in the poetic portions of J and E, makes the idea that these writers themselves compared the poetic portions of their narrative still more improbable if not totally out of the question. The dependent writer would certainly have made his work in these portions either far more similar or far less so.

Again all this carries back the divergences of J and E one step further than has heretofore been commonly assumed. They did not draw from a common (i. e. identical) fund of tradition and minstrelsy. Two versions of the folk-songs existed, perhaps even written versions, possibly the same often cited "Book of Jashar" (E) and "Book of the wars of Yahweh" (J), and to these differing collections, for which Renan has furnished us the analogy in his oft adduced *Khitab el Aghani*, might perhaps be referred many of the idiosyncrasies of our present J and E documents. Gen. xii. 2sq. looks like a prose rendering of some poetic blessing like that which ends with **ארוך אור ומברכך ברוך** in Gen. xxvii. 29 and with the same words reversed in order, Num. xxiv. 9. Such phenomena tend to confirm the theory that the Genesis narratives stand in the same relation to their poetic originals as Judg. iv. to Judg. v.

THE SIGN OF THE BREATH AT THE END OF WORDS IN THE NEW-BABYLONIAN AND ACHÆMENIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

BY RICHARD KRAETZSCHMAR, PH. D.,

Leipzig, Germany.

During my investigation of the vowels at the end of the Assyrian verb, my attention was also directed to a subject, about which, so far as I know, nothing definite has been written, viz: the sign for 'Alëph which is found so often at the end of words. Delitzsch, *Dg.*, p. 55, says: "Numerous examples of a breath at the end of words are found in the Achæmenian inscriptions, but the origin and purpose of this orthography is as yet obscure." The breath is not found exclusively in the Achæmenian inscriptions, although it is of very frequent occurrence, but also in the New-Babylonian texts from the time of Nebuchadnezzar II. on. It appears, however, in this period, so far as I know now, to be limited to the contract-literature and to be avoided in the more archaic royal inscriptions. I will present now a number of examples in which all the different cases of this breath, of which I know, are considered.

The breath is found:

1) After a final *a*: *ib-ša-' they were* (sc. *mâtâtî*), NR. 25, D. 15; *a-ga-' this* D. 2, 13; *i-pu-ša-'* (sc. *mâtâtî*), H. 14; *ar-ḥa-a-ta-' monthly*, Nab. Strassm. 282, 6; *Ar-ia-ra-am-na-' Beh.* 2; *Ra-ga-' Beh.* 59; *Pa-ra-da-' Beh.* 69, 93; *U-ri-mi-iṣ-da-' Beh.* 7, 9, 10, etc.; *du-ka-' kill*, Beh. 79; *rugum-ma-' Peiser, KAST.* VIII. 15; *Hi-ši-'-ar-si-' Xerxes*, C. 3, 8; Cb. 5, 8, 14, etc.

2) After final *e*: *mu-te-'-e-me-'* (plur.) *rulers*, E. 4.

3) After final *i*: *A-ḥa-ma-niṣ-ši-' the Achæmenian*, HR. 4, NR. 6; *A-ni-ri-' Beh.* 31; *Sa-mi-e-it-ri-' Neb. Strassm.* 7, 3, etc.

4) After final *u*: *Mar-gu-' Beh.* 68; *Ma-ru-' Beh.* 45; *U-iz-pa-ru-' Beh.* 110; in verbal forms—all of which are 3d per. plur.: *ip-pu-šu-' Beh.* 8; *ip-pu-uṣ-šu-' NR.* 11; *ku-ul-lu-' Beh.* 34; *it-te-ig-ru-' Beh.* 16, 30; *bal-ṭu-'* (Permansive) H. 3; *i-nam-di-nu-' Peiser, KAST.* VI. 20; *id-dan-nu-' ib.* IX. 43; the same *Neb. Strassm.* 26, 5 and Nab. Strassm. 368, 9, etc.; *ṣak-nu-' Nab. Strassm.* 310, 4, etc.

5) After a final consonant: *A-ḥa-ma-ni-iṣ-' the Achæmenian*, Beh. 1; *i-na-ṣar-'* (3d per. plur. masc.) *KAST.* XIX. 22; *u-tir-ir'* (3d per. plur.

masc.) *ib.* IX. 42, etc.; *Pi-ir-' ib.* IV. 8, VI. 13, etc.; as phonetic complement, *Nab. Strassm.* 243, 13; 270, 8; 340, 6, etc.

From these examples one can see at once that this final breath cannot, as is usually the case, be the sign for 'Alëph, except in the proper name *Pir'*, stem פִּירָא—because the etymologies of these forms will not allow it. If we compare the forms in which the breath stands after a final vowel, we see: 1) that the breath can stand after all the vowels (*a, e, i, u*) and 2) that it stands only after long vowels, and exclusively after those in which the length of the vowel is not particularly indicated by the addition of the simple vowel, and which also, so far as the outward form is concerned could be read short as well as long. It is not necessary to bring forward any proof for the length of the final vowels in 3d plur. masc. and fem. (*û* and *â*). In the other forms, the parallel passages prove this, e. g., with *a-ga-'* usually *a-ga-a* in the Achæmenian texts; with *A-ḥa-ma-niṣ-ši-'*, *A-ḥa-ma-an-ni-iṣ-ši-i* F. 20; with *mu-te-'-e-me-'*, *mu-ta-'-i-me-e* F. 11; with *ru-gum-ma-'*, *ru-gu-um-ma-a* *KASl.* IV. 6, etc. In the case of the Persian proper names these comparative parallel writings cannot be brought forward, because they are very seldom found. Again, because some of these in the Persian end in a short vowel, one cannot conclude that in the Assyrian also they were pronounced with a short final vowel. All the other examples go to prove that the breath is found at the end of a word only after long vowels. Is this coincidence only a chance one? This cannot be accepted, but, on the other hand, the breath serves to mark the length of the vowel in question in forms ending in a vowel. If this is the case, only two possibilities can be thought of: either 1) this breath is a general sign of length, that is only an orthographical sign or, 2) corresponding to the otherwise usual method of lengthening vowels, which is exclusively expressed by the addition of the corresponding vowel to the syllabic sign ending in a vowel, it must then be able to express all the vowel sounds, and must have the values *a, e, i*, and *u*, because it is found after all the vowels.

The examples with consonants at the end show that the first of these two possibilities cannot be accepted. Forms like *inaṣar'* (3d plur. masc.), *utir'* (3d plur.) *inamdin'* (3d plur.) etc., must of necessity end in a vowel—in these cases *û*. Compare also *Aḥamaniṣ'* *the Achæmenian*, which according to NR. 4, F. 20 must end in *i*; *Pir'* which in all probability is to be read *Pirî*, *my offspring*; while *kasp a-'* must be read *kaspâ*. From these examples, it can be seen that the breath has lost its original consonantal value, and that it has now only the value of a vowel. It stands, however, not for *one* vowel, but it can represent *all* the vowels. On the other hand, there are numerous examples to show that the breath is still used in places where it corresponds to its original value.

Another question naturally arises, viz.: how was it possible for the breath, after it had lost its consonantal force to go over to the meaning given above. If

we look to the cognate languages, we find something similar in the Hebrew. The **ℵ** has lost its consonantal force in part and is found, after a long vowel at the end of a word, as a sign of length; cf. e. g., **הֵלְכוּ** *they went* for **הֵלְכוּ**, Josh. XIX. 24; **לֵי** for **לֵי**, etc. The breath in Assyrian is never found as a simple sign of length. The reason why **ℵ** is retained as a mere orthographical sign after it has lost its consonantal force, while in the Assyrian the spirans has taken on the value of a vowel is in my opinion to be found in the difference between the Hebrew and the Assyrian writing. The Hebrew writing is alphabetic; when the single letter lost its consonantal force, there was nothing else to do except to retain it as an orthographical sign. The Assyrian, on the other hand, is a syllabic language, i. e., every sign has not only a consonantal value but also that of a vowel which is inseparably connected with it. If the consonantal value of a sign were lost, the vocalic value connected with it must nevertheless be retained. The sign (No. 7, Dg.) had the values: 'a, 'i, 'u, a', i', u', and could be pronounced with all the original vowels—*e* is only secondary. When it lost its force, there were left the vowels with which it was originally spoken, viz.: *a, i, u* (and *e*) as we have shown above. It would have been only one step further for it to throw off this value and to become simply a sign of length. As the dates of the inscriptions, in which the above mentioned use of the breath is common, show, this decay is first seen in a very late period in the development of the language.

→BOOK : NOTICES.←

SELLIN'S VERBAL-NOMINALE DOPPELNATUR DER HEBRÄISCHEN PARTICIPIEN UND INFINITIVE.*

In this essay, Dr. Sellin has given us a careful inductive treatment of the participle and infinitive, but in connection with these forms he has handled as well, other subjects relating to the syntax and history of the verb. This has been necessitated by the theory on which he has worked. The general plan of this book may be stated as follows: After discussing certain preliminary questions, he proceeds to consider the relation of the Part. to the verb and noun, on the ground of its formation; of its use in the sentence; and of its construction with a following noun. The same order is followed when treating the Infinitive.

In the preliminary inquiries the author vigorously attacks the commonly accepted distinctions between verbs and nouns. Neither action nor time, he says, can be received as giving us the proper differentiation. Grammarians have too often attempted to foist Indo-Germanic analogies upon Semitic grammar. The simple distinction is this, the noun gives us merely a person or thing, the verb unites person or thing with some statement about it. The noun can and does express action, the nominal sentence could not exist in such variety were this not true. From such considerations is found an argument for the priority of the noun to the verb, a priority which it would be absurd to claim, were there no nouns of action, state or suffering, but given these we have till the constituents needful for intelligent vigorous speech.

The priority of the noun to the verb is then his fundamental thesis, which he proceeds further to illustrate and defend, and which is closely linked with his views regarding the Part. The original participial form he considers to have been *qatal*, and in his treatment of the relation of Part. to verb and noun on the ground of formation, many striking facts at once present themselves. The fact that the Part. and the 3d masc. sing. Perf. of the Stative verb are identical is noteworthy; so also is it, that the *י"ע* Part. Qāl, and the Qāl Perf. go back to the same ground form. The *ה"ל* Parts. have for their final vowel an original short *ä*. And this is true of many strong feminine forms. Add to this that the *Niph'al* Part. and Perf. are the same, that occasional forms of Parts. of derived stems occur without preformative *נ* (e. g., *אָפֶל* Ex. III. 2), and the presumption is strong, not only that the prevalent *קטל* forms are a later growth, but that the Perf. 3d masc. sing. is but a noun adapted to new situations and uses. This position receives a new application when the author takes up the Qāl passive Part., which, he regards, not as a remnant of a lost passive stem, but as an undeveloped form, a form from which a passive system might have been evolved, but

* DIE VERBAL-NOMINALE DOPPELNATUR DER HEBRÄISCHEN PARTICIPIEN UND INFINITIVE, UND IHRE DARAUFGEBERHENDEN VERSCHIEDENEN KONSTRUKTION. Preis- und Promotionschrift, Leipzig, 1889, p. 85.

one which the Hebrew never thus utilized. This view would have consequence not only for Hebrew etymology, but also for some doubtful questions connected with Biblical Aramaic.

The tense system and the force of the tense forms are appealed to as another proof of the priority of the Part. The more common explanations of the tense are discarded. The Imperf., it is claimed, does not denote action as incomplete, but the incipience, incidence (Eintritt) of action, while the Perf. represents action as completed, or rather the conclusion of action. Taking this view, the Part. is seen to stand midway between the tenses; conclusion, continuance and incipience of action, being the ideas expressed by the three forms. The author, moreover, argues that if these three forms had been contemporaneous in development, the Part. would have received a like development with the Perf. and Imperf., but the fact that it has not, indicates that it is the primitive form, from which the others have sprung by the addition of preformatives or affirmatives. Another example along the same line is the Assyrian *Permansive*, a form which expresses, not completion like the Hebrew Perf., to which it is by formation allied, but continuance. Here we have the noun of action arrested in its progress toward tense development, provided with inflectional endings it is true, but unable to give up its true significance as a noun of *enduring* action.

We have further light from the Assyrian in the forms *yakaṭal yaktal*, which seem to spring directly from the noun of action, the second form having suffered syncope of the vowel.

It is a striking fact that the Part. in Syriac began to take on a complete verbal inflection, and thus a process is actually observed in the more recent history of the language, which has been hypothetically assumed for the early period. There are numerous examples in all languages of the conservative character of linguistic laws, and these show that a speech is not likely to leave its beaten paths nor to manufacture new forms by hitherto untried processes.

Nothing especially new is presented in the treatment of the syntax of Part. Its close relationship to the verb is noted here, and the final conclusion is reached that the Part. is a genuine and preverbal noun, the ancestral source of the verb, but yet a noun, which has in the development of the language taken on more or less of a verbal character.

The discussion of the Infin. is briefer and less interesting than that of the Part., many points having already been settled.

The Infins. are treated as secondary formations both in form and meaning. The same *qaṭal*, *qaṭil* and *qaṭul* forms which developed into the Perf. *qāṭal* and Imperf. *yaqāṭal*, became by syncope and vocalic assimilation *qaṭl*, *qiṭl*, *quṭl*, and thence arose the Infin. Const. of *Qāl*. The similarity between the Perf. and Infin. Const. of the derived stems is obvious; hence these Infins. are assumed to have been the original participial nouns of their respective stems, and to have taken on an abstract meaning when displaced by the forms with *ḏ*.

The strict nominal character of the Infin. is further attested by the numerous feminine forms in use.

Many examples show that the verbal construction after the Infin. is the ruling one.

The positions of this essay seem to be well taken, and the arguments for the priority of the noun are forcible if not convincing.

There is still much to be said on the proper conception of the tense, particu-

larly of the Imperf., and the analogies and differences between the Assyrian forms and the Hebrew need still further elucidation.

The author's position as to the Passive Part.—its existence as an undeveloped form, is confessedly open to question, but it is certainly a striking fact that not a single assured trace of a Passive Qāl stem, aside from the Passive Part. is to be found in Hebrew.

I am not ready to accept the view that the **יִקְטֹל** form of the Imperf. is simply a differentiation of a more original **יִקְטַל** form, nor is the author's account of the origin of Segholates from the *qatal*, *qaṭil* and *qaṭul* forms altogether satisfactory. Despite their abstract meaning these forms seem to stand nearer the simple root, and appear more likely to be the first products of speech than are the longer, bivocalic nouns.

But on the whole this essay is a very satisfactory treatment of a neglected department of Hebrew grammar, its method and spirit commend it to the reader, and we welcome all such attempts to shed a clearer light upon special questions of Semitic philology.

A. S. CARRIER.

THE DIVINE NAME ADONAJ AND ITS HISTORY.*

A critical student of Hebrew philology seldom feels more satisfaction than will be experienced in reading this little book by Dr. Dalman. It is a rigidly scientific and thoroughly exhaustive examination of the word Adonaj, and especially of the obscure history of its substitution for the ancient and peculiarly sacred name of **יְהוָה**. To this task the author applies a surprising wealth of learning, and an untiring patience in the discovery and investigation of facts. The results also, as may be inferred, are considerably at variance with the hitherto commonly accepted results of a mere superficial study. A statement of the topics considered in the nine chapters will prepare us for a closer survey of the contents: 1. Baal, Adon, Adonaj. 2. Adonaj and Adoni. 3. The suffix of Adonaj. 4. A Survey of the Uses of Adonaj. 5. The Fact of the Substitution of Adonaj for Jahve. 6. Jewish Testimonies to the Uses of the Divine Name. 7. History and Significance of the Transition from Jahve to Adonaj. 8. The Names Lord and Christ. 9. Appendix: The Masora on Adonaj.

From a careful examination of the material at hand, little can be gleaned as to the actual history of **אֲדֹנָי**. There certainly does not appear to be any progress from a conscious use of the suffix to a meaningless use of the same. Some striking facts are, however, pointed out in connection with its use. "We find it pretty evenly distributed in the historical books, but it occurs only seldom in Ezra-Nehemiah, and not at all in the priestly sources of the Hexateuch, nor in Chronicles and Esther. If we assume Ps. xc. and following to be of later origin, we perceive the same decrease. Pss. i.-xc. have **אֲדֹנָי** forty-six times, Pss. xc.-cl. only nine times. In the prophets the use of **אֲדֹנָי** is clearly dependent on individual peculiarity. 1 Isaiah and Amos have it often, their contemporary Hosea not at all, and Micah only twice. In the Chaldean period it is found fre-

* STUDIEN ZUR BIBLISCHEN THEOLOGIE: DER GOTTESNAME ADONAJ UND SEINE GESCHICHTE. Von Gustaf H. Dalman, Ph. D. Berlin: 1890. Pp. 91.

quently in Jeremiah, Ezekiel has it in extraordinary richness, 2 Isaiah less often, and Habakkuk and Zephaniah not at all. After the exile neither 1 Zechariah nor Haggai employ it, and Malachi only twice in passages probably emended. It is a remarkable fact that the very prophets who tell of a personal commission, a call of God to them, i. e., 1 Isaiah (vii. 9), Amos (vii. 15), Jeremiah (i. 10), Ezekiel (ii. 3), 2 Isaiah (xlviii. 16; l. 4), by preference use **אֲדֹנִי**, for which no other reason can be assigned than that the relation in which they stood to Yahweh was especially personal. At that time the suffix of **אֲדֹנִי** was certainly not meaningless."

It is certain, however, that in the time of Christ the force of the suffix had been effectively worn away, for **אֲדֹנִי** was employed in common oral usage as a substitute for **יְהוָה**. This substitution, which had taken place so thoroughly that no remembrance remained of an earlier use of **יְהוָה**, had probably been completed when the Greek translation of the Pentateuch was made. As to the nature of the transformations which took place in the time between Ezra-Nehemiah and the Maccabees, the Jews in Christ's time were wholly in the dark. Everything dating from that period they were disposed to regard as antique.

No express biblical reason for this long-established popular disuse of the name **יְהוָה** is found. A careful sifting of Jewish testimonies reveals, however, that this dread of uttering the divine name was common to the Alexandrian and Palestinian Judaism, and that it attached itself especially to Ex. xx. 7. If this commandment not to "take the name of the Lord thy God in vain" be understood of a mere utterance of the divine name, then there was abundant reason to dread the threatened penalty as well as the curses pronounced in Deut. xxviii. 59 sq. This **שֵׁם יְהוָה** was peculiar to Israel's God. It was the self-designation which separated him from all other beings, and which in an extraordinary manner he made representative of himself. The temple, above every other consideration, was the place to which he had attached his name. He leads the Psalmist into paths of righteousness "for his name's sake" (Ps. xxiii. 3). His people tread their enemies under foot "through his name" (Ps. xlv. 6). We find even an independent punitive activity attached to it (Isa. xxx. 27). The name **יְהוָה** was therefore pre-eminently holy. But "within the limits of the Priest-Code holiness means nothing else than separation. The fundamental idea in all the regulations of this Code is that just as nothing "common" i. e., belonging to the ordinary, secular life should come into holy use, so nothing holy should come into secular use. As rigidly as Israel by reason of its separation from the nations was to hold itself apart from them, so rigidly within Israel everything belonging to Yahweh was to be divided off from that which was not God's especial possession." Yahweh's name would, of course, be one of the first to fall within this category of things excluded from common use. "The time of the Mishnaic command to 'make a hedge about the Law' was about contemporary with the period when it was sought to protect the name **יְהוָה** from profanation by a prohibition of its use. The non-utterance of **יְהוָה**, which it was thought would make a desecration of this divine name impossible, was a hedge of rabbinical solicitude for the fulfilment of the command in Ex. xx. 7."

Two substitutes for this holy name offered themselves, both of which had corresponding terms in Aramaic and Greek, viz., **אֱלֹהִים** and **אֲדֹנִי**. Only the latter could be employed since it was the name which bound him who used it to

the service of Yahweh. Anyone of the heathen could say אֱלֹהִים, but only one who recognized the supremacy of Yahweh would call him אֲדֹנָי. At the same time the suffix lost its force, since the emphasis lay, not on a personal relation to God, but on his Lordship.

An examination of the later portion of Hebrew literature with respect to this suppression of the divine name exhibits some very remarkable results, and seems to warrant the inference that the movement began about the third century B. C., and became a complete fact a century later.

The fact itself was of deep significance as a preparation for Christianity, for with the introduction of the name אֲדֹנָי Israel's God began his triumphant march among the nations as the Lord of the world. It comes to us in the corresponding Greek form *κύριος*, the full significance of which passed over to him who at the close of the Old Covenant made God comprehensible to humanity, and in whom the fullness of the Godhead took living form. "The divine name Adonaj contains therefore germinally the final goal of all history, the union of a collected humanity under one head—Christ."

Such are the main results of this painstaking investigation of all the available facts bearing on the meaning and use of this divine name. Passing all minor criticisms, we are confident that in the main the author has successfully refuted the prevailing notion that the Jewish dread of pronouncing the name יהוה rests upon a mere mistranslation in the LXX. of Lev. xxiv. 16. The cause lies far deeper than this. It is traceable to that extraordinary degeneracy of the Mosaic religion into rabbinical Judaism which annihilated the free and lofty spirit of the Law beneath a grinding bondage of the latter.

PHILIP A. NORDELL.

SEMITIC RELIGION.*

The new book of Prof. W. Robertson Smith is one of the series of Burnett lectures. Three series are contemplated on the same subject, to-wit: The Primitive Religions of the Semitic Peoples viewed in relation to other ancient religions and to the spiritual religion of the Old Testament and of Christianity. The inquiry is a proper one. For the revelation of the Old Testament was built upon some sort of foundation already in existence, and it is quite certain that the first stones of this foundation were already laid when the Semites [why not *Shemites*?] existed as one people. That this primitive religion existed longest among the Arabs is altogether likely. To a certain extent the present book covers the same ground with Wellhausen's *Reste Arabischen Heidenthums*, to which indeed the author makes frequent reference. It covers broader ground than that book, however, and the criticism likely to be made is that the ground covered is too broad. In some portions the preliminary work is not yet done. The Assyrian and Babylonian religion is indeed excluded as having lost the primitive Semitic features.

The plan of the work is as follows: After an introductory chapter defining the subject and the method of inquiry the author takes up "The Nature of the

* LECTURES ON THE RELIGION OF THE SEMITES. First Series, the Fundamental Institutions. By W. Robertson Smith, M. A., LL. D., Fellow of Christ's College and Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1889 (xii and 488 pages).

Religious Community and the Relation of the Gods to their Worshipers"; he then considers the relation of the gods to natural things, holy places and objects including sanctuaries. With the sixth lecture we enter upon the consideration of *sacrifice* and this fills the remainder of the book—something over half the body of the book. An appendix gives some additional notes on points that could not be fully brought out in the lectures, and there is an index of Scripture passages as well as a general index.

The author's theory may be said to be that *totemism* is the earliest form of Semitic religion. The origin of sacrifice must be sought here. Not as though it were impossible for a rude nation to feast its god on animal food. This is recognized as a probable origin for the lower order of sacrifices as well as for the vegetable offerings found in the Hebrew liturgy. But the mere bringing of a present or providing the god with food will not account for the more solemn (as the author calls them *piacular*) sacrifices, which in the Law really overshadow the others. These must be explained in another way. In totemism now we find the idea of the kinship of the god [an animal] with his worshippers. Equally we find the individual animals represented as akin to both god and worshippers. A pastoral tribe is likely to worship the ox and to hold every individual ox or cow to be an embodiment of the divinity. The animal life is therefore on a par with the life of the clan or even more sacred. The life of a clansman can be lawfully taken only by the act of the whole clan. The life of the sacred bull can be taken only under the same restrictions. But on certain great festivals it may be taken in order to show the communion of the god and his people. In a lower stage of thought the conception is that the blood of the kin (its life) must be renewed by partaking of the common blood flowing in the veins of a kinsman—animal or human. Piacular sacrifices are sacramental sacrifices. The idea of the sacredness of certain things, however, culminates in the prohibition to touch them, as in the taboo of the South Sea islanders. This also was developed among the Semites until the piacular sacrifices were regarded as too sacred to be eaten even by the priests or by those engaged in the most solemn act of worship. Hence as in the ritual of the Day of Atonement, they must be sent away or burned without the camp.

The argument is illustrated and enforced with an immense array of examples drawn from all parts of the Semitic field. Yet the impression made upon the present reviewer is—"not proven." Two facts are apparently ignored which might throw light upon the discussion. One is the uncleanness [sacredness] of the dead in the Hebrew religion, emphasized by Stade in his History as the basis of that religion. The other is the sacredness of fire as possibly connected with the burning of offerings, and as certainly exemplified in the worship of the hearth in primitive society.

Perhaps it is hardly fair to judge the main argument until the promised second and third parts of the work appear. Even if it shall then be received with reserve, there can be no question that the work is full of instruction both for the general reader and for the Old Testament student. The old Arabic religion is presented to us more fully here than in any other single work even in German. Almost every page furnishes us with something of value. Especially striking is the evidence that we have got beyond Renan's "Semitic monotheism" as well as the "natural capacity of the Hebrews for religion" once so widely asserted. Professor Smith distinguishes very clearly between the natural religion of the Semites and the religion proclaimed by the prophets. In heathen religion "there is no

explanation of the god's change of mind," and the same is true of the natural religion of the Hebrews. "The mass of the Hebrews before the exile received with blank incredulity the prophetic teaching that Yahweh was ready to enforce his law of righteousness even by the destruction of the sinful commonwealth of Israel. To the prophets Yahweh's long-suffering meant the patience with which he offers repeated calls to repentance, and defers punishment while there is hope of amendment; but to the heathen and to the heathenly-minded in Israel the long-suffering of the gods meant a disposition to overlook the offences of their worshippers" (p. 62). The progress of heathenism is shown in another place to have widened the gulf between the deity and man without compensating benefit, but "the Hebrew ideal of a divine kingship that must one day draw all men to do it homage offered better things than these *not in virtue of any feature that it possessed in common with the Semitic religions as a whole*, but solely in virtue of its unique conception of Yahweh as a God whose love for his people was conditioned by a law of absolute righteousness" (p. 81, the italics are mine). As an example of the energy with which the author rejects certain current assertions note: "It is often said that the original Semitic conception of the godhead was abstract and transcendental; that while Aryan religion with its poetic mythology drew the gods down into the sphere of nature and of human life, Semitic religion always showed an opposite tendency, that it sought to remove the gods as far as possible from man, and even contained within itself from the first the seeds of an abstract deism.... All this is mere unfounded assumption." As to the oft-quoted *primus in orbe deos fecit timor* he says: "But however true it is that savage man feels himself to be environed by innumerable dangers which he does not understand, and so personifies as invisible or mysterious enemies of more than human power, it is not true that the attempt to appease these powers is the foundation of religion. From the earliest times religion as distinct from magic or sorcery addresses itself to kindred and friendly beings, who may indeed be angry with their people for a time, but are always placable except to the enemies of their worshippers or to renegade members of the community" (p. 55).

The interest of the book may be illustrated by these quotations which might be multiplied indefinitely. It is of course easy to put interrogation marks at many points. The author himself makes reservations and does not expect that his deductions will be received without question. But the book marks a distinct advance in the science of religions.

HENRY PRESERVED SMITH,
Lane Seminary.

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HEBRAICA

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL IN THE INTERESTS OF SEMITIC STUDY

MANAGING EDITOR:

WILLIAM R. HARPER, PH. D.,

PROFESSOR OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES IN YALE UNIVERSITY; PRINCIPAL OF SCHOOLS
OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS:

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HERMANN L. STRACK, PH. D., D. D.,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN.

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❖ HEBRAICA ❖

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THE COLLOQUY OF MOSES ON MOUNT SINAI.

BY ISAAC H. HALL,

Metropolitan Museum, New York City.

This colloquy is one of the compositions contained in a manuscript received by me in June, 1889, from Urmi, from which "The Story of Arsenius King of Egypt" has already appeared in *HEBRAICA*. The colloquy occupies the first fifteen pages of the manuscript, and, like the other portions, is pretty fairly written, with abundant points. The scribe has made a number of obvious clerical slips, and a great many mistakes in the pointing. The voyage dampened the mucilaginous ink in spots, causing the pages to stick together, and tear when separated, adding more pains in decipherment than one likes to spend over a modern copy; but not more than one word was thus rendered doubtful. The scribe's abbreviations I have generally spelled out, denoting the letters thus added by inclosing them in brackets. The pointing I have not thought worth while to retain, except in spots where, for one reason or another, it seemed desirable. The punctuation in our sense, however, I have retained, chiefly to show how necessary it is for the translator to disregard it. When punctuation (like our colon) follows letters supplied in brackets, it is a note of abbreviation merely, and I might perhaps better have omitted it.

Except the textual notes added to the text and translation, there seems no need of comment. Much might be added, however, to show that, whatever be the origin and transmission of the story, it has much in common with the Nestorian church services; some of it (for instance) coinciding verbally with passages in the order for the first Saturday of the Great Fast, or Lent.

But I shall not attempt to go into the origin of the story, nor of its age. I know of no other Syriac copy of the story, but a Karshun version appears to exist in the British Museum (7209 Rich, No. 16. See Rosen and Forshall's Cat., 109-

[illegible]

* The word is accidentally thus repeated by the scribe.

† The word is blotted, but I think this is correct. The other barely possible reading is **مَحْدَة**. In the order for the first Saturday for Lent, where identical or parallel expressions with several passages here occur, the word is **مَحْدَة** "sleep," a synonym of the word I read in the above text.

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* Perhaps ٥٥٥٥٥ is to be read.

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(TRANSLATION.)

[THE NARRATIVE OF MOSES THE APPROVED IN PROPHECY.]

Once again, in the strength of the Being, the servant full of sin begins to write this Narrative of Moses the Elect in Prophecy.

When Moses went up to the mount of Sinai to speak with God, and received the Old Covenant—and in it are the commandments to the children of Israel, and the laws and judgments, that they should keep them—and the fasting of the prophet Moses was in the month of Heziran [i. e., June], in the hot days of summer, until the law descended and he received it. Now Moses began to ask of his Lord, O my Lord and my God, teach me what I ask of thee.

And God said to him, What dost thou request? And Moses answered and said to him, O my Lord, He who satisfies the hungry, what wilt thou give as his reward? And God said to him, He who satisfies the hungry for my sake, I will satisfy him with my Holy Spirit; and he who clothes the naked for my name's sake, I will clothe him with a robe of the light of my divinity, and I will deliver him in the last day, and into judgment he shall not come. And Moses said, O my Lord, He who does not feed the poor that knocks* at his door, what wilt thou give him as his reward? God said to him, I will drive him from the door of Paradise, and will not suffer him to see my light.

And Moses answered and said, O my Lord, he who gives water to drink on the waysides, what is his reward? God said to him, I will give him to drink the water of life, that he thirst not forever, and I will rescue him from the flame of fire.

And Moses answered and said, He that breaks the heart of the poor, what wilt thou requite him? And God said to him, According as he broke the heart of the poor, [so] he broke my heart, and I will cast him into the fire of Gehenna. And Moses said, He that has compassion on the poor, giving them food and drink, and clothing them, and doing the desire of their heart, and doing good by them, what wilt thou do by them?† And God said to him, He that does good with them

* As the MS. is, we must read "kisses"; but the emendation requires only the transposition of a letter.

† Sic, but probably a slip for "him."

does it with me. I will make him inherit the kingdom of heaven, and I will delight him with life eternal, which shall not pass away nor be dissolved.

And Moses said, He that gives a shroud to a brother believer in the day of his death, what wilt thou do by him? And God said to him, I will clothe him with a robe of the light of my divinity, and I will pardon him [his] sins. And Moses answered and said, He that digs the grave of a departed brother believer, what is his reward? God said to him, I will write his name in the book of life with the prophets and apostles and martyrs and saints, and I will make him inherit the kingdom of heaven. According as he honored the body of my believer,* I will honor him in the last day. And Moses said, My Lord and my God, He that walks with the bier of the dead, and bears the dead, in the way, when they are bringing him to the grave, what wilt thou give him as his reward? God said to him, I will write for him [for] every walk one recompense, and I will forgive him his debts.

And Moses answered and said to him, He that prays in the night, when men sleep, what is his reward? God† said to him, I will make him that he sleep not the sleep‡ of sin, even as I sleep not; and I will make him a watcher [i. e., angel] forever, and I will raise him to life [or, save him] in the day of the resurrection. And Moses said, He that prays at the risings of the morning and of the sun, what wilt thou give him as his reward? And God said to him, I will forgive him his sins, and I will write his name with the martyrs and confessors, and will write for him for every word one recompense. And Moses said, He that prays at the third hour, what wilt thou recompense him? And God said to him, I will enrich his possessions; the blessings of Abraham shall be in his house. And Moses said, He that prays the prayer of the sixth hour, what is his reward? God said to him, The door of Paradise shall be opened before him. And Moses answered and said to his Maker, He that prays the prayer of the ninth hour, what is his reward? And God said to him, Nine heavenly blessings shall be in his house, and I will multiply him his possessions, and will delight him in this world and in that which is to come. And Moses answered and said, He that prays the prayer of the setting of the sun, what is his reward? And God said to him, I will release [his] debts and the debts of his father, and I will make his portion and his inheritance in the kingdom of heaven; and I will not deliver him up to darkness, but I will make him to rejoice and exult in the light of my divinity. And Moses said, He that prays the prayer of [the time of] sleep, what is his reward? God said to him, I will hear his prayer, and will make pass from him the evil of the

* Or, "my body the believer."

† The scribe has accidentally repeated this word. Or else render: "God said unto him, I God will make," etc.

‡ The word is blotted and obscured, but I think this reading is right. The only other (barely) possible one is "death." The passage seems suggested by the order of service for the first Saturday of Lent, where the reading is (a different word for) "sleep."

night. Hear, O* Moses, what I say to thee. He that prays or fasts or watches or labors for my sake, I will recompense him with his reward in the two worlds, and I will make him inherit life eternal, and he shall be glad in the light of my countenance, and I will give him delight in my kingdom.

And Moses said, He that lends anything to another, what wilt thou give him? God said, I will recompense him a hundred-fold; and every one that does evil to his fellow does it to me; and I will requite him from my good things, and I will deliver him from distress and from snares. Every one that does evil by his fellow, I also will torment him and bring upon him all manner of evils and chastisements. O thou Moses, according as ye shall be in love one with another, so also I will be among you; and if ye show kindness one to another, I also will show kindness to you. But if ye be angry one with another, I also will be angry with you. And every one that does evil with [his fellow, upon him]† I will bring every evil and every chastisement.

And Moses said, He that commits uncleanness with boys, what wilt thou give [him] as his reward? God said, Let his conduct and his power be with...‡ And Moses said, He that commits uncleanness with beasts? And God said to him, O Moses, if he be a man of full understanding, it is fitting that he fast a year, and pray and repent; and then let him enter the church and receive the oblation, and I will pardon his sins. But if he be a boy without understanding, let them fast for him three months. And Moses said, He that commits uncleanness, and repenting is confirmed in his repentance? God said to him, If so, Moses, I will both forgive his sins and write his name with the penitent. And Moses said, He that commits uncleanness and dies without repentance, what wilt thou requite him? God said, I will put on his neck a collar of fire, and he shall be tortured with demons in Gehenna, until he become the ridicule of all men to the day of the resurrection. But, O thou Moses, dost thou not understand that for the cause of uncleanness I was angry at Sodom and Gomorra, and I burned them with fire; and for the cause of uncleanness of§ the youth I also overthrew Nineveh?

And Moses said, He who smites upon his head because of the dead? God said, As one that took a spear and pierced me, so is he. And Moses said, He that rears the fatherless, because of the recompense? God said, I will write for him for that soul every day a thousand mercies. And Moses said, He that gives food with respect of persons? God said, He has no recompense with me. And he said, He that gives food as a tribute to the name of the departed, although he

* The pointing may mean that this particle is to be taken as the Greek *εὖ*, "well."

† Evidently the scribe has omitted a word or two here; but the sense must be essentially that of the words which I have supplied.

‡ The scribe has omitted a word here. Perhaps "them," or "boys" is to be supplied.

§ The scribe has written "and" for "of"; a very easy mistake in Nestorian script.

may [thus] become poor, what wilt thou give him? God said, According as he made deprivation to himself, and gave food to the poor and the needy, a hundred-fold will I recompense him, and I will show mercy for that tribute.

And Moses said, He that steals or defrauds or robs what is another's?—If he repay him that which he has defrauded or robbed, and repent, I will forgive his debts. And if he repents but does not repay his debts, I will command my fiery angels to cast upon his neck chains of fire, and to bind him with the wicked in Gehenna; and to torment him without mercy. O Moses, mine is the power and the might and the valor. I do not require that there should be a collar on the neck of man, but upon the mountains and the islands, and on the neck of demons, who are enemies of men.

And Moses said, He that removes the landmark of his neighbor, little or much, what is his reward? God said, I will make a collar of fire and chains upon his neck, if he do not return it to its place.

Moses said, My Lord and my God, he that steals or kills? God said, As he had no mercy upon his fellow, I also will have no mercy upon him, nor shall it [i. e., mercy] be upon him forever.

And Moses said, He that reviles his father or his mother, or makes a mock of them, what wilt thou give him? God said to him, I will not hear his prayer, nor receive his petition, but I will cast him down to Gehenna, though he were Abraham the father of nations.

And Moses said, He who lends money [*lit.*, *zuza*, a drachma] to others, and does not take from them increase or usury, what wilt thou give him? God said, I will multiply his possessions, and will pardon his debts, and will write his name in the book of life with the martyrs and holy ones. But he that takes interest or usury, I will set thieves in authority over him, who will steal from him his possessions, and I will make him the fellow of Qâin, that he may be tormented in Gehenna.

Moses said, He that puts peace among men, what wilt thou recompense him? God said, He shall be my beloved and friend, and I will make him inherit the kingdom of heaven.—And he that puts strife and murder among men, what wilt thou give him? God said to him, He shall be far from me, and I will not suffer him to enter my kingdom. His dwelling shall be with the demons in Gehenna. Know also, O Moses, that he that oppresses his fellow oppresses me, and he that honors another honors me. O good Moses, command thy family, the children of Israel, that they be merciful towards the poor, and the widows, and the miserable. Let them not be oppressed.* Lo, I will hear the voice of their crying, and their groaning will come near to me, and sicken my heart; and I cannot endure their oppressions. Speak also to them and teach them: If they turn not from their

* Perhaps it is better to punctuate thus: "poor. And the widows and the miserable, let them not be oppressed."

wicked thoughts, and give alms to the fatherless, I will pour out my wrath upon them, and will destroy them from their small even to their great. With me there is neither master nor servant, nor respect of persons; but I will recompense to every man according to his works, whether good or whether evil.

After that God said to the Mount of Sinai, Be lifted up. And Mount Sinai was lifted up, and there was between heaven and the prophet Moses about a cubit. And Moses looked and saw all creation like a small brow. And God said, Ask, Moses, whatever thou desirest. And when Moses heard, he said also to God thus: O my Lord, art thou near or far, that I may come at thee? And when God heard that Moses said to him thus, he said to him, I am exalted above all, and I am lower than all; and there is nothing beneath me. In every spot am I, and in every place I dwell. And Moses said,* O my Lord, what is thy clothing, and thy food? And God (glory to his Name!) said, My food is the tears of sinners that repent and turn to repentance, and my clothing is the praises of the angels and the repentance of men. And Moses said, How wast thou existent before thou createdst the heaven and the earth? And God said, I was existing with the reverend throne. And Moses said, What was that throne? and who were bearing it up? Where wast thou existent before the throne? And God said to him, The throne was light and fire and flame, and it was upon the shoulders of four angels, one in the likeness of the figure of a man, and one in the likeness of the figure of an eagle, one in the likeness of the figure of a lion, and one the figure of a bull. And above the throne was nothing, save Me alone, the Maker of the heaven and the earth. O thou Moses, this heaven in which are the stars and the sun and the moon, it is also a firmament in the likeness of glass, and above it there are waters. And there is another heaven scarlet, and above it a sea of fire; and the third heaven, that is my throne. Those angels that bear up the throne have each [*lit.*, he has] three hundred thousand mouths, and in every mouth three hundred thousand tongues, which utter praise in three hundred thousand variations, every one of them in its own voice [*lit.*, in one voice; i. e., language or cry not human], glorifying and extolling and singing praises and ascribing honor to my great Name; and there is no one tongue among them that is like another [*lit.*, there are not among them tongues that are like one another]. And amidst the four angels that bear up the throne, and between each and his fellow, are thirty thousand camps of cherubs and seraphs and angels and arch-angels, who are without number; a thousand thousands and a myriad of myriads, and more than the stars of heaven and the sand that is on the shore of the sea; and they glorify and sing praises and ascribe honor to my great and awful Name, without restraint and without ceasing. And, O thou Moses, according as I willed I created and brought into being from nothing everything that is

* This word is accidentally repeated by the scribe.

† By an easy slip the scribe has written "and" for "of."

in the heaven, and whatsoever is of the earth, and all that is in the seas and on the mountains.

And Moses said, O my Lord, whither does thy face look? to the east, or to the west, or to the north, or to the south? God said, If thou desire to know, make a fire, and gaze into it, Moses, and see where is its face. And Moses answered and said [O] God, I gazed into the fire, and I saw that in all of its convolution [is] its face. And God said, Thus am I, O Moses, in every spot and in every place; and full of me are the heaven and the earth and the seas and the mountains; and I am in the height and in the depth, above all and beneath all; and there is no place that is void of me, but the place of infidels and oppressors, and the region where they know me not, and the place—in which is no faith—of them that worship images the work of men's hands.

And Moses said, O my Lord, dost thou sleep, or not? And God said, O my servant Moses, I sleep not forever and ever. Take in thy hand a cup of water. And Moses did so as God said to him. And God cast a sleep on Moses, and he was sunk in sleep, and the cup fell from his hand, and the water within it was spilt. And Moses was awaked from his sleep, ashamed; and God said to him, O Moses, by my mighty arm, if I should fall asleep, the heaven and that which is in the earth would fall, just as the cup from thy hand and the water was spilt.

And Moses said to him, O my Lord, I beseech that I may see thee with my eyes. God said to him, Thou art not able to see me, O Moses. But he answered and said to him, If I see thee, I will say to the children of Israel that I have seen God, and I will speak the truth with them. And God said, Arise, pray, O Moses. After that he arose and prayed and prostrated himself ten times; then he looked up and saw that the heaven was opened at the divine beck, [an opening] in the likeness of a needle's eye. And Moses fell upon his face, and darkened his eyes, for Moses was not able to look with them. And when he was awakened from his trance, then he said, Great is thy honor; no one is able to search therein save those who, pure in their heart, behold the rays of thy divinity.

And after that God said to the mount of Sinai, Descend.

And after those things, God said to him, O Moses, after a little cometh the hour that they [i. e., the children of Israel] shall see me, and I shall be in the likeness of one of them; and I will heal their wounded, and make whole their diseased, and raise their dead; but they will deny me, and crucify me upon the wood. O Moses, unless I descend to your father Adam, he [and] his descendants will remain in Gehenna. But I declared to him when I created him, [saying,] In the latter times I will deliver thee by one Man whom I shall clothe from thee [i. e., with thy humanity]. Prophecy it of me, and say that I will be thy descendant. And I said to him when I created him, Lift up thine eyes on high. And he lifted up his eyes; and I said, What seest thou? He said to me, I saw a tree [lit., wood] above my head. And I said to him again, Rightly thou speakest. And he said, O my Lord, what is this wood, which is above my head? It is like

me, in the figure of a cross. I said, O Adam, look up, look three times. And I said to him, What seest thou? He said to me, I saw One in the image and in the likeness of me, who is crucified on the wood; his hands and his feet fastened [*lit.*, they are fastening] with nails, and a crown of thorns is put on his head.

And I showed to thy father Adam alone that which I have said to thee. O Moses, heaven and earth shall pass away: one *yud* or one stroke [or mark, or letter] from my word shall not pass away. I said to thy father Adam, For thy sake, O Adam, I will send the Son my Word [or, my Son the Word]; it shall put on humanity and shall be man. They will crucify him, and through his cross he shall redeem you. And thou Moses, I make [it] known to thee, until your* father Adam shall return to his garden and to Paradise from which he went out. He was driven out because he ate from the tree; and I expelled him from those good things. O thou Moses, then I declared to him, "I will redeem thee." And I will deliver him, him and his sons, from Gehenna. O Moses, when Adam trod under foot my commandment, and ate from the tree, and died the death of sin, and I drove him from the garden of delights, and he inherited the earth of curses, and went to Gehenna because he trod under foot my commandment, between me and him was this word, that I would descend and deliver him and his sons, and that I would not leave them in the hands of Satan and his torment. O thou Moses, this is the word between me and your* father Adam: After five thousand five hundred years I will descend to deliver him, and will pay his debts and sins; and I shall receive mocking, and spitting upon my face, and they shall fix nails in my hands and feet, and put on my head a crown of thorns, and smite me with a spear, and kill me; and I shall die, and through my death I shall raise Adam and his children to life from the death of sin; and they shall bury me, and I shall rise from the grave after three days; and I shall ascend to heaven and take up with me Adam and his children, and make him inherit the kingdom of heaven. But the Jews, I will scatter them through creation, and take from them the priesthood and the kingdom and the prophecy, and give them to be stained black, so that they shall be as dogs hated of every one. Blessed are they that believe in me: woe to them that deny me.—And after that God said to Moses, Go down from the mount of Sinai. And Moses went down, and went to the children of Israel, and recounted to them how God had spoken to him. What he saw and what he heard he said to them.—Glory to God the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit, even forever and ever. Amen and Amen.—Ends the Narrative of Mar Moses, by the hands of the weak and sinful priest Zerwanda, son of the brother of Mar Yohanan. Pray for my contemptibility. Amen.

* MS. "our," through the omission of two letters. Perhaps that reading is meant, however.

CORRIGENDA.—Page 163, last line of Syriac, for ܡܫܝܚܐ read ܡܫܝܚܐ. Page 163, second foot-note, for for Lent read before, or at the beginning of, Lent. Page 165, line 4 from bottom, for ܡܫܝܚܐ read ܡܫܝܚܐ. Page 165, last line, for ܡܫܝܚܐ read ܡܫܝܚܐ.

THE MOABITE STONE AND THE HEBREW RECORDS.

BY PROFESSOR JOHN D. DAVIS,

Princeton Theological Seminary.

According to the latest recensions of the text, the opening sentences of the Moabite stone, so far as they pertain to the present subject, are: "I am Mesha son of Chemosh-melek, king of Moab, the Dibonite. My father reigned over Moab thirty years and I reigned after my father. And I made this high place for Chemosh . . . because he saved me from all the kings and let me feast my eyes on all that hated me. Omri was king of Israel and he afflicted Moab for many days, because Chemosh was angry with his land. And his son succeeded him; and he also said: 'I will afflict Moab.' In my days he said thus; but I feasted my eyes on the humiliation of him and his house; and as for Israel, it perished with everlasting destruction. Now Omri had taken possession of the land of Medeba; and [Israel] dwelt in it during his days and half his son's [or sons'] days, forty years: but Chemosh restored it in my days."

The Hebrew records, it will be remembered, assign to the four kings of the house of Omri a combined reign of forty-four years; place the revolt of Mesha after the death of Omri's son Ahab, during the reign of Ahaziah; and ascribe the war of attempted resubjugation to Jehoram, Omri's grandson and last king of the line.

Prof. Driver, the last who has expressed an opinion and who but gives utterance to a wide-spread thought, says: "The revolt of Moab from Israel, noticed briefly in II Kgs. i. 1 = 3,5 . . . is there stated to have taken place after the death of Ahab; but from line 8 of the inscription it is evident that this date is too late, and that in fact it must have been completed by the middle of Ahab's reign:" and again, "Mesha's revolt took place in the middle of Ahab's reign, not after his death (as stated, II Kgs. i. 1)," (Notes on Text of Samuel).

Thus the stone of Moab and the Hebrew records are found contradictory. We presume, however, that the Oxford professor and all sharers of his view freely concede that a war (if not the war) for the re-conquest of Moab was conducted by Jehoram, as the Hebrew scriptures state; and hold that a correct history of the times should narrate the Moabite revolt about the middle of Ahab's reign, and a war of attempted re-conquest at the beginning of Jehoram's.

The first inquiry concerns the date of the stone. 1. It is a memorial stele; not commemorative merely of Moab's recovery of independence from Israel, but retrospective of the reign of Mesha. It records the capture of numerous Israel-

itish cities by Mesha, it is true : but it also recounts the war against Dedan which resulted in the recovery of Horonaim by Moab ; describes Mesha's works of peace, the repair of the ruins of war, the fortification of his capital, the erection therein of a royal palace and of reservoirs, and the construction of a highway by the river Arnon ; and the stone is dedicated by him to the god who had saved him, not from Omri's son merely, but from all the kings, and had let him feast his eyes on all that hated him. 2. Whatever may have been the date of the revolt from Israel, the monument was certainly not erected until after the death of Ahab ; for Mesha knows how long Ahab reigned, saying : "Omri took the land of Medeba and [Israel] dwelt therein during his days and half the days of his son." 3. The stone was erected after disaster had befallen the sons of Ahab also, perhaps even after the extinction of his family, which shortly followed his own death ; for Mesha says of Ahab : "I have feasted my eyes on him and on his house," i. e., have seen the utter humiliation of both. By the humbling of Ahab's family may be meant only the frustration of Jehoram's attempt at re-conquest ; but the reference would be even more appropriate to the work of Jehu, whereby the house of Omri was overthrown and all its members murdered. 4. There is perhaps confirmation for a time during the reign of Jehu. Mesha says : "And as for Israel, it perished with everlasting destruction." These may be words of oriental exaggeration : but there was a time, however, when they would have been fitly spoken ; for when, immediately after the fall of Omri's house, Moab saw Samaria subjected to the Assyrian yoke, and when a few years later Hazael ravaged Israel and wrested from Jehu the region east of the Jordan, Israel seemed to have indeed "perished with everlasting destruction." To judge, therefore, from Mesha's own words, the stele was erected late in his reign after the death of Ahab, after the humiliation of that house also ; and, not improbably, after the extinction of the line of Omri by Jehu and the entrance of Israel into its period of dire distress.

The second inquiry concerns the actual statements and authenticity of the Hebrew records. What do the Hebrews testify ? They say nothing about a Moabite revolt in the days of Ahab ; but they connect one with the death of Ahab, relate its outbreak in the course of the narrative of the next, i. e., Ahaziah's reign, record the war of attempted suppression in the days of his successor Jehoram, and seem to imply that tribute had been rendered down to the date of Ahab's fall. And this account may not be lightly set aside. For 1. The Hebrew date suits the circumstances connected with Ahab's death. Historically the time was eminently fitting for a revolt. During the reign of Ahab, intermarriages between the royal families of Israel and Judah, by terminating hostilities for a time, caused these kingdoms to again present a united front to their common enemy Moab. At the battle of Ramoth-gilead, however, not only was the powerful monarch at the head of the northern realm slain, whereby the reins of

government fell into the hands of the weak Ahaziah, but the united armies of both northern and southern kingdoms were defeated. The time was opportune for Moab to revolt. 2. Again a general revolt at that time is abundantly manifest from Hebrew history. A month or so after Jehoshaphat had returned to Jerusalem from the disastrous battle at Ramoth-gilead, his kingdom was threatened with invasion by the allied armies of Moab, Ammon and Edom. That danger having been warded off, Jehoshaphat was soon after summoned by his kinsman Jehoram to assist the Israelites to re-subjugate Moab. 3. The Hebrew record further dates the attempted re-conquest of Moab after the death of Ahab by the mention of persons. The war is conducted by Jehoram, who shortly followed Ahab on the throne; and the prophet Elisha, who succeeded Elijah after the death of Ahab, is mentioned as present. 4. The credibility of the Hebrew record for this period is abundantly and minutely confirmed by monumental evidence. The Assyrian measurement of the interval from Ahab to Jehu is apparently the same as the Hebrew. The Assyrian tablets and the Hebrew records alike make Ahab of Israel and Ben-hadad of Damascus contemporaries and allies, place the death of Ben-hadad in the same position relatively to concomitant events, define it to within three years of its occurrence, name Hazael of Damascus as successor of Ben-hadad, mention Hazael and Jehu as contemporaries and refer to each in the same year relatively to the death of Ben-hadad.

Such complete consistency among all the statements of the Hebrew record for this period, such minute agreement with the details of the Assyrian annals, lend to the Hebrew declarations an authority not lightly to be rejected. Were then choice between the credibility of the Hebrew and the Moabite stories necessary, preference might justly be claimed for the former on the ground that it is derived from annals of the kingdom presumably contemporary with the events, whereas Mesha had his stone inscribed a considerable time after the revolt; that the general authenticity of the Hebrew narrative is abundantly confirmed, while the credibility of Mesha is unknown; and especially on the ground that the Hebrew record deals with domestic affairs, while the Moabite king's note of time is a reference to the internal history of a realm foreign to Moab.

But we do not think that a choice between the Hebrew recital and Mesha's account is necessary. We are glad to believe in the historical accuracy of both. The statements of the two documents may be reconciled in one of two ways:

They may be combined much in the manner already suggested; the recovery of Medeba by the Moabites being assigned to the middle of Ahab's reign, and the general revolt of Moab, allied with Ammon and Seir, to the period after the death of Ahab. The course of events would then be as follows: Omri, before his accession, while commander of the armies of Israel, crushed the power of the Moabites and opened their country to the Israelites for settlement. Despite the vicissitudes which befell the northern kingdom, the Israelitish inhabitants of this

remote district, occupying as they did fortified towns, easily retained possession of the conquered domain and raised the imposed tribute. At length when Omri's successor Ahab was entangled in war with the Syrians, Mesha found himself sufficiently strong to oust the Israelites from the extreme eastern and isolated town of Medeba; but, like many a subject prince of mediæval history, while he did not hesitate, when the occasion offered, to dispossess his liege lord of a goodly castle, nevertheless remained a vassal. Other cities lost by his father, Mesha did not undertake to recover until the catastrophe at Ramoth-gilead made revolt possible. Looking back over many years and recounting the exploits of his long reign, Mesha, in no wise contradicting but only unintentionally supplementing the Hebrew account, truthfully says: "Omri had taken possession of Medeba, and Israel dwelt therein during his days and half his son's days, forty years; but Chemosh restored it in my days."

There is another and preferable explanation. It rests upon a well-grounded assumption and on two facts. The assumption is that the inscription of Mesha was engraved not simply as late as the reign of Jehoram, which is proven, but after the destruction of Omri's house by Jehu, which as already seen is more than consistent with the narrative, being probable. The facts are first that the name "son of Omri" was not restricted to Ahab, but was a common designation for any descendant of Omri on the throne of Israel. To name thus Omri's lineal successors was in accordance with that well-known custom of the times whereby members of a royal line were denominated sons of the founder thereof. Several examples from the Assyrian records are cited by Schrader (*KAT.* 190 Anm.**). So this stone mentions the occupant of Horonaim, not by his personal, but by his family name "son of Dedan" (l. 31). So too the stone, while it knows that name of terror Omri the conqueror, knows his royal successor only by the indefinite designation of "his son." So too another contemporary monument of stone gives to Jehu, who was not even of the lineage of Omri but only a successor, the title "son of Omri." "Son of Omri" was thus the common designation for any king of Omri's line. The second fact is that the three letters בנה can be a plural form, meaning "his sons." The Moabitish plural absolute is uniformly written defectively. Likewise plural nouns in union with a pronominal suffix generally show no ך. In line 8, the line in question, the words "his days" are represented by the three letters ימה. In line 20, where occurs the sentence, "I took of Moab 200 men, even all its chiefs," the words "its chiefs" are expressed by three letters רשה. In line 22, the pronominal suffix is appended to the feminine plural מנרלת naturally without an intervening ך. In but one case is ך used. Thus while the letters בנה may be a noun in the singular number, as in l. 6, they can with equal propriety represent the plural "his sons."

The course of the history was this: Omri, the commander of Israel's armies during the two years of the reign of Elah (*I Kgs.* xvi. 16), conquered and crushed

Moab and opened the territory to Israelitish settlement. The same or the following year he became king; and, though his authority was for a while disputed by a rival, the Moabites had no power left to rise against the Israelitish occupants of the walled towns. Apace with Moab's recovery of strength, grew the authority and power of Omri and Ahab. Their house moreover formed alliance by matrimony with the royal family of Judah. Not until the united forces of Judah and Israel were defeated at Ramoth-gilead and Ahab himself slain, were the Moabites spirited enough and courageous enough, with the help of the Ammonites and Edomites, to strike for freedom. They tried and succeeded. The revolt divided the reign of Omri's sons in twain, and gave to the latter half of their dominion a far different aspect in Moabitish eyes from the former. Looking back over many years, recounting events previous to as well as during his own reign, and being acquainted with the fateful history of Omri's dynasty, Mesha records: "Omri was king over Israel and afflicted Moab many days. . . . And his son succeeded him and he also said: 'I will afflict Moab.' He said thus in my days; but I feasted my eyes on him and on his house; and as for Israel, it perished with everlasting destruction." And then, after thus mentioning the fall of the first of the sons and of that son's house, knowing the lineal descendants of Omri simply as "his sons," Mesha resumes: "Now Omri had taken possession of Medeba and Israel dwelt therein during his days and half the days of his sons, forty years; but Chemosh restored it in my days."

ASSYRIAN ETYMOLOGIES.¹

By REV. W. MUSS-ARNOLT, PH. D.,

Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

I.) Tup-šikkū = a badge of servitude.

Lyon (*Sargon-texte*, 36, l. 56) and Peiser (*KB.* II. 48 fol.) read al-lu um-šik-ku u-ša-aš-ši, translated by the one *I let them carry the allu and um-šikku*, by the other *I caused them to bring allu and tribute*.

Esarhaddon (I R. 47, Col. V. 1 sqq.) says niše mâtâtî hu-bu-ut kaš-ti-ia IÇ al-lu um-šik-ku u-ša-aš-ši-šu-nu-ti (*KB.* II. 134), translated by Abel: *Ich legte Frohndienste auf*.

Asurbanipal, Col. X. 89 sqq., relates, according to *KB.* II. 234: šarrâni (mātu) A-ri-bi ša ina a-di-ia iḫ-ṭu-u ša ina kabal tam-ḥa-ri bal-ṭu-us-su-nu u-ḡab-bi-tu ina kâtê, a-na e-peš bît-ri-du-u-ti šu-a-tu (iḡu) al-lu tup(b)-šik-ku u-ša-aš-ši-šu-nu-ti u-ša-az-bi-la ku-dur-ri la-bi-in libnâti-šu za-bi-lu tup-šik-ki-šu, etc.; rendered by Jensen: *Die Könige von Arabien, die sich gegen die mir [geleisteten] Eide vergangen hatten, die ich im Sturme der Schlacht lebendig mit den Händen gepackt hatte, liess ich, um jenes Frauenhaus zu bauen, Bûrdjoch und Arbeitermütze tragen und das Traggeflecht schleppen. Seine Ziegel streichend, seine Bürde schleppend* (brachten sie unter Gesang und Spiel ihre Tage hin).²

The (iḡ) allu is a chain, or a yoke, from alalu, to bind.³ Every one has

¹ Presented to the American Oriental Society at its meeting, October, 1890.

² Also see Winckler, *Sargon* 32, 189, il-ku muš-šik-ku emidsunuti translated *Wid., Steuern und Frohndienste legte ich ihnen auf*; cf. *Wid.* 44, 270; 112, 83. *ZA.* III. 314, 60, etc. The word mu-šik-ki. Winckler, *Sargon*, p. 96, 8; 146, 6, etc., is another word than the one under discussion.

³ So Del. *ALS.* (vocabulary); Zb. 5, rem. 1; according to *HEBRAICA*, I. 230, alalu means to hang; so also Guyard, *Notes*, 44 36, rem. 1, and 66; *ZK.* II. 21. Asurb. II. 10 mentions allu ḥuraḡi a gold chain; another word for chain is nallutu, also from alalu; see e. g. V R. 15, 48 d, where it follows ma-a[k-ḡaru] and kan-nu and precedes kan-nu and ku-u ḡp, 9⁹ قوۃ). kannu is to be connected with Hebr. קנן to build a nest, to rest, to crouch. Del. *ALS.*, p. 80, Col. II. 1 and 3, we read kin-nu ka-an-[na-nu] and ku-un-nu-[nu]; kalbu kun-nu is a chained dog, or a dog crouching down; *Deluge* 109 we read ilani kima kalbe kun-nu-nu, ina ka-ma-a-ti rab-ḡu; also V R. 45, Col. VII. 41, tu-qa-an-na-an. See, however, Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 423 and 517.—II R. 51, 32 od, we read A-dar(?) ša al-li (*ZA.* II. 211 sq.). See, also, Jensen, *Kosm.* 322, and Del. *Wörterbuch.* ad ܐܠܠܐ. Connected with allu no doubt is allu happu, a Semitic word, notwithstanding Schell's clever remarks in *BOR.* IV. 44 sqq. and Sayce's dictum in *ZK.* II. 207, who derives even allu from the Akkadian. From the same alalu we have ul-lu in ul-li kal-bi a dog-collar, Asurb. VIII. 28 and IX. 106, connected by Jensen (*ZK.* I. 299 and II. 21) and Professor Haupt (*HEBRAICA*, I. 230) with Hebr. ܐܠܠ ܐܠܠ. Arabic غل.

seen pictures of prisoners and slaves, brought before the Assyrian kings. As a rule they wear a rope or a chain around their neck; and this I call the *allu*.

It cannot but be confusing to the mind of the "layman" that in the same volume, *KB*. II., Peiser, Winckler, Abel, etc., read *um-šikku*, while Jensen transcribes *tup-šikku*, the former deriving the word from an Assyrian stem, the latter from an Akkadian original; at least on p. 292 of *KB*. II. he says: *tup-šikku* = *kudurru* = "*Ziegelbrett*," which was carried or worn on the head; a compound of *tuppu*, *board*, and *šig* (*šeg*), *brick*; see also Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 494.

The three characters, which make up the word, have been read *muššikku*, *umšikku* and *tupšikku*.

1. Praetorius in *ZDMG*. 27, 514, line 8sq., reads *muššikku* deriving it from *našaku* = Hebr. נָשָׂא, to *anoint* (as king); his development of the word was anointment, kingdom, crown = *kudurru*. Schrader (*ibid.* 28, 128), criticizing this interpretation, translates "*sovereignty*," comparing Hebr. מָסַךְ Isa. xxii. 8 and מִסְכָּה *ibid.* xxv. 7, from נָסַךְ to *cover*, to *protect*, protection implying on the part of the king sovereignty. Delitzsch in Baer-Del. *Daniel*, præf. xi-xii, adopts reading and etymology from נָסַךְ, but considers it an article for wearing on the head, to cover it. Also Winckler, *Sargon-texte*, reads *muššikku*, translating it by *Frohnden*.

2. The reading *um-šik-ku* has been advocated, among others, by Lyon, *Sargon-texte*, p. 59, 5, and it has become the generally accepted reading.

3. Jensen proposed the reading *tup-šikku*, considering it a compound of the two "Akkadian" words *tup-dub*, *board*, *tablet*, and *šig'* (*šeg*) = *brick*. In the majority of cases, as far as I have been able to examine them, we have the sign *tup* (with four upright wedges); this undoubtedly favors the reading *tup* (*dub*). In addition to this we read in a hymn, published in *ZA*. iv. 110 sq. on p. 133, 100 and 112, *ba-bi-il tu-ub-ši-kam* (translated, *ibid.*, *bringing a blessing*), which means *bringing or carrying the tupšikku*.

I, thus, agree with Jensen in reading *tup-šikku*; with Jensen I believe that it is a compound consisting of *tup* + *šikku*; but I differ with him as regards the etymology of the word. It is not from the Akkadian, but of good Semitic parentage belonging to the same class, as *sép-arik*, *araḥ-šamna* and others.

For *tuppu*, *tablet*, *badge*, see Sc. 38 = IV R. 69, 38 *tu-up-pu*, etc.; it is—in all probability—derived from a verb תָּפַף, to *beat*, to *press*, thus indicating that the tablets were pressed or beaten into their shape and form.

As regards *šikku*⁴ derived by Jensen from an Akkadian *šig* (*šeg*) = *brick*, I should say, that, if the Assyrians had adopted it from the Akkadian, they would,

⁴ The reading *šikku* with *š* is confirmed by (*tup*) *š1-ik-ka* IV R. 55, 28, and the passage from *ZA*. iv., referred to above.

no doubt, have also adopted for its use, the sign for brick, libittu; cf. HT. 35, 841; but tup-šikku is never, as far as I know, written with the sign for brick (šig, šeg).

To explain šikku, we must turn to V R. 32, 67 d-f; where the word occurs as an apparent synonym of ku-du-ru.⁵ Here we read as a gloss to the non-Semitic GI-EL,⁶ du-uš-su.⁷ I consider this a Semitic word equal to du-uš-šu a P'el form. from dâšu (Hebr. דָּשָׁה) like uḥḥuzu *set*; ummulu; dukḫuku, kuddušu, etc.

We have in Hebrew a verb שָׁכַח = Arabic سَكَّ = to bow down. Hiph'il, to bend down, to overthrow a rebellion (e. g., Num. xvii. 20), thus equivalent to דָּוָשׁ, to tread down, to crush. With this stem שָׁכַח I connect šikku and explain it as a form like biblu *desire*, libbu *heart*, šiddu *flank*, šikku *snake*, etc. It would thus mean *overthrow, defeat, servitude*.

Tup-šikku, then, is a compound like mûr-nišku and many others (Dg. § 73) and its meaning is *tablet or badge* (indicative) of servitude, either in its literal sense or metaphorically. This meaning, etymologically established, suits all the passages examined; the (iç) allu as well as the kuduru is a tupšikku, *badge of servitude*, showing that their wearers were slaves and prisoners.⁸

Ht. 36, 880, we read si-ik⁹ = enšu *weak*. Dg. § 25 explains this value as an abbreviation of siqu, *hemmed in, oppressed* = סִיק¹⁰; but in view of the fact that in Assyrian the pronunciation of š and s became gradually identical, I would rather derive sik (= šik) from sikku (= šikku).

II R. 22, 25 cd, we read šak-ku ša še'im = allu happu; BOR. iv. 47 reads šak-ku and says = שָׁקַח = שָׁכַח = שָׁכַח; šakku stands for šakiku = *crushing the corn* = allu-happu.

⁵ On kuduru see now Jastrow, *Proc. Am. Or. Soc.*, October, 1888, p. xcv. foll.

⁶ For G A-TU = EL see e. g. HT. 23, 451 sqq.; II R. 26, 43c.

⁷ Similar glosses abound. A few may be referred to. HT. 73, 13a, we have (iç) zi-er-ku in the Akkadian column, borrowed from the Assyrian zirku, a *sprinkler*, זִרְקָה, a fact recognized by the genial Lenormant as early as 1876! (see *GGA.*, 1877, p. 1430-1); again HT. 76, 1, zu-mu-ug-ga-NI from the Assyrian sanaku, סָנַק, Hebr. סָנַק; cf. BAS. i. 284, rem. 2; Dg. § 25. HT. 81, 25 kar-ra-du-um-BI = *his hero*; ZK. i. 99, § 5, and Zs. 5, rem. 1. According to Professor Haupt this text (HT. No. 10) seems to have been foolishly translated from the Assyrian into Akkadian.

⁸ See also IV R. 55, 16, where we read tup-šikku bitati ilani rabûti emedušunuti. We usually find no connecting particle u between allu and tupšikku, although all translators have inserted an "and" as if it were found so in the original texts. (iç) allu tupšikku means the *chain, the badge of servitude*, the latter standing in apposition to allu.

⁹ SIG (sik) = enešu also occurs V R. 62, 55a; cf. II R. 48, 19 gh; 23, 67 = en-šu; V 62, 57a = en-šu-us-su (= enšutšu).

¹⁰ With siqu, סִיק, usiq he *oppressed*, I connect zi-ga the ideogr. for tebû *enemy, adversary, oppressor*; also the value ik (ga) Del. Schrifttafel, 53, is of Semitic origin. In II R. 23, 62 cf., we read daltu = iḫku, a *wing of a folding door*; from this is derived the ideogr. (iç) iḫ = daltu and not (iç) gal as read usually; iḫku, of course, stands for aḫi-'u, as nimru for namiru, etc., and is derived from eḫû to *wind, to turn*.

"SONHOOD," OR ADOPTION AMONG THE EARLY BABYLONIANS.

BY THEO. G. PINCHES,

Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum.

Among the host of dry sales of land and similar transactions, which form the subject-matter of most of the trade-documents of older Babylonia, are a few tablets of great interest to the student of ancient law in that part of the romantic East. To these records of a long-vanished state of society, a few Assyriologists are now turning their attention; one of the most interesting papers upon the subject being Dr. Meissner's "*Die Serie ana ittišu in ihrem Verhältniss zum altbabylonischen Recht*," based partly on new acquisitions by the British Museum, and partly on the old "B." tablets (published by the Rev. J. N. Strassmaier, S. J., in the *Transactions of the Berlin Congress* in 1881), and the grammatical tablets of the Kouyunjik collection.

The more one studies the record of Babylonian private life, the more one becomes convinced, that whatever the disposition of the Assyrians may have been, the Babylonians must have been a very kind-hearted people. This kind-heartedness shows itself in many ways, but more especially, probably, in their custom of adopting children. The existence of tablets referring to this custom in later times,¹ shows that the nation did not change in this respect.

The text which I now examine has already been referred to by Dr. Meissner in the above-named article. He, however, seems not to have regarded it as a contract of adoption, but as a document illustrating the standpoint of the parents towards the children. This it does indicate indirectly—but really it is a tablet of "sonhood" (*âplūtu*). In justice, however, to my friend Dr. Meissner, I must say, that the fault of this view of the text does not lie with him, for he has done his best with the material at his command, and has excellently translated and compared the extract he has given.

The text in question is numbered B. 42 (Strassmaier 102), and is nearly complete, a few lines only at the beginning and end being broken away, and a few others damaged. The envelope, however, supplies some of the characters wanting on the tablet, and also gives some interesting variants. The language of the text is Akkadian, with a few Assyrian words and phrases here and there.

In translating a new inscription, the first thing to do is to find the "key-word,"

¹ See the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. VIII., p. 275, 3d paragraph; and *HEBRAICA*, Vol. III., pp. 13-21.

so to say. The key-word, in this case, is in the second line, and is composed of the characters *nam-ibila-ni-šu* (or *-ku*), translated, in *WAI.* II. 9, 64, and 33, 7, by *ana âplûti-šu*, to his *sonhood*,—that is, *as his adopted son*. The word which follows, on our Babylonian tablet, is *ingar-**, *he made*, or *placed* (he placed as his adopted son). The general sense of these broken lines was probably to the effect that Êtel-pî-Sin had adopted Bêl-êzzu as his son. The succeeding lines read as follows :

TABLET (II. 3 sqq.).	ENVELOPE (II. 2 sqq.).
Ganâ, kirâ, marša, [NIG-GA	[Ganâ], kirâ, marša, NIG-GA
bîti-šu-ma(?)	bîti-šu-ma(?)
aua ig-*. *	[ša] Êtel-pî-Sin
ša Etel-pî-[Sin]	[û] Sin-naid ³ âššati-šu
iḫḫuzu ²	iḫḫuzû ⁴
Ê[t]el-pî-Sin	Êtel-pî-Sin û Sin-naid
ḫamšet âplē iraššû	ḫamšet âplē eraššû ⁵
Bêl-êzzu	Bêl-êzzu DÛ-NE-NE
IBILA-GI-KIME NIBAËN	IBILA-GI-KIME NAM NI-BAËN
The field, plantation, marša, the furniture of his house also(?)	The field, plantation, marša, the furniture of his house also(?)
for . . .	which Êtel-pî-Sin
which Êtel-pî-Sin	and Sin-naid, his wife,
possesses—	possess—
Êtel-pî-Sin	Êtel-pî-Sin and Sin-naid
has 5 sons—	have 5 sons—
(to) Bêl-êzzu,	(to) Bêl-êzzu, their son,
like a son, he will give.	like a son, they will give a share.

From the above it will be seen, that notwithstanding that Êtel-pî-Sin had already five sons, he had no objection to adopting another, to whom, "like a son" [IBILA-GI-KIME, *son + one + like*], he gives a share (for such I take to be the meaning of NAM here) of his property. This interesting section is followed by a portion which, as Dr. Meissner says, is an exact parallel of the tablet of "Family-laws" (*WAI.* v. 25, 23-28):

¹ On the original *ni-du-a*.
² As is shown by the seal-impression of Nidnat-Sin, *da* and *id* are written alike in this text; hence this reading (cf. Meissner).
³ On the original *ni-du-a-meš*.
⁴ Note this interesting variant form.

TABLET OF "FAMILY-LAWS."

TUKUNDI-BI DU AD-DA-
NA-RA
AD-DA-MU NU-ME-A
BA-AN-NA-AN-GU
[UMBIN MI-NI-IN-ŠA-A
GAR-RA-AŠ MI-NI-IN-DU-
E] [ŠUM⁶
Ū AZAG-GA-AŠ MI-NI-IN-

"If a son to his father
'Thou art not my father'
say,
[he shall set a mark upon him,
place him in fetters],
and sell him for silver."

B. 42, ll. 11 *sqq.*

7TUKUNDI-BI Bêl-êz-zu
Ê-te-el-pî-Sin-RA AD-DA-
NA
Ū Sin-na-id AMA-NI
AD-DA-MU NU-ME⁸ AMA-
MU NU-ME⁸
BA-AN-NA-GU [MU-UŠ
AZAGA-ŠU BA-AB-ŠUM-

"If Bêl-êzzu
to Êtel-pî-Sin, his father
and Sin-naid, his mother
'Thou art not my father—thou art
not my mother'
say,
they shall sell him for silver."

Notwithstanding the additional phrases on the tablet of "Family-laws," the penalty may be regarded as identical in both cases, for although it was not necessary to "set a mark on him," yet in order conveniently to sell the faithless foster-son as a slave, it would possibly be needful to put him in fetters, or, at least, to tie him up in some way, so as to prevent his escape.

The penalty for ingratitude on the part of the adopted son having been stated, the text of the tablet proceeds to deal with the foster-parents, should they, in their turn, deny their adopted son :

TABLET, ll. 17 *sqq.*

Ū TUKUNDI-BI
Ê-te-el-pî-Sin
Ū Sin-na-id DAM-A-NI
Bêl-êzzu DU-NI-RA
DU-MU NU-ME DIB-AN-
NA-DU-NE
GANA, GIŠ-ŠAR Ū MAR-ŠA
GA-LA-NI ŠU-BA-AB-TE-
GA
BA-AN—TUM-MU.
MU LUGALA-BI IN-PA.

"And if
Êtel-pî-Sin
and Sin-naid, his wife,
to Bêl-êzzu, their son,
cry out, 'Thou art not my son,'
field, plantation, and marša,
his property,⁹ he may take,
(and) may separate it.
He (Êtel-pî-Sin) has invoked the
spirit of the king."

⁶ See Haupt's *Sumerische Familiengesetze*.

⁷ On the case U-KUR-ŠU, "in future," precedes TUKUNDI-BI.

⁸ The envelope has NU-ME-EN in both cases, implying that the final consonant was nasal.

⁹ Meissner translates GALA by *Mübesitz*.

This apparently means that Bêl-êzzu, the adopted son of Êtel-pî-Sin and his wife Sin-naid, might claim and take the share of Êtel-pî-Sin's property promised to him, should Êtel-pî-Sin at any time renounce his adopted son.

Whatever the faults of the translation here given may be, the picture presented is, as far as it goes, complete, and the story hangs together consistently. We get rid, moreover, of a difficulty which must have presented itself to some minds when reading a translation of the above-named "Family Laws," namely, how any power on earth could be supposed to dissolve the relationship between parents and their offspring, for *no son, in the sense of the word, can deny his father, any more than a father can deny his son*. They may pronounce the words of renunciation as much as they like, but their relationship remains just as it was notwithstanding. Though a father "cut off his son with a shilling," or with nothing at all, his son is still his son, and nothing can change it. Not so in a case of adoption where the law gives power of renunciation—this relationship, made by a legal form, may also be annulled by a legal form. Babylonian law was therefore in this respect more consistent than has been supposed.

Of course the result of the prevalence of this custom of adoption in Babylonia must have been to multiply lawsuits. In illustration of this the tablet B. 57, in which Ilu-banî, in order to get the property to which he claimed to be entitled, makes solemn declaration to the effect that he was really the adopted son of Sin-magir, may be quoted as a case in point.

Girls were also adopted "to daughterhood"—or, rather (as the Babylonians were obliged to use the abstract from mâru), "to childship" (mârûtu). The only tablet known to me referring to this (B. 26) is unfortunately rather defaced. It seems to relate, however, to the adoption of a girl by a man named Tilligunu(?), but the text requires much study before a satisfactory rendering can be made.

THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT OF HOSEA COMPARED WITH THE MASSORETIC TEXT.*

BY GAYLARD H. PATTERSON, PH. D.,

New Haven, Conn.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

In sympathy with all earnest effort to obtain a better text of the Old Testament, I was led, at the suggestion of my esteemed friend and teacher, Professor W. R. Harper, to take up the study of the Septuagint version of Hosea. Good use has been made of the Targum by Wünsche,† and Sebök‡ has investigated the variations of the Peshitta. But the most important of the versions for textual criticism, the Septuagint, has received little attention, having been investigated only in a general way by the commentators as well as by Vollers in *Das Dodekapropheton der Alexandriner*.

It is not my purpose to repeat the history of the version, the legend of its origin, etc., since this work has already been done by those who have wider experience. The purpose is simply to compare the Septuagint with the Massoretic text and note the conclusions that may be drawn from such comparison.

The great question, however, in the study of the LXX. to-day is whether the variations, which it presents, are due to arbitrariness of translation or to difference of recension. Thus it is my object to consider whether there are variations in the translation which would not be allowed a translator, and if so, whether these are due to arbitrariness on the part of the translator or to difference of recension.

Before proceeding to the consideration of the differences between the texts, it seems best to present a brief outline of the manner in which the investigation is conducted. Having studied the text verse by verse it was my intention to present the results in somewhat the same form as is followed in the works of Lagarde, Wellhausen, Ryssel, etc., but this, it seems, fails to present to the mind any clear idea of the variations as a class. Therefore, after a brief statement in regard to the condition of the text of the LXX., the variations are considered under three general divisions which I have named *Interpretation*, *Doubtful* and *Recensional*. Under *Interpretation* those variations which may, in any fair way, be attributed to

* Part of a thesis presented to the Faculty of the Department of Philosophy and the Arts, Yale University, for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, by Gaylard H. Patterson.

† *Der Prophet Hosea übersetzt und erklärt mit Benutzung der Targumim und der jüdischen Ausleger*, Raschi, Aben Ezra und David Kimchi. Leipzig, 1868.

‡ *Die Sprüche Uebersetzung der zwölf kleinen Propheten und ihr Verhältnisse zu dem massoretischen Text und zu den älteren Uebersetzungen u. s. w.* Breslau, 1887.

the translation through free translation, different punctuation, confusion of letters, etc., are considered. Under *Doubtful* cases, those variations which are of such a nature that one cannot determine whether they are due to the translator or to a difference of MSS., are considered, and under *Recensional* those cases which can only be accounted for on the supposition that the translation is based on a MS. or MSS. differing somewhat from those underlying the Massoretic text. In these divisions the material is classified as in Workman's *Text of Jeremiah*. He adopts the old terminology "in an accommodated sense." With the Massoretic text as the basis, the variations of the second and third divisions are considered under additions and omissions of letters, words, phrases, etc., "alterations of mood, tense, gender, person, number and case." Substitutions of parts of speech, syntactical forms, etc. Thus the first consideration is as to the integrity of the text of the LXX. Then those variations, which may be attributed to the translator, are considered and thus one is familiarized with the general character of the translation in such a way that he may proceed to the consideration of the doubtful and recensional cases with an additional criterion by which to estimate the value of the variations in these cases.*

The Hebrew text used in the discussion is the edition by Baer and Delitzsch; the fac-simile of the Codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus edited by H. L. Strack was also consulted. Tischendorf's sixth edition of the Septuagint is used and fac-similes of the Vatican and Alexandrian MSS. have been consulted.†

CONDITION OF THE GREEK TEXT.

With corruption in both the Hebrew and the Greek, results become very uncertain; so, while the examination of the text of the LXX. involves a special investigation of itself, a few cases of interest may be noticed here.

In 7:2 there is manifest corruption, for the reading ὅπως συνάδωσιν ὡς ἄδοντες— is neither Greek nor Hebrew, nor is the variant ὅπως συνάδουσιν ὡς συνάδοντες, better. Ewald suggests that the text may have been ὡς συνάδοντες ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν.‡ This might then be a free translation, or perhaps they misread יִמְרוּ for יִמְרוּ. To suppose with Ewald that they read כְּמוֹ יְאוֹתוֹ בְּלִבָּב is to increase the difficulty.

In 10:6 the reading καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀσσυρίους δέσαντες, ἀπήνεγκαν ξένια τῷ βασιλεὶ Ἰαρβίμ ἐν δόματι Ἐφραΐμ δέξεται, must be corrupt; ξένια and ἐν δόματι seem to be a double translation for the same word, though the latter may be for the Hebrew בִּשְׁנֵה (?).

In 13:3 the δακρύων of the LXX. is probably a confusion of letters from ἀκρίδων

* Since the above divisions were made the excellent and recent work of Canon Driver has come to the writer's hands and he is pleased to find in it a very clear statement of the proper method of investigation. Cf. *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*. Oxford, 1890, p. xi.

† It is gratifying to know that an excellent edition of the Greek text is now being prepared for the Syndics of the University Press, Cambridge, by H. B. Swete, D. D.

‡ *Prophets of the Old Testament*. Vol. I., p. 273. London and Edinburgh, 1875.

which is a variant and a translation of the Hebrew consonants; *καπνοδόχης* is another variant and a good translation of the Hebrew.

In 9:10 the reading *σκοπόν ἐν συκῇ* may have arisen in some such way as is suggested by Schleusner,* viz., *σκοπόν* is a confusion of letters of the word *κ(α)ρ'πον* with *σκο'πον* and *σκ* of *σ(υ)κη*, which might then be a free translation. The parallelism establishes the Hebrew.

Instances of readings which seem to be due to the confusion or to the similarity in writing of the Greek letters are the following: The reading of the LXX. in 4:14, viz., *καὶ ὁ λαὸς ὁ συνιῶν συνεπλέκετο μετὰ πόρνῃς*, for which the Peshitta has *ܐܢܬܐ ܕܠܐܕܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ*, is best explained as a corruption, since the Peshitta, departing from the Massoretic text, agrees with the LXX. except that it has the negative. Compare with this 13:13, where Cyril† explains the LXX. *οὗτος ὁ υἱὸς σου ὁ φρόνιμος*, as used sarcastically; and Cappelle conjectures that *Ν* was read *ך*. But better than these is the explanation of Marck (cited by Simson), viz., *υἱὸς σου = υἱὸς οὐ*, *ς* having been copied a second time. In 2:16 the LXX. has *καὶ τάξω αὐτὴν ὡς ἐρημον* for *והולכתיה המדבר*. Concerning this Schleusner observes "ubi loco τάξω * * * reponendum videtur ἄξω vel ἀνάξω αὐτὴν εἰς ἐρημον. Ἀξω habet quoque Cod. Basil." These last instances as well as a conjecture of Drusius (cited by Wünsche) that *ἡμέραι* 7:5 is due to the manner of writing the dative *ΗΜΕΡΑΙ*, are sufficient to show that one must examine the ancient characters of the Greek before he can determine to what extent the manuscripts have been influenced by transcription alone. This and the evident corruption indicate that one must handle the text with great discrimination. "But fortunately in this case sound results in detail must precede and not follow the establishment of a text sound throughout."‡

INTERPRETATION.

Under this division, as already indicated, it is proposed to consider those variations which may be attributed to the translation, whether arising directly from interpretation, or in any way due to the translator. Since the Greek translator of this book must have found difficulty in interpretation owing to the peculiarities of the style of the Prophet, this becomes one of the obstacles in the way of the textual study of the book. These peculiarities may be stated summarily as follows: brief and unconnected sentences; frequent neglect of gender, person and number; intermingling of similes and metaphors; scanty use of particles; feeble parallelism; rare words; peculiar constructions; inversions; anacolutha and corruption of text. To what extent the translation has been affected by failing to observe these peculiarities will appear in the following.

* *Novus Thesaurus in Vetus Testamentum*. Glasgow, 1822.

† J. P. Migne's edition of *Patrologia Graeca*. Paris, 1859. Vol. LXXI., p. 311.

‡ *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Article, "Septuagint" by Wellhausen. Vol. XXI., p. 669.

§ Henderson's *Commentary on the Minor Prophets*, p. 1. Andover, 1868.

I. There may be noted cases in which a word is given a meaning belonging to it, but not the proper force according to the context, as in the case of

1. Nouns, when there is used,

a. A Common Noun for a Proper Noun. *βοιωνός* for נבעה in 5:8; 9:9 and 10:9, influenced perhaps by 4:13 and 10:8, where the common noun occurs. The first part of the words ביתאון and ביתאל, 4:15; 5:8; 12:5, etc.,* is always translated by *οίκος*. Other examples are σκοπιά = מצפה, 5:1; ὑψηλός = רמה, 5:8.

b. A Proper for a Common Noun. Ἰαρεῖμ = ירב 5:13 and 10:6. Compare, however, A.V. and R.V. In this case the article would be expected with מלך. נ and ס to the mouth of an Oriental are nearly related. Cf. Ps. 16:1. For Μάχμας cf. p. 195.

2. Verbs; in some cases

a. A fair meaning is given. ἀπορρίπτω = רמה, 10:7,15; ἐπακοίω = ענה, 2:23,24; cf. A. V., while in 5:5 and 7:10 ענה = ταπεινῶ (עنى), etc.

b. Not in accordance with the context, as in 14:9; 2:17, where the same word is similarly translated. ὁμοίω = רמה, 4:5,6; παρασωπάω = חרש, 10:11, 13, etc.

3. Tense. A few cases will suffice to show that the translation cannot be relied upon in expressing accurately the force of a particular tense. In 1:2 ἐκπορνέουσα ἐκπορνέσει for זונה תזנה is a simple translation of the idiom, but fails to convey the idea in its proper force. In 2:1 ἦν is used for יהיה while the same is used for יהיה 8:6, and in 11:4 ἡ ἀφ' ἧς = καὶ ἔσονται, while אמשכם is translated by ἐξέτεινα αὐτοῖς, etc. Even upon superficial examination one discovers the inaccuracy of the translation in this particular. But when it is remembered that interpreters still disagree as to the force of the "Perfect" and "Imperfect" in particular cases, one is not surprised to find that the "present perfect," the "frequentative imperfect," etc., are not properly rendered. Such nice shades of expression cannot be expected in the translation. On the contrary it is just the slavishness of the translation that makes it possible to reconstruct the Hebrew text from it. No one would attempt it from a modern translation.

4. Government. There are cases in which the government or construction of a phrase or sentence is not exact as when

a. A verb is read transitively with an object when it should be intransitive, as καὶ αἵματα ἐφ' αἵμασι μίσγονται for ודמים בדרמים נגעו: 4:2; ἐμέρισαν καρδίας αὐτῶν for חלק לבם 10:2; ἀπέστρεψε τὴν ὀργὴν μου for שב אפ' 14:5, etc. Compare also 13:15b, where, however, they may have pointed the verbs differently,

b. Which may also be the case in certain active verbs which are read passively, as in 12:11 ἀρמה = ὠμοιώθηεν; 5:7 ילר = ἐγεννήθησαν(?), etc.

* When etc. occurs, a few unimportant cases are not cited since the cases under this division are cited simply to set forth the general character of the translation; otherwise the treatment is exhaustive.

c. The subject and object of the verb are also sometimes confused. In 4:11 this affects the entire verse.

II. As indicated, some of the above variations may have arisen from a different pointing. To this cause many variations may be attributed and in some cases the LXX. reading is to be preferred. Sometimes the change is

1. A Noun for a Verbal Form.

דָּבַר for דָּבַר 1:2, also for דָּבַר 13:1. The Massoretic text gives a fair construction in Hebrew, and being the more difficult is to be preferred; it also gives a very good sense. The Peshitta and Targum, however, have the noun. אִשּׁוּר = אִשּׁוּר 13:7. So also the Peshitta אִשּׁוּר and Vulgate, "in via Assyriorum," and Hitzig.* רָעָה (adj.) = רָעָה 12:2 and יִקְרָאוּ = יִקְרָאוּ 11:7 wrongly, as also וְכַחֲךָ for וְכַחֲכִי 6:9, and though in 4:19 צָרָה for צָרָה is adopted by Drake,† the sense and context are better sustained by the Massoretic text.

2. Verbal Form for Noun.

פָּרָא = פָּרָא 8:9, but this is contrary to the 8th verse. שִׁבְכִים = שִׁבְכִים 8:6, wrongly, as also לִפְתָּח for לִפְתָּח 2:17. In 12:6 יְהִיָּה for יְהִיָּה occurs the more easily, as יְהִיָּה occurs in the preceding.

3. Verbal Form for Verbal Form.

In 3:1 אֶהְבֵּת רַע = אֶהְבֵּת רַע. Drake assumes this without doubt to be the true reading. Hermann‡ also adopts it, explaining the arrangement, however, as chiasitic. The ordinary reading is adopted by all the later commentators, but it seems that a slight variation from the LXX. and Massoretic text, reading אֶהְבֵּת רַע after J. D. Michaelis,§ gives a better parallelism as well as uniformity in the use of the participles. The first two, thus, refer to the evil habits of the woman in relation to her *paramour* and the consequent adultery, while the next couplet refers to Israel's relation to "other gods" and the consequent idolatrous practice, indicated in the expression "love cakes of grapes." Thus it is the waywardness of the woman not the decoyment of idols that is censured.

In 7:5 הִחֲלֹה for הִחֲלֹה, not badly. Several other cases, however, are not so good, as: הִשְׁבֵּתִי = הִשְׁבֵּתִי 2:13; שֵׁת קִצִּיר = שֵׁת קִצִּיר 6:11; יִרְדְּפוּ = יִרְדְּפוּ 8:3; יִתְּנוּ = יִתְּנוּ 8:10; רָטְשָׁה = רָטְשָׁה 10:14; יִרְחֹם = יִרְחֹם 14:4; הִשְׁבֵּתִים = הִשְׁבֵּתִים 11:11; יִלְדוּ = יִלְדוּ 5:7.

4. A Noun for a Noun.

מִשְׁכֵּבֶת = מִשְׁכֵּבֶת 14:5; cf. 11:7, but wrongly as also אֶן = אֶן 12:4, perhaps a free translation here. אֶחֱיָכֶם = אֶחֱיָכֶם 2:3; אֶחֱוִיתֶכֶם = אֶחֱוִיתֶכֶם 2:3; צֶלָה = צֶלָה 4:13; צֶאֱנִים = צֶאֱנִים 5:6; בְּקָרִים = בְּקָרִים 5:6; עֹלְתָה = עֹלְתָה 10:13.

* Die zwölf kleinen Propheten. Leipzig, 2d edition, 1852, p. 56.

† Notes on Jonah and Hosea. Cambridge, 1853, p. 98.

‡ Studien und Kritiken, 1879, p. 515.

§ Deutsche Uebersetzung des Alten Testaments. Vol. XI. Goettingen, 1782, pp. 4 and 21.

5. Other Cases. עַם for עָם 12:1; מִים = מֵים 11:10; (?) אֵין = אֵין 12:12. These and other cases are noted under other heads. Cf. VIII., pp. 201 sq.

III. There is also a number of variations arising from a different arrangement and construction of the text, consisting in

1. The different grouping of words, affecting

a. A change in a verse, as 4:5 לִילָה וְדַמִּיתִי אִמִּי = νυκτὶ ὁμοίωσα τὴν μητέρα σου. Vulgate, "Nocte tacere feci matrem tuam." The connective ׀ probably did not occur in the MSS. from which these translations were made. The parallelism and contrast between day and night favor the Massoretic text. In 9:6 the LXX., ἐκ ταλαιπωρίας Ἀγύπτου, καὶ ἐκδέχεται αὐτοὺς Μέμφις, καὶ θάψει αὐτοὺς Μαχμὰς κ.τ.λ., misses the sense perhaps because of the general expression preceding מִצְרַיִם and the subject standing first; while the incorrect reading of מחמר also conduced to this. Jerome* thought they confused ד and ׀. Μάχμας is elsewhere the translation of מִכְמֶשׁ and so associating this with Egypt they have misread here.

In 9:4, וְלֹא יַעֲרֹבוּ-לוֹ זִבְחֵיהֶם כָּלֵחַם אֻנִּים לָהֶם = LXX., καὶ οὐχ ἡδυναν αὐτῶν αἱ θυαίαι αὐτῶν ὡς ἄρτος πένθους, κ.τ.λ. Variant, ἡδύναντο κ.τ.λ. Peshitta, וְלֹא יִתְקַבְּלוּן לְרַעוּא קֹרְבָנֵיהוֹן, חֶסֶד וְחַסְדָּא. Targum, וְלֹא יִתְקַבְּלוּן לְרַעוּא קֹרְבָנֵיהוֹן. The one reading of the LXX. as well as the Peshitta and Targum take זִבְחֵיהֶם as the subject of the verb, giving the better construction. The variant of the LXX. has in its favor also the fact that ἡδύνω when used actively takes the accusative. Cheyne suggests that the Massoretic division "was possibly caused by a wish to preclude a misinterpretation of Hosea's language, viz., that the Israelites would go on sacrificing to Jehovah even when in captivity."† Other cases may be found in 9:11; 11:8; 12:1,2,3; 13:2 and 14:8; they need no comments.

b. A change in more than one verse, as in 4:14,15: יִלְכֹּט: אִם-זֹנֶה אֵתָהּ. LXX.—συνεπλέκετο μετὰ πόρνῃς. Sv. Here the LXX. seem to have tried to bring the last of the verse into consonance with the phrase עִם הַזֹּנוֹת יַפְרֹדוּ, and thus translate freely, reading עָם for אִם a very easy confusion. Sebök, however, suggests that the LXX. which he thinks the Peshitta followed, deluded by the sound of the letters, translated יִלְכֹּט, but this does not seem well supported by his references. At any rate a glance at the text shows it to be incorrectly construed.

In 9:8,9 for מִשְׁטֶמָּה בְּבֵית אֱלֹהֵיוֹ: הָעַמִּיקוּ שְׁחָתוֹ כִּימִי וְגו' the LXX. has μανίαν ἐν δίκῳ θεοῦ κατέπηξαν. ἐφθάρησαν κ.τ.λ. The two verbs coming together in the Hebrew were separated by the translator and the first was given to the preceding clause. The Massoretic text, however, gives a possible construction and being the more difficult is to be preferred. Other cases may be found in 4:11,12; 5:15 and 6:1, also 6:10,11.

2. The different grouping of letters, as in 4:4, where וְעַמֶּךָ כְּמַרְיָבִי כֹהֵן =

* *Patrologia Latina*, Ed. J. P. Migne, Paris, 1845. Vol. XXV., p. 894.

† *The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges. Hosea.* Cambridge, 1887, p. 94.

LXX. ὁ δὲ λαὸς μου ὡς ἀντιλεγόμενος ἱερεὺς. The LXX. reading suits the context better in placing כ so as to read עמי, cf. v. 6. The כ in the Massoretic text is probably from the first of the following word, and so this case might have been considered under *Recensional* variations, but being connected with an otherwise free translation it seemed best to consider both under *Interpretation*. The translation of the latter part may be thought to invalidate that of the first part, but the final Yôdh of כמרי ב' was probably obscured in the MS., and thus this would be a fair translation following closely the order of the words, since in Greek the regular order would be the reverse. Thus the LXX. becomes a safeguard against such conjectures as that of Wellhausen* unless such corruption took place before the translation was made. One conjecture by Robertson Smith,† viz., כמרי ב', is antedated by a conjecture cited by Rosenmüller,‡ viz., “Quos conjecturae juvant, miror, in eam pariter non incidisse, qua legeretur ב' כמרי cum affixo primae pers. singul. sicut contendens adversus me sacerdos, ita ut sensus exoriretur periodi; tum populus tuus tum sacerdos mihi contradicunt et adversantur. ‘Si genuina floret lectio in Alexandrina versione, videri haec posset isti conjecturae ex parte faveri.’”§

In 6:5 for יצא אור ומשפטיך the LXX. has καὶ τὸ κρίμα μου ὡς φῶς ἐξελεύσεται; the Peshitta, ܝܨܐ ܐܘܪ ܡܫܦܬܝܚܐ; the Targum, וְיֵצֵא אֹרֶךְ נְהוֹר. These versions surely give the better reading here, not involving a change of person nor the necessity of supplying, as the Massoretic text does. As is evident, this simply requires the כ to be joined to the following word; it is favored by Cheyne and others.

Other cases are the following: For רבו תורתִי, 8:12, the translation in the LXX. is πῶς ἔσται, καὶ τὰ νόμιμα αὐτοῦ κ.τ.λ. = רב ותורתו. In 7:11 for מצרים קראו the LXX. has Αἴγυπτον ἐπεκαλεῖτο, καὶ εἰς Ἀσσυρίους κ.τ.λ. = מצרים אשור הלכו. In 11:2 for מפניהם the LXX. is ἐκ προσώπου μου αὐτοὶ. קרא ואשור וגו' = נמצאו = מצאו, 6:2,3. Cf. also p. 200 for 7:1.

IV. The character of the languages being so different, allowance must be made for certain variations due to the genius of each language; as in the case of

1. Asyndeton, which occurs much more frequently in Hebrew than in Greek. Cf. 1:1; 3:1, etc.
2. Verbal Apposition, when the second verb is often translated by an infinitive. Cf. 1:6; 5:11, etc.
3. Abstract Plurals, which are usually well translated by the singular, as in 1:2, אִשֵּׁת זָנוּיִם = γυναῖκα πορνείας. Cf. also 2:4,6; 5:4, etc.
4. Collectives, which are often translated by the plural, as in 2:20, where the

* *History of Israel*. Edinburgh, 1885, p. 138.

† *The Prophets of Israel*. New York, 1882, p. 406.

‡ *Scholia in Vetus Testamentum*. Leipzig, 1812. VII., 1, p. 124.

§ *Dissertationes Aurivillii*. Goettingae et Lipsiae, 1790, p. 606.

Hebrew עַם חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה = μετὰ τῶν θηρίων τοῦ ἀγροῦ. So also the other collectives of the verse and elsewhere. Some cases are more doubtful, as ἀμαρτίας for חַטָּאת 4:8; ἐφφραναν βασιλεῖς = יִשְׁמְחוּ-מֶלֶךְ 7:3.

5. Infinitives, as in 4:2, where the infinitives are translated by nouns, representing the sense fairly. However, the translator may have vocalized the words as nouns; the stronger expression is given in the received text.

6. Peculiarities.

a. In the translation of רַחֲמָה 1:6, etc., it cannot be determined whether the translator read מְרַחֲמָה a participle, or a perfect רַחֲמָה, since he would probably translate in the same way in either case. Thus the translation seldom gives any light on such forms.

b. In a western language the expression "their souls" is preferable to "their soul," but such an expression is quite common in Hebrew. In 4:8 for the Hebrew נַפְשֵׁן the LXX. has τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν, reading נַפְשֵׁם perhaps, as do many Hebrew MSS., or they may have referred the singular suffix to the community and thus translated in the plural; in either case the effect upon the noun is the same, requiring the plural. Cf. also 9:11, כְּבוֹדָם = αἱ δόξαι αὐτῶν; 13:8, לֵבָם = καρδίας αὐτῶν, etc.

c. In the Greek a part of speech frequently carries its force farther than in the Hebrew, and so where it would be repeated in Hebrew the one answers in Greek. Such is the case in 5:6, where בְּצִאֲנֵם וּבְכִקְרָם = μετὰ προβάτων καὶ μόσχων. Note also the translation of מִיַּד שְׂאוֹל אֶפְדִּים מִמּוֹת אֲנֹאֲלִים 13:14, viz., ἐκ χειρὸς ᾧδον ῥύσσομαι καὶ ἐκ θανάτου λυτρώσομαι αὐτούς. Variant αὐτοὺς for καὶ.

d. Frequently the term אֲשׁוּר is translated as referring to the inhabitants, as in 7:11, etc.

e. Other Cases. In 2:23 אֶעֱנֶה אֶת-הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהֵם = ἐπακούσομαι τῷ οὐρανῷ, καὶ αὐτός. In 5:1 שְׁמַעוּ-זֹאת = Ἀκούσατε ταῦτα.

V. Some minor variations may also be explained as free translations and may easily be detected. Such are the following:

1. Those which may be said to give the sense of what is expressed figuratively in Hebrew, as in 2:7, where for צִמְרִי וּפְשִׁתִּי the LXX. τὰ ἱμάτιά μου καὶ τὰ ὀθόνιά μου, gives the article for the material of which it is made and this is not far from the Hebrew. Cf. Lev. 13:47, where כִּנֹּר occurs with these words; cf. also 2:11. The translation of the last word of the verse, שְׁקִי, by πάντα ὅσα μοι καθήκει represents the idea of the Hebrew in a general expression. In 2:17 כְּרַמֶּיהָ = τὰ κτήματα αὐτῆς, "which," as Simson observes, "is perhaps not to be emended to κλήματα with Drusius, but explains itself from the peculiarity of the LXX., in the use of synecdoche, preferring to place the genus for the species."*

2. In many places יֵי seems to have been taken in a general sense and is translated by the plural. Cf. 4:6; 5:9; 7:5; 10:14, etc.

* *Der Prophet Hosea.* Hamburg und Gotha, 1861, p. 101.

3. There are also some cases in which the translator seems to have given a peculiar meaning to a form by reference to the root from which the word is derived, as in 2:17, where for **לִפְתָּח תִּקְוָה** the LXX. has *διανοιξαι συνεσιν αυτης*, pointing the first as an infinitive, which, with the ordinary meaning of **תִּקְוָה**, does not make good sense; but the translation is not so remote as to require the conjecture that they read **תִּקְנָה** (Drusius). The words in their first meanings are not so far apart as they seem to be, **קוה** meaning "to bind" and *σύνεσις* (*συνήμι*) "a joining together," so that though **תִּקְוָה** is not translated elsewhere by this word, it seems probable that it is the form which was before the translator. The vocalization, however, may have been **תִּקְנָה** as Sebök suggests. The LXX. take this verse as one of warning and so the translation of this phrase is more in accordance with the context as thus understood. In 5:12 **עַשׂ** is translated by *παράχη* and the root from which **עַשׂ** is derived is frequently translated by *παράσσω*, so that, though the exact meaning is not given here, the translator's intention is shown to be right.

4. There are other cases in which the meaning given a word or form is inexact, as in 1:6, where *ἀντιτασόμενος ἀντιτάξομαι* for **נִשָּׂא אִשָּׁא** does not seem so strange when one thinks of the different interpretations that have been given this clause by the commentators. Wünsche and Nowack say this translation demands the Hithpā'el, but it is to be remembered that the translator must not be held responsible for modern knowledge of grammar; moreover such translation nowhere occurs for the Hithpā'el. It is also to be noted that the same words occur in 1 Kgs. 11:34 for **נִשָּׂא אִשָּׁתוֹ**, from which Schleusner conjectured that the translator read the same here. However, the emphatic infinitive construction points to the form here as the basis, and if the translations are in any way related then it seems probable that the translator of Kings read **נִשָּׂא אִשָּׁאנוֹ** which only involves the change of a ת to an א; not a difficult change with the old Hebrew characters. Though the translation itself cannot be supported, it is interesting in that it shows an attempt to translate the form which occurs in the received text. Moreover the influence of כִּי preceded by a negative perhaps had some force in affecting the translation. In this case it may be compared with that of the A. V. In 2:15 the LXX. has *ἐν αἷς ἐπέθεν αυτοῖς* for **אֲשֶׁר תִּקְטִיר לָהֶם**, referring **אֲשֶׁר**, with **כֹּחַ** omitted, to **יָמֵי**, to which Hitzig refers it also, since otherwise the latter part of the verse requires some additional explanation. Nowack takes **אֲשֶׁר** as an accusative of time. There is no reason for supposing that the translator* found **כֹּחַ** in the MS.* used. In 8:2 the translation of **אֲכָרִיהַ** by *ἰμωσθησάμεν* is probably based on the same text. Cf. the Arabic **كُر** in the eighth form. However, the translator may have referred it to **שָׁכַר**.

* The singular, *translator*, should not be taken as implying that the translation was made by one person, since this is not known, but it is used for sake of convenience. MS. is used in the same way.

In the difficult figurative language of 7:4sq. the translator seems to have found some difficulty, but has given the *words* fairly, though missing the sense. כּלם is translated by πάντες, either dropping כּ on account of the same letter following, or probably it is used as expressing the meaning. (Cf. v. 7): κατακάυματος for שְׁבוֹת seems to have been taken as referring to the fire and thus the sense is missed. In v. 5 λοιμός for לִצִּין does not give the exact meaning of the word, but it is frequently used for לִץ. In v. 6 ἀνεκαίθησαν for קָרְבוֹ does not require the conjectures that the reading was חָרַב (Cappelle), קָרַח (Buxtorf), etc. The sense seems to have been adapted to the figure. The translation of אָרַב by καταράσσω is free also. Cf. the translation of אָרַב by καταρρίω in 1 Sam. 2:35.

In 12:7 the LXX. ἐγγίξε for קָהָה is probably a free translation. Though the phrase קָרַב אֶל to which the translation corresponds is one of frequent occurrence, Ezek. 40:46; 1 Sam. 14:36, etc., the other is also, as in Ps. 87:34; 27:14, and suits the following תָּמִיד better.

In 5:8 several words are rendered freely, as may be seen by a reference to the text, but the idea is conveyed; such is the case also in 8:4, but the idea in המְלִיכִי and הַשִּׁירִי is not so well expressed. Other cases of free translation are the following: יֹאסֵפוֹ = ἐκλείψουσιν, 4:3; יִפְרָצוּ = κατεσθύνωσι, 4:10; אָמִיר = θήσομαι, 4:7; סָרַר סָרָה = παροιστρῶσα κ.τ.λ., 4:16; נִכְחַר = ἀπέστη, 5:3; בִּיהוּה בָּגָדוֹ = ὅτι τὸν κύριον ἐγκατέλιπον, 5:7; לַחֲבֵה = φέγγος, 7:6; בּוֹ זִרְקָה = ἐξήνθησαν αὐτῷ, 7:9; נֶאֱמְנָה = πιστά (?) (אַמְנָה), 5:9; יִקְמְנוּ = ἐξανάστησόμεθα (?), 6:2; רוּחַ = ἀνεμύφθορα, 8:7; קִימֹשׁ = δοληρός, 9:6; הָבָה = ἐπόνεσεν, 9:16; אֲמֹנֶךְ = ὑπερασπιστῷ (?), 11:8; תְּלֹאכֹת = ἀοικήτω, 13:5; שָׁחַל = πανθήρ,* 13:7; etc.

VI. There are some variations which appear to be slight turns given to expressions for the sake of clearness or interpretation. They are cases which, if retranslated into Hebrew, would require,

1. An alteration or substitution, as in 4:3, where for the Hebrew וְאֶמְלֵל בָּהּ the LXX. is καὶ συμικρυνθήσεται σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν αὐτήν. The verb being taken as passive it was easiest to refer it to the land, and thus כָּל יוֹשֵׁב בָּהּ is construed, as the following words, with בָּ. In 4:12 the force of בָּ in the first clause is either carried over to the second or the translator supposed the second should agree, reading וּבְמִקְלִי, but this does not suit here. In 9:8, 17 the suffixes are not translated, but in the connection the general term אֱלֹהִים seems to have been preferred, though the translator probably found אֱלֹהֵי in the MS. If the Greek καὶ τάξω αὐτήν ὡς ἐρημον, 2:16, is original this is a turn in expression, but see p. 192. Cf. also שְׁבֻלֵתִים = ἀτεκνωθήσονται, 9:12; שָׁרִ לָהֶם = δέλταιοι εἰσιν, 7:13.

2. An addition, as in 2:10, where, for the Hebrew וְכִסָּף חֲרִבִּיתִי לֹה חֲזֵב עִשֹּׂי, the LXX. is καὶ ἀργύριον ἐπλήθυνε αὐτῇ. αὐτῇ δὲ ἀργυρὰ καὶ χρυσὰ ἐποίησε, which seems to have been caused by the peculiarity of the arrangement of the Hebrew.

* Modern interpreters also find difficulty in translating the Hebrew words for lion.

There is an attempt to convey the idea. But are the people represented as using silver which God had given and gold which he had not given?

In 3:3, if ἐτίρω was in the original it is a wrong interpretation, but some editions do not have it,* and it is probably a correction.

In 4:2, misled by taking the infinitives as nouns, the translator makes these the subject of the verb פָּרַצוּ which is translated κέχυται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, retaining the image of the breaking forth of water, as also the Vulgate in "inundaverunt," and this probably explains the addition; though it may be a copyist's error, being repeated from the preceding verse.

In 7:1 for the Hebrew וּנְנַב יְבוֹא פֶשֶׁט גִּרְדֹּר בַּחֲוִין the LXX. has καὶ κλίπτης πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰσδιδίσκεται, ἐκδιδίσκων ληστής ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ αὐτοῦ. The addition arose perhaps from carrying out בּוֹא more fully than the verb alone does. (Cf. 9:4, where the preposition is added to convey the idea.) The variation in the last is suggested by the preceding, but the initial ך of the following verse was no doubt read as a suffix to בַּחֲוִין.

In 5:11 the Hebrew עֲשׂוּק אֶפְרַיִם seems to have been too general an expression for the translator, and the vowel letters not being in the MSS.† perhaps he took this form as well as the following רָעוּן as active and supplied the object for the first. Similarly וַיִּשְׁלַח, 5:13, is not expressed in Greek without an object as easily as in Hebrew, so πρίσβεις is supplied as an object in Greek.

Other cases may be seen in the following: אֵלָה = δένδρον συσκιάζοντος, 4:13; לְבִיא = σκῆπτρον ἡγεμονῶν, 13:8; רָעוּן = πεκάζουσα, 14:9; הַשֵּׁלֶם = ἀνταποδοσέως σου (?), 9:7; variant, ἀνταπαδόσειως; אֶהְבֵּה = ἀγαπήσειώς μου, 11:4; etc.

VII. There are some cases in which the translator has missed the sense through a false construction or misunderstanding of a word, etc. There may be noted,

1. The misunderstanding of words and incorrect reading of suffixes often connected with such misunderstanding, as in 2:18, where בַּעֲלִי = βααλίμ. This probably arose out of a difficulty in the mind of the translator in not understanding how Yahweh could ever have been called בַּעַל, or an unwillingness to admit it.

In 13:14 דְּבָרֶיךָ = δική σου, referring to the singular דְּבָר rather than to דְּבָרִים.

In 11:1 for the Hebrew לְבָנֵי the LXX. is τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ, referring by the suffix to Israel probably, but this would be *their fathers*. Cf. Mt. 2:15. Note also the suffixes of the first for the third person in 12:5.

In 7:16 רָמִיָּה = ἐντεταμένον, cf. Jer. 4:29; כְּשֵׁלַת = ἀσθενήσεται, 4:5; כְּשֵׁלַת = ἡσθηνησαν, 14:2; הָוָו = κατάκαρπος, 14:7.

* Field's Hexapla. Oxford, 1875. Vol. II., p. 944.

† The "plena scriptio" probably was not common in the MSS. which the translators used. Cf. Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel, p. xxxii.

2. Wrong Constructions. Closely connected with the preceding is the misunderstanding of the word כמריו, 10:5, for which the LXX. reads καθὼς παρεπύκρναν αὐτόν, deriving it from מרה with כ, but this construction requires כאשר. The uncommon word seems to have caused difficulty.

In 2:19 for וְלֹא יִזְכְּרוּ עוֹד בְּשִׁמְם the LXX. is καὶ οὐ μὴ μνησθῶσιν οὐκ ἔτι τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν, taking כ in construction with the verb and translating as in the H'ph'il. Cf. Josh. 23:7; Isa. 48:1. Perhaps they vocalized as H'ph'il, but יִזְכְּרוּ seems well sustained. Cf. Zech. 13:2.

In 6:5 for חֲצַבְתִּי בְּנִבְיָאִים the LXX. has ἀπεθέρισα τοὺς προφήτας ὑμῶν. No object being expressed for the verb the phrase was probably taken in the sense of "slaying in" or "among the prophets" and read בְּנִבְיָאִים. The received text and interpretation are sustained by the parallelism.

In 11:8 for וְחָלָה חָרֵב בְּעָרָיו וְכִלְתָּה בְּרִיו the LXX. has καὶ ἡσθένησεν ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ κατέπαυσεν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ. The first verb is derived from חלה, and both it and כלה are taken intransitively, while בְּרִיו is made to correspond with בְּעָרָיו in the first clause and so is read בִּידָיו. The translator seems to have been influenced by an attempt to bring out parallelism.

In 9:1 אֵל גִּיל is translated in the LXX. by μηδὲ εὐφραίνον; in the Vulgate, "noli exultare." The early translators probably overlooked the fact that אֵל is not thus used. They may have read אֵל תְּגִיל, but cf. Job 3:22, which favors the received text.

In 7:14 the LXX. makes לָכֵם the subject of the verb in the translation καὶ οὐκ ἐβόησαν πρὸς μὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ ῥομφαίαι αὐτῶν, for the Hebrew וְלֹא זָעַקוּ אֵלַי בְּלִבָּם.

In 6:7 וְהָמָּה כְּאֵרֶם עֲבָרוּ, the translation of which is αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰσιν ὡς ἄνθρωπος παραβάνων. עָבָר is read עָבַר, qualifying כְּאֵרֶם. This is a weak statement, but perhaps not more so than one interpretation of 4:4, viz., "thy people are as they that strive with the priest," or the expression in 5:10.

In 6:8 בְּעֵינִים הוּא = πῶς ἐργαζομένη μάταια, אֵין = ἐν τοῖς λαοῖς αὐτοῦ (annexion?), 7:8; וְלִפְקוֹד = τοῦ ἐκδικῆσαι, 12:3.

VIII. Again, there are some variations which seem to have arisen through the peculiar difficulty presented by the Hebrew or the MSS., or a strange misunderstanding of the text. In many cases a combination of these causes explains a reading. Since the reason for a variation of this nature is not very evident they need not be classified more definitely. The following are instances of such variation:

In 2:4 for the Hebrew וְתָסַר זְנוּנִיָּה מִפְּנֵיהָ (v. 5 אֶפְשִׁיטָנָה), the LXX. reads καὶ ἐξαρῶ τὴν πορνείαν αὐτῆς ἐκ προσώπου μου (v. 5 ὅπως ἂν ἐκδίσω αὐτήν). Perhaps the first person is used as anticipative of the same in the following verse. Though the sense is missed, the translation does not involve any important change in the

text. **תסר** for **אסר**; and **מפני** for **מפניה**, the former being much more common would naturally be taken in case of obscurity. **פן** in v. 5 was perhaps read **כי** unless the Greek should read *ὅπως μή(?)*. Cf. p. 192.

In 12:15 for the Hebrew **הכעים אפרים תמרורים** the LXX. has *ἐθίμωσεν Ἐφραὶμ καὶ παρώργισε*; variant, insert *ἐν* before *Ἐφραὶμ*. Is this an attempt to render the phrase by the combination of two verbs or was one originally an adverb in force, but altered? The second verb of the Greek is the one most frequently used for **כעם**, but the other is also used. There must be an alteration or corruption here, perhaps a double rendering.

In 14:8 it is suggested that the LXX. *ζήσονται καὶ μεθυσθήσονται σίτω*, is a double translation of **יִחְיוּ דָגָן**, being read once **יִחְיוּ**, once **יִרְוּ**, to which *μεθυσθήσονται* corresponds, but this word with *σίτω* is unparalleled. This is probably to be traced to a tampering with the text of the LXX. Such "conflate readings" are probably rightly attributed to admixture from other versions. According to the following canon, "If two readings coexist, of which one expresses the Massoretic text, while the other can only be explained from a text deviating from it, the latter is to be regarded as the original,"* *μεθυσθήσονται σίτω* should be regarded as the original reading. This then may be a free translation of **יִרְוּ דָגָן**, which would not be bad in this connection.

In 14:3 **כָּל-תִּשְׂאָה** = *ὅπως μὴ λάβητε*. In the unparalleled Hebrew the translator seems to have found difficulty, reading **כִּי לֵא** perhaps for **כָּל**. The difficulty of the expression baffles the modern interpreter also.

In 12:1 for the Hebrew **עַד רַר עַם אֵל וְעַם קְרוּשִׁים נֶאֱמַר** the LXX. has *νῦν ἔγνω αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἅγιος κεκλήσεται*, mistaking blame for praise, but such a sentiment in this connection is altogether out of place. A slight change of consonants and pointing would admit the Greek reading, viz., **עָתָה? יָדַעַם אֵל**.

Other cases in which a slight change will admit a peculiar reading are the following: 6:9 altered to "**כְּחֶךְ אִישׁ גְּדוֹד(ים) הַחֲבִיאֵו וְגו'**" may explain the LXX. *καὶ ἡ ἰσχὺς σου ἀνδρὸς πειρατοῦ ἐκρυψαν κ.τ.λ.*; also 11:7, **וְאֵל עַל יִקְרִיו יָחַר**,† for which the LXX. is *καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὰ τίμια αὐτοῦ θυμωθήσεται*. 12:12 again, **בְּגִלְעָד שָׂרִים**.... **אִם-נִלְעָד אֵין** for the LXX. *εἰ μὴ Γαλαὰδ ἐστὶν.... ἐν Γαλαὰδ ἀρχόντες*. With 8:9, *δῶρα ἡγάπησαν* compare **אֶהְבֶּת אֶתְנָן**, 9:1. The translator has not used **תִּנְה** anywhere; at least no translation requires it. 13:1, **רַת** = *δικαιώματα*, perhaps for **רַת** Aramaic(?). In 8:7 **כִּלִּי** seems to have been omitted. **וְגִרְתִּי אַת** 8:12, repeated from 8:11 by copyist? In 2:8 **גִּרְתִּי** = *καὶ ἀνικοδομήσω τὰς ὁδοὺς*, free?

* Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel, p. xlvii.

† Not **וְאֵל** after Simson and Wünsche, as Nowack indicates.

IX. Another reason for variation in the translation is the confusion of consonants; these must often have been dim and obscure in ancient MSS. Moreover the similarity between some of the letters must have led to confusion. The MSS. used by the translator were probably written in the old Hebrew or "square" characters, and the letters may have been confused in the transmission of those MSS. before the translation was made. Hence it is difficult to determine, many times, whether the translator erred in reading these, or some copyist before him. It seems probable, however, that as good a MS. or MSS. as the average would be used in such a translation, and accordingly the following variations may fairly be considered as due to the translator.

In 1:4 for יהוא the LXX. has *Iouda*. Jerome believed this to have been due to the inexperience of the translator, using this word because it was the more common. Simson also points out the fact that "Judah" is thus brought into consonance with "house of Israel" at the end of the verse. יהודה might also be confused easily with יהוא, especially the apocopated form יהוד. Thus in case of obscurity Judah would naturally be taken. But we, thinking of a definite fact, find that the context requires יהוא.

Instead of ליער (2:14) the LXX. has *εις μαρτύριον*, concerning which Jerome observed, "LXX. posuerunt testimonium, Reš et Daleth literarum falsi similitudine." This seems probable, since Yôdh (י) might easily be obliterated.

In 10:14 for בית ארכאל the LXX. has *ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ Ἱεροβάμ*; variant, *Ἱεροβάβλ*. The latter reading is that of the Alex. and Sin. MSS.; it is also the one Jerome gives for the reading of the LXX. It would seem then that ארכאל was read ירכאל through confusion of א and י, perhaps also א and ע, while בית was translated. Possibly a confusion of Zalmunna with שלמן may have led to the peculiar reading here, referring to Jerubaal, mentioned in the same passage, viz., Judg. 8. Jerome endeavored to explain the reading from this, but the reference is to a place, not to a person. The passage in the Hebrew awaits a satisfactory explanation.

In 4:12 כי רח = *πνεύματι* of the LXX. The reading was probably כ for כי and this the more readily since התעה is without an object, unless the reading was התעם as in some MSS.,* and is translated freely.

In 10:2; 5:15 and 14:1 אשם is translated by *ἀφανίζω*. The translator probably read שם. Cf. 2:12 and 5:9, where the forms from שם are translated by derivatives of *ἀφανίζω*. It is possible, however, that the translator may have connected these two roots in some such way as Schmoller, whose opinion was that from the idea of suffering punishment comes the idea of being desolated, waste.

* Davidson's *Hebrew Text*. London. P. 123.

In 7:6 for אָפֶהם the LXX. has Ἐφραίμ, which is not easy to explain unless the reading of the MS. was אֶפְרַיִם and this was confused with the form אֶפְרַיִם in some way. Perhaps the left foot of ה was obliterated and then the remaining form and Yôdh were transposed, or ה may have been read for ו, since these letters were sometimes confused in the old characters.* Compare also מִים for מִדִּים, 6:8.

In 11:4 the LXX. has ὡς παύειν ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ τὰς διαγόνδας αὐτοῦ for the Hebrew לְחִיָּהּ עַל עַל מְרִימִי עַל כְּמֶרֶט עַל, reading עַל עַל מְרִימִי עַל and omitting one עַל: this is taken as a threat; cf. Isa. 50:6. The context shows it to be wrong. Ἀνθρώπος is used indefinitely, as several times.

In 8:6 ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ arose probably from confusing כִּי with כִּי and thus כִּי would seem a repetition or was obscured perhaps. כִּי and כִּי, however, are very similar in the old "square" characters and may have been confused in the MSS.

Other examples of such confusion of letters may be seen in the following: יָרַעַם = חָק כְּעַפֵּר = חֶכֶךְ שֶׁפֶר 8:1; חָק כְּעַפֵּר = חֶכֶךְ שֶׁפֶר 7:12; לְעֶרְתָּם = עָם 4:14; אֵם = יָרַעַם 9:2; יִשְׂרָאֵל = יִשְׂרָאֵל 10:11; לְפִי = שֶׁר 10:12; שֶׁר = שֶׁר 10:14. Cf. also the more doubtful וַיֵּשֶׁם = וַיֵּשֶׁם 13:1; אֲשֶׁרנוּ = אֲשֶׁרנוּ 14:9; רֶקֶב = קֶטֶב 5:12 (cf. 18:14?).

X. Very peculiar are the variations in the translation of the particles. In many cases the variation may be affected by the context as in the case of כִּי which is frequently translated by ὅτι and εἰότι but after a negative by ἀλλά. But as an accurate knowledge of the use of particles seems to be one of the last attainments in the study of a language, the translator is not to be censured if he allow the context as he understands it to determine the force of a particle. This our translator seems to have done always, rather than to have used the particles at any time as an aid in discovering the meaning of a particular passage. The following groupings of the translations of prepositions, conjunctions, etc., will serve to show this:

כֹּאשֶׁר = καθὼς ἄν, 7:12; ὅν τρόπον, 9:13.

אַחֵר (אַחֲרִי) = ὀπίσω generally, but μετὰ ταῦτα, 3:5.

אֵךְ = ἀρα, 12:12; πλὴν, 12:9; ὅπως, 4:4(?).

יָחַד = ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, 11:8; יָחַד = ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, 2:2.

לֵא = οὐ and οὐ μὴ frequently; ἤ, 6:6.

עַל כֵּן { διὰ τοῦτο, 4:3, etc. Cf. לְכֵן also, 2:8, 16, etc.
ἐνεκα, 13:6.

* Cf. Wellhausen's *Der Text der Bücher Samuels*. Göttingen, 1872. Pp. 18 and 169.

כ	δτι and διότι, general. ἀλλ' ἦ, 1:6; 7:14. διὰ τοῦτο, 8:10; 9:6. ὅταν, 4:14.	כ	ἐκ, general. ἀπό, 2:20; 5:3, etc. διά, 8:4. μετά, 6:2. μή, 2:11(?). εἰς, 7:4. ἦ, 2:9; 6:6.
	ἐν, general. ἐπί, 2:25; 3:5, etc. εἰς, 4:7; 5:5, etc. πρός, 2:4. κατά, 2:11. σύν, 4:3. μετά, 5:6. dative, 7:9.		ὡς, general. καθώς, 2:5; 3:1, etc. κατά, 2:17; 4:7, etc. οὕτως, 4:9.
ב	dative general. genitive, 1:9; 2:14, etc. εἰς, 2:14; 2:21, etc. πρός, 5:1. ἐπί, 2:20; 3:3. ἐν, 9:5.	ב	ἐπί, general. κατά, 7:13; 8:1. ἐν, 7:14. διά, 9:15.
	על		על
ע	μετά, general. πρός, 4:1; 12:3, etc.	ע	πρός, general. ἐπί, 3:3; 3:5, etc. εἰς, 7:15; 8:1, etc. ἐν, 4:8.
	אל		אל

Perhaps a table of some of the Greek particles with their equivalents in Hebrew, according to the translation, may be of interest in showing the peculiarities in an even more striking way.

ὅπως	=	אך, 4:4	למען (8:3)
ὅπως ἄν	=	פן, 2:5(?)	ὅπως μή = כל (כי לא?), 14:3
διότι καὶ ἔάν	=	כי אם (9:12)	גם כי (9:16)
ἐν	=	ב*	על בקרב (5:4; 11:9)
εἰς	=	ב	כמו (8:12)
ἐπί	=	ב	על אל
πρός	=	ב	על אל
κατά	=	ב	על ב
μετά	=	ב	עם מן
διά	=		על מן
ἀπό	=	מן מתחת (4:12)	οὕτως = ב
μή	=	אל לא	מן
διὰ τοῦτο	=	לכן על כן	כי
πλὴν	=	אך (12:9)	זולתי (13:4)
ἐάν	=	אם (9:12)	אולי (8:7)

* The equivalent most frequently used is underscored; in most cases the references in the above table suffice.

Thus the majority of the variations which may be attributed to the translator have been considered, and the general character of the translation in cases in which the text underlying it was similar to the Massoretic text, has been noted. It has been seen that passages in which the Greek text is corrupt or doubtful, are of such a nature, usually, as to indicate that they should not be used in textual study. The cases of free translation are such as may readily be detected, either in the peculiar reading or difficulty of the passage, or in the approximate sense expressed. Most of these are of such a nature that, if held to indicate difference of recension, one could only substitute a word related in meaning to that in the text.

Interesting cases of the use of the same Greek word for different Hebrew words, such as ἀνταποδίδωμι for שָׁלַם in 9:8 and 14:3, for שָׁוָה in 4:9; 12:2,14; and different Greek words for the same Hebrew word, as חָבַל = διαφθορά, 11:4, and ὠδίνες, 18:13, which is used for כָּטָן, 9:11, show that the translator, not always influenced by a desire for uniformity, simply expressed what he regarded as the sense of a particular passage.

There are also slight traces of local influence in the translation as the probable reference to *ῥαβδομαντεία*, a sort of divination among the Greeks, in 4:12; also a reference to the rites of Venus and other deities in the τετελεσμέναι of 4:14. In both cases, however, the translation is fair and may have no reference to customs of the Greeks. But after having attributed to the translation all that can fairly be considered as belonging to it, in accordance with the general disposition or tendency of the translator,—his evident fairness of intention,—there still remains a number of variations unexplained.

DOUBTFUL CASES.

There is a number of variations the character of which is doubtful. One cannot say positively that they are due to difference of recension, but they seem to be due to this. In some cases the readings are certainly not as good as those given in the Massoretic text, but at the same time they bear evidence of having been translated from Hebrew, while in other cases they are much better than the received reading.

I. Under this division additions may be considered first.

1. No great stress can be laid on the addition of a letter or particle, yet there are a few cases in which such an addition gives a different and often a good reading.

In 2:13 the connective *kai* occurs between all except the first two nouns. Why not here? If the translator inserted it, why not between each word as in 1:1 and 2:7? If this difference is recensional, perhaps in the original construction the words following כל מְשׁוּשָׁה were adverbial accusatives as Briggs seems to take

them in the translation, "And I will cause all her mirth to cease in her feasts (and) her new moons and her sabbaths and all her festivals."* It is in fact the *mirth* of these feasts that is the prominent idea. Cf. Amos 8:10; Isa. 58:13. Adopting this construction of the passage, Cheyne's observation, that the sabbath did not pass away, becomes unnecessary.

In 13:13 **יֹלְדָה חֲבִלִי** = ὡδίνες ὡς τικτοῦσας. It is difficult to determine whether ὡς is inserted to relieve the difficulty of the sudden change to the representation of Ephraim as a son immediately following, or is due to difference in MSS. It seems scarcely probable, if the translator had inserted it, that he would have been so exact in retaining the construct relation, with the particle intervening, though this construction may occur in Hebrew.

In 4:19 **מִזְבְּחוֹתָם** = ἐκ τῶν θυσιαστηρίων αὐτῶν. If this is to be taken as it usually is, it is the only instance of such a plural for **זֶבַח**. The reading of the LXX., **מִמִּזְבְּחוֹתָם**, or perhaps with **ם** omitted in order to avoid the repetition of the same sound, is better. So Hitzig, citing Zech. 14:10, etc.

In 10:15, for **כָּכָה עָשָׂה לָכֶם בֵּית-אֵל**, the LXX. has οὕτως ποιήσω ὑμῖν, οἶκος τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ. The addition of an **א** before **עָשָׂה** and **יֵשׁר** before **אֵל** would give the reading at the basis of the LXX., viz., **אֵעָשֶׂה לָכֶם בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל**, which gives good sense here. Why should Bethel be represented as doing this and not Yahweh? Cf. 10:11; 11:1, etc. Ewald made Yahweh, understood, the subject of **עָשָׂה** and **בֵּית-אֵל** accusative of place. However, οἶκος τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ may have arisen from taking it as synonymous with the Hebrew, in its meaning, *house of God*; the other is generally **בֵּית אֵל**.

Other additions of this nature are οὐδέ in 1:7 (some MSS. have **וּבְסוּסִים**); ἐτι, 1:8; ὡς, 5:1, and ὅτι, 5:6.

2. There are also cases in which a word, phrase or even sentence is found in the Greek but not in the Hebrew. In 2:25 for **אֱלֹהֵי** the reading of the LXX. is Κύριος ὁ θεός μου εἰ σὺ, requiring **יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אַתָּה**, and this carries out the parallelism, giving a better balance of clauses, as well as a better meaning. Other gods are spoken of, as in 3:1, but Yahweh is the distinctive God of the Israelites.

In 6:1 the LXX. has λεγοντες as an addition. With this the Targum and the Peshitta agree, but in the connection it might be inserted in interpretation legitimately, and so one cannot say that the difference is recensional; nor of the addition τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν after πρὸς κύριον for **אֵל יְהוָה** can one say much more, though it is probable, as in 2:25, that the full expression occurred here.

In 13:4 a most peculiar and remarkable passage is found in the Greek, viz., ἐγὼ δὲ κύριος ὁ θεός σου ὁ στερεῶν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ κτίζων γῆν, οὐ αἱ χεῖρες ἐκτίσαν πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὰν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ οὐ παρέδειξά σοι αὐτὰ τοῦ πορεύεσθαι ὀπίσω αὐτῶν· καὶ ἐγὼ ἀνῆγαγον

* *Messianic Prophecy*. New York, 1886. P. 170; (and) is inserted.

σε ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου κ.τ.λ. For this Newcome* has given the following Hebrew, which he supposes to have been the basis of the LXX., viz.,

ואנכי יהוה אלהיך
נטה שמים וברא ארץ
ידי עשו כל צבא השמים
ולא הריתוך אתם ללכת אחריהם
ואנכי מעלך מארץ מצרים
ואלהים וגו'

The omission in the Hebrew he thought might have arisen through the carelessness of the scribes, passing from one **ואנכי** to the other. For ἀνῆγαγον he has the participle **מעלך** which is possible, though not what a retranslation of the Greek requires; in Ps. 81:11 the LXX. has the form ἀναγαγόν for **המעלך**. The Greek here requires **העליתך** though in this place perhaps the participle is better. The passage gives evidence of having been translated from Hebrew by the Hebraisms which it contains. The occurrence of the article in τὸν οὐρανόν and its omission in κτίζων γῆν is peculiar. The position of the indirect object σοι when not emphatic is peculiar in Greek, but regular in Hebrew. However, if the passage did occur in the MS. before the translator it certainly is not from the hand of the Prophet. Sabalism among the Israelites is not mentioned until the time of Manasseh. At all events its influence came too late for Hosea's notice and moreover this is the only mention of it in the book, and it is not to be supposed that one of so intense a spirit as Hosea, would have been satisfied with giving it such a simple and passing notice as this. As to ἀνῆγαγον it may be noted that in this place it gives a better balance of clauses to retain it; in 12:10, however, it is not so well retained. Other cases of this nature are found in the occurrence of γῆς before Αἰγύπτου for **ממצרים**, 12:14; cf. 12:10 and 18:4; θεὸν ὑμῶν, 14:3, cf. 6:1; αὐτοῖς after εὐρη for **תמצא**, 2:9.

Some of the additions are cases in which a clause seems to be repeated from another verse, but one cannot say whether this was a copyist's error in the MS. from which the translation was made or is due to a Greek copyist. In 2:14 the addition καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰ ἑρπετὰ τῆς γῆς is perhaps made by a copyist in order to assimilate it to verse 20, but one expects the promise to be wider than the threat of punishment. There can be no motive on the part of a copyist for the omission in Hebrew. In 8:13, καὶ ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις ἀκάθαρτα φάγονται is probably taken from 9:3. With the addition καὶ οὖν τοῖς ἑρπετοῖς τῆς γῆς (4:3) cf. 2:14, 20.

II. There was, no doubt, on the part of early translators and copyists, a

* Critical Version of the Minor Prophets. (In loco.)

tendency to make slight additions by way of explanation, etc., but there are also omissions which are not so readily explained.

In 10:10 for the Hebrew **בְּאִסְרָם . . . בְּאִתּוֹתַי וְאִסְרָם** the LXX. has (*ἡλθε**) *παιδεῖσαι αὐτοὺς . . . ἐν τῷ παιδεύεσθαι αὐτοῖς*; the Vulgate, "cum corripientur propter duas iniquitates suas"; the Peshitta, **ܡܢ ܝܡܝܢܝܬܝܢ ܫܠܚܬܝܢܝܢ ܫܠܚܬܝܢܝܢ ܫܠܚܬܝܢܝܢ ܫܠܚܬܝܢܝܢ**. **בְּאִתּוֹתַי** seems to have been taken wrongly from **בְּוֹא**, but the important point in this connection is in the last clause. The form on which the above translations of this clause are based must have been **בְּהוֹסְרָם** and this in connection with "iniquities" (undoubtedly the correct translation here) gives a good sense. This verb and **וְאִסְרָם** seem to have the same meaning and as Ewald observed **אִסַּר** in force is weak and obscure.

In 7:14, 15 for **וְאִנִּי יִסְרוּ כִּי יִסְרוּתִי חֲזָקָתִי זְרוּעֹתַם** the LXX. is *ἐπαλειψθήσαν ἐν ἐμοί, καὶ ὡς κατισχύσα τοὺς βραχίονας αὐτῶν*, evidently omitting either **יִסְרוּ** or **יִסְרוּתִי**. The translation requires as its basis **כִּי יִסְרוּ**, very similar to the end of the previous verse, and the clauses of this verse are better balanced without **כִּי יִסְרוּ**. **יִסְרוּתִי** is probably a corruption by repetition of the preceding letters. For, in addition to the peculiar association of these two verbs with the same object, what can **יִסְרוּתִי** mean in connection with **זְרוּעֹתַם**? Probably the basis of the LXX. was **כִּי יִסְרוּ בִּי וְאִנִּי חֲזָקָתִי**.

In 4:18 the LXX. *ἡγάπησαν* for **וְאִהָּבּוּ אֶהְבּוּ הָבוּ** gives no equivalent, but of course it is impossible to give an exact translation and so **הָבוּ** may have been omitted. It seems more probable, however, that it is a repetition of the last three letters of **אֶהְבּוּ** by a copyist.

In 9:14 for **מִה תַּתֵּן תֵּן לָהֶם** the LXX. has *τί δώσεις αὐτοῖς*; variant, add *δοὺς αὐτοῖς*. **תֵּן** is perhaps a copyist's repetition of the last two letters of **תַּתֵּן**; it is supported, however, by one reading of the Greek, but this may be a correction.

III. There are also certain variations in number, person, gender, etc., which often give a good reading but yet are of a doubtful character. Such may be seen in 12:5, where, for **וְיִתְחַנֵּן לוֹ בֵּיתָאֵל יִמְצְאוּ**, the LXX. has *καὶ ἐδεήθησάν μου, ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ 'Ὦν εἰρησάν με*, a strange variation for which there seems to be no good explanation unless it is connected with the substitution of *οἴκῳ 'Ὦν* for **בֵּיתָאֵל**, which may best be considered then in this connection, though not properly belonging here. About the time the translation was made and before this certain "tendency changes"† are said to have been made, such as, **בֵּיתָאֵל** for **בֵּיתָאֵל**, **מִזְבֵּחַ** for **מִצְבֵּחַ**; cf. p. 211. Elsewhere in the book **בֵּיתָאֵל** is found, but here the historical reference demands **בֵּיתָאֵל**. However, one cannot say whether this is due to the translator or to the MS. which he used, and the other variations are probably connected with this. At the end *πρὸς αὐτοῖς* for **עִמָּנוּ**, as Cheyne

* This occurred in some codices and seems to have been in the original for anyone, inserting later to make it agree with the Hebrew, would certainly have inserted the correct translation.

† See Geiger's *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, pp. 259-433. Breslau, 1857.

observes, was probably for עִמּוֹ. When used of the community the singular suffix is often translated by the plural, and so the LXX. may have taken it here. The Peshitta, which otherwise does not agree with the LXX., has **ܠܗܡ** and this suits the context better.

In 18:8 the Hebrew is **וַיֹּאכְלִים שָׁם כָּל־בְּיָא**; the LXX., καὶ καταφάγονται αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖ σκύμνοι δρυμοῦ; the Peshitta, **ܠܗܡ ܠܗܡ ܠܗܡ**. Sebök thinks they may have read **וַיֹּאכְלִים** or **וַיֹּאכְלִים** (the latter, if the person is changed, gives the proper consecution in tense, though the form in the text following in the same person as the preceding verbs may be regarded as coördinate with these), **כ** before **לְבִיא** being erased. He also takes the preceding verbs in the first person as establishing the Massoretic text; however, it is to be noted that the following verb is in the third person, and this arrangement would make the first two and the second two agree.

In 2:8 for **דָּרַךְ** the LXX. is τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῆς; the Peshitta, **ܕܪܟܬܐ**. Preceding and following this the third person is used, and such a change is hardly justifiable, even in Hosea, where the change is not infrequent. **דָּרַךְ** "has nothing but difficulty in its favor" (Briggs).

In 4:8 for **נַפְשָׁם** the LXX. has τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν; the Peshitta, **ܠܥܡܬܐ**; the Vulgate, "animas eorum;" Symmachus and Theodotion, ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς αὐτῶν. Thus the versions as well as some MSS. read **נַפְשָׁם** and this is demanded by the context. However, see page 197. Compare also **יִכְרַתוּ** = **יִכְרַת**, note **ו** following, 12:2; **בָּם** = **בָּה**, 9:2.

IV. There is also a number of cases in which a substitution of one part of speech for another or a variation of expression is such that it is difficult to determine whether the reading is due to difference of MSS. or to the translator. There may be noted,

1. Cases of the variation of a word or expression, as in 1:7, where, for the Hebrew **וְאַתְּ-בֵּית יְהוּדָה**, the LXX. has τοὺς δὲ υἱοὺς Ἰούδα, requiring **וְאַתְּ-בְּנֵי יְהוּדָה**, which was probably in the MS. before the translator. Both expressions occur in Hebrew for the same idea, and in the Greek οἶκος may be used, as well as the expression here used, to convey this idea, viz., that of posterity. There is a score of places in the Bible where this interchange occurs, the LXX. having one form and the Hebrew the other. Perhaps these may be recensional; they may, however, be explained as due to the translator's desire for variety of expression, as the use of ἀγαπάω for **רָחַם** in 2:25 (where, however, the variant ἐλεέω agrees with that in 2:3,6) must be explained. Similar to the foregoing is the variation in 2:1, **אָמַר לָהֶם לֹא עָמִי אַתֶּם יֹאמַר לָהֶם בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים**; **ἐρρέθη αὐτοῖς οὐ λαὸς μου ὑμεῖς, κληθήσονται καὶ αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ κ.τ.λ.** If exact, the translation of the second verb requires **יִקְרָא**. For such variation compare Isa. 62:4 and 32:5, where, however, the LXX. in the first passage translates both words by καλέω, the last by εἶπον in both forms.

In 3:4 for **מצבה** the LXX. is *θυσιαστήριον* = **מזבח**. Sebök explains the variation as due to the confusion of letters, ז for צ and ח for ה, or as a "tendency change." This latter seems more probable. Professor Ladd observes, "The effect from the dislike of idols and their surroundings may be seen in the change by the later Jews of the word **מִצְבֵּה**—sacred stone images which served as altars but which were regarded as objectionable, although they appear in Genesis as used by the Patriarchs, often consecrated to the service of Jehovah,—into **מזבח**."* The Professor shows by a comparison of 2 Kgs. 3:2 with 1 Kgs. 16:32 that **מצבה** is the original in the latter; he also observes that the verb **קום** does not well apply to **מזבח** but to **מצבה**; cf. Deut. 16:22.

The peculiar translation of **אפור ותרפים** by the LXX. *ιερατείας οὐδὲ δῆλων*, may possibly be attributed to the same cause. If not, the translator may have taken **אפור** in its usual meaning as an article of sacerdotal dress, and this then as the insignia of priesthood, and connected with this the Urim and Thummim which *δῆλος* represents elsewhere (Thummim, Deut. 33:8; Urim, Num. 27:21 and 1 Kgs. 28:6). It may, however, be a free translation of **תרפים** as giving knowledge of things doubtful and hidden. In such cases there is too little basis for decision.

In 2:16 **אנכי מפתיה** = LXX. *ἐγὼ πλανῶ*. **פתה** is here taken in the bad sense and so Cheyne's citation of Ps. 107:40, where this word is the translation of **תעה**, hardly seems necessary, though this same verb is used for **תעה** in 4:12 and possibly occurred here. However, **פתה** is thus translated in Ezek. 14:9 and Prov. 1:10.

In 8:11 for the Hebrew **לחטא** the LXX. is *ἡγαπημένα*, requiring **אהובים**(?), and this is better than the repetition of **לחטא** which may be a corruption from **לאהבה**(?).

In 13:6 **שבעו** = LXX. *εἰς πλησμονήν* = **לִשְׂבָעָה**; cf. p. 209, for **בית-אל**, 12:5.

2. Cases in which the variation may be due to a confusion of consonants.

In 5:2 for **ושחטה שטים העמיקו ואני מוסר לכלם** the LXX. is *ὁ οἱ ἀγόμενοι τὴν θήραν κατέπρξαν. ἐγὼ δὲ παιδεύτης ὑμῶν*; the Peshitta, **ܫܚܬܐ ܫܬܝܡ ܗܥܡܝܩܘ ܘܐܢܝ ܡܘܨܪ ܠܟܠܡ**. The Massoretic text is so peculiar that one is inclined to look with favor on the versions of the LXX. and Peshitta, which carry on the figure of the preceding verse. But it is very difficult to determine what was the basis of these readings. *ἀγρεύω* occurs twice for **צוד**, though Trommius† gives **נאה** for this word in Job 10:16, while in Prov. 6:25 it occurs possibly for **לקח**. With only these few and doubtful cases one cannot easily find what was the basis here. *θήρα* is usually the translation of **ציד**, cf. Gen. 25:28; 27:4; and it seems

* *Doctrine of Sacred Scripture*. New York. Vol. I., p. 707.

† *Concordantiae Graecae in Septuaginta, etc.* Amsterdam 1718, p. 18.

probable that צור (cf. Peshitta) was not the basis here or it would have been translated by *θηρείω*. Moreover the peculiar position of the relative and the construction here is unexpected. The variation may be explained, though unsatisfactorily, by the confusion of letters, צי = ש, ד = ה and ם for ט, צירים(?), לכ(ל)ם = לכ. It is easier, however, with Sebök to suppose a confusion of sound in which השטים = הצדים. The MSS. seem to have been obscure here. Compare that preceding, viz., at the end of ch. 4; cf. p. 214.

In 9:13 for the Hebrew לצור שתולה בנוה the LXX. has *εἰς θήραν παρέστησαν τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν*, simplifying the difficult Massoretic reading, and with slight alteration, giving a fair parallelism. However, there has been a confusion of letters, etc., and as the reading involves the unexpected change from בניהם in the first part to בניו in the second, also the use of ציד in a sense in which it does not occur elsewhere so far as I have been able to learn, it may be due to the translator. The form שתול(ה) = שתולה in this reading.

In 9:7 for the Hebrew ידעו ישראל אויל הנביא the LXX. has *καὶ κακοθήσεται Ἰσραὴλ ὥσπερ ὁ προφήτης κ.τ.λ.* The difficulty of the Massoretic text renders the translation doubtful. The LXX. seems not to have had אויל and this may be a repetition of the last letters of the preceding word; however, as אויל is frequently translated by *κακόν* it may be contained in *κακοθήσεται*, which requires (ו)ידעו for ידעו. הנביא in this reading would be כנביא. The idea then is that at that time Israel will be humiliated as the prophet is now. The last clause of the verse is probably altered to render the verb conformable with the previous עונך. *ἐπληθύνθη* for רבה is better syntax than the A.V., viz., "great hatred." According to the received reading of this verse, as Cheyne suggests, it is necessary to supply some introductory words if the idea of reproach is conveyed. But if the true prophets are referred to, in what sense is ידעו used?

In 11:4 for the Hebrew וְאֵת אֱלֹהֵי אוֹכִיל: לֹא וְגו' the LXX. has *καὶ ἐπιβλέψομαι πρὸς αὐτόν, δυνήσομαι αὐτῷ κ.τ.λ.* The peculiar form אוכיל may have misled the translator, and even if it comes from אכל an object would be expected. This and the fact that לֹא at the beginning of the following verse is inconsistent with 8:13; 9:3,6; 11:11, unless indeed one admit with Kuenen* that the prophet contradicts himself, favors the reading לו which interchange with לֹא is not infrequent in the קרי and כתיב, and this with אוכיל is no more difficult than the peculiar use of the word. *ἐπιβλέψομαι* may be a free translation of אֵת or אֱבִיט(?). The misconception of the preceding part of the verse (cf. p. 204) is shown here also, but this does not greatly affect it for the purpose here considered.

In 5:11 for צו the LXX. has *τῶν ματαίων = שוא*, which is frequently translated by *μάταιος*.† If צו were the form the article would be expected. The

* *Prophets and Prophecy in Israel*. London, 1877. P. 158.

† Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen*, p. 411, regards *ματαίων* as a free translation of צו (Vulgate), which was changed to צו on account of offensiveness.

error of a scribe would be the more easy, since the initial letters of **וְאֵנִי** are the same as the last letters of **יְשׁוּעַ** (Secker).

In 9:3 for the Hebrew **וְיָשָׁב אֶפְרַיִם מִצִּירִים** the LXX. has *κατάκησεν Ἐφραίμ Αἰγυπτου* and this carries out the contrast with the first part of the verse very well, but possibly it is a confusion of **י** for **ן** since the conjunction would be expected here. Cf. also 14:8, **יִשְׁבּוּ** = *καθίσουνται* = **יִשְׁבּוּ** (?).

In 7:1 **כִּרְפָּאִי** = *Ἐν τῷ ἰάσασθαι με* = **כִּרְפָּאִי** (?). Cf. 6:11.

V. Closely connected with the preceding are a few cases of transposition of letters and words as in 8:13, where, for **זָכַחִי הַהֲבִי יִזְכְּחוּ בָשָׂר וְיֹאכְלוּ**, the LXX. has *διότι ἐὰν θύσωσι θυσίαν καὶ φάγωσι κρέα*. The Hebrew is peculiar and difficult, if indeed it is Hebrew at all. Usually the LXX. follows the Hebrew order, especially in difficult passages, and the translation here would indicate that the Hebrew at the basis of it was **כִּי אִם יִזְכְּחוּ זָכַח יֹאכְלוּ בָשָׂר**, which gives the same arrangement of clauses as the received reading, or even better than this. **הַהֲבִי** looks very much like a peculiar repetition of the letters in **זָכַח** slightly altered, viz., **ה** for **ח**. For the use of **אִם כִּי** cf. 9:12 (LXX.); cf. also **כִּי נָם**, 9:16.

In 6:3 for the Hebrew **יִוְדָה וּמִלְקִישׁ אֶרֶץ** the LXX. has *πρώτος καὶ ὄψιμος γῆ*, and this order requires **יִוְדָה וּמִלְקִישׁ (ל)אֶרֶץ**, taking **יִוְדָה** as a noun as the A.V. also. The arrangement would then be similar to that in Joel 2:23, but the usual order may be taken because the word is taken as a noun, though this is not probable.

In 7:16 for the Hebrew **יִשׁוּבוּ לֹא עַל** the LXX. has *ἀπεστράφησαν εἰς οὐδέν*; the Peshitta, **לֹא עַל**. These versions give little help here; they seem to have taken these two words in the reverse order, viz., **עַל לֹא**, unless the sense is "to the not high one," "no god" (Gesenius), which is not probable. In the former case **לֹא** would hardly be used as this arrangement requires. Williams' conjecture, **לֹא אֵל**,* is also impossible.

In 18:10 for the Hebrew **אֲחִי מֶלֶכְךָ אֶפְרַיִם** the LXX. has *ποῦ ὁ βασιλεὺς σου οὗτος*; which is a fair translation, taking **אֲחִי** as an interrogative, and it seems probable that the letters **י** and **ח** have been transposed, the original being **אִיח**, and this is confirmed by **אֶפְרַיִם**, which would naturally follow **אִיח** as an enclitic, but is peculiar after **אֲחִי**. The form **אֲחִי** would arise the more easily since it occurs in v. 7 and elsewhere. The forms in v. 14 were probably **אִיח** also. So the versions in 18:10.

In 18:15 there is clearly a transposition of letters, **אֶרֶץ** for **אֲרָץ**, but amiss.

RECENSIONAL VARIATIONS.

There are still other variations of a different nature from those already considered. These are of such a character that they can only be explained by

* *The Hebrew Prophets*. London, 1866. *In loco*.

supposing the translator to have used a MS. differing somewhat from the MSS. underlying the present Massoretic text. An examination of these cases will show this. There may be noted,

I. Additions.

In 4:17 for הִנֵּחַ-לִי the LXX. has ἐθηκεν ἑαυτῷ σκάνδαλα. Nowack and Simson regard this as an interpretation in explanation of the preceding עֲצָבִים, but as Ewald perceived there is an incompleteness in the verse as it now stands, "And Ephraim shall not be left with his idols as is strongly enough expressed, v. 19." The sentiment too is foreign to the spirit of Hosea and especially so if satirical. This also is against the reading of Ewald, viz., "the scandal giveth him restoration." He supposes some such word as מִכְשׁוֹל to have dropped out of the text and vocalizes הִנֵּחַ. It seems better, however, to vocalize הִנִּיחַ, which is used of the setting up of idols (cf. Isa. 46:7 and 2 Kgs. 17:29), and to construe מִכְשׁוֹל(ים) as object of the verb. Thus the reading would be, *Ephraim is joined to idols, he hath set a stumbling-block for himself*. The last clause then carries out the idea preceding and gives good parallelism; note also the connection with the following verse according to the LXX.

In 4:18 for אַהֲבוּ (הִבּוּ) קֶלֶן מַגִּידָה the LXX. has ἠγάπησαν ἀτιμίαν ἐκ φρονήματος αὐτῆς. By the addition of a letter (א) and a change of pointing, a variant, and in this case a much better reading, is obtained. The MSS. underlying the Massoretic text seem to have been corrupted or obscure in this place as the peculiar Hebrew and variations of the LXX. in the last verses of this chapter as well as the opening of the next chapter indicate. The Hebrew of this clause is certainly very peculiar, but accepting a suggestion of the LXX., an excellent reading is obtained. Hermann* pointed out the fact that though the present reading of the LXX. gives no fit sense, yet a restoration of that which was its basis gives a form susceptible of a good translation: he suggests מִגִּידָה with the translation "sie lieben Schande mehr als ihre Ehre." Cheyne favors this correction, referring גִּידָה to Yahweh, the Pride of Israel, her God. Cf. Zech. 11:3. He would then translate "*they love infamy rather than her Excellency*." The peculiarity of the Greek shows that the translator was following Hebrew.

II. There are also a few cases of omission which indicate that certain letters and words were not in the MS. before the translator.

In 2:23 for the Hebrew אַעֲנֶה נָא יְהוָה אֶעֱנֶה אֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם the LXX. has λέγει κύριος ἐπακούσομαι τῷ οὐρανῷ. The first אַעֲנֶה occurs unexpectedly here in the Hebrew and evidently was not in the MS. before the translator, for it is not his tendency to omit.

In 8:2 for לִי יַעֲקֹב אֱלֹהֵי יַדְעֲנוּךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל the LXX. has ἐμὲ κεκράξονται ὁ θεὸς ἐγνώκαμέν σε. יִשְׂרָאֵל occurs in a peculiar position and is probably taken from the following verse; a copyist's error, since there can be no reason for its omission.

* Studien und Kritiken. 1879. P. 517.

In 14:3 for the Hebrew וְנִשְׁלְמָה פְּרִים שְׁפָתֵינוּ the LXX. has καὶ ἀνταποδόμεν καρπὸν χειλέων ἡμῶν. Here the omission of a letter causes an important change and relieves a clumsy construction of the Hebrew. The difficulty of the received reading is the only thing in its favor, if indeed the construction is justifiable. But it is just such peculiarities that a careful study of the LXX., and restoration of the text underlying it, will show to be incorrect readings. The proposal of Newcome to read פְּרִי after the LXX. relieves the difficulty and receives some confirmation also from Heb. 13:15, where the connection points to this passage rather than Isa. 57:19. This does not occur in the LXX. of Isa. 57:19, and נֶיֶךְ is not translated by καρπός. The Peshitta also, departing from the LXX. and Massoretic text in other particulars, agrees with the LXX. in reading פְּרִי. The explanation of this variation given by Pococke, shows to what conjectures one is driven by the theory that the translation of the LXX. is based on the same MSS. as those underlying the Massoretic text, or rather that there were no variations in the MSS. He observed, 'For this end I conceive that καρπός here is by the Greek taken in the same notion that κάρπωμα or κάρπωσις is by them elsewhere used, viz., for a whole burnt offering, which usually the Rabbins tell us were some of them called קִיץ לְמִזְבֵּחַ, the καρπός or summer fruit of the altar, so were such free-will offerings, they say, called; because they were to the altar as summer fruits to a table after a banquet.*'

III. There are also some cases of variation through change of person, number, etc. The character of these is here considered.

In 12:9 for כָּל יַגִּיעִי לֹא יִמְצָאוּ לִי עוֹן אֲשֶׁר חָטָא the LXX. has πάντες οἱ πόνοι αὐτοῦ οὐχ εὐρεθήσονται αὐτῷ, δι' ἀδικίας ἧς ἥμαρτεν. When מִצָּא is used of discovering a fault it is usually followed by בְּ of person; but it is often used with לְ in the sense "to suffice," and this gives a better sense here, adopting the suffix of the third person for the first in יַגִּיעִי. Thus Cheyne, "(but) all his profits will not suffice for (i. e., to expiate) the guilt which he has incurred," reading חָטָא לְעוֹן אֲשֶׁר חָטָא; but this is a rather forced meaning, (to expiate?), and it seems better to follow the LXX., reading לִי for לְ and putting the preposition עַל (cf. 9:15) before עוֹן thus it would read כָּל יַגִּיעִי לֹא יִמְצָאוּ לִי עַל עוֹן אֲשֶׁר חָטָא, i. e., all his profits will not suffice him because of the guilt which he has incurred. This gives the same connection with the next verse as the reading suggested by Cheyne as it also gets "rid of the unnatural distinction supposed above between 'iniquity' and 'sin.'"

In 11:3 for וְאֲנִי תִרְגַּלְתִּי לְאִפְרַיִם קָחַם עַל זִרְעָתִי the LXX. has καὶ ἐγὼ συνεπόδισα τὸν Ἐφραΐμ, ἀνέλαβον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν βραχίονά μου; the Vulgate, "portabam eos in bracheis meis"; the Peshitta, ܐܢܝ ܕܡܢ ܥܡܝܢܐ ܕܝܫܪܐܝܝܡ ܕܝܫܪܐܝܝܡ ܕܝܫܪܐܝܝܡ ܕܝܫܪܐܝܝܡ. Of the peculiar forms תִּרְגַּלְתִּי and קָחַם one cannot say much except to note

* *Theological Works*. London, 1740. Vol. II., p. 684.

that the translation of these forms is such as to indicate, at least, that the Hebrew was followed, and so the following may be relied upon as accurate. *συνεπόδισα* is evidently an effort to translate the root רגל, though influenced by the conception of the following verse. Cappelle* justifies it by making it equal to "attemperare pedem." The form קחם, however, is anomalous and according to the translations was at least taken as the equivalent of לקחתם, and this must have been the original since קחם cannot be explained as an infinitive or participle. At all events the translation "taking them by their arms," A.V., is contrary to the use of על and it also involves the difficulty already mentioned, while "he took them on his arms" (R.V. margin) involves a sudden change of person as well as philological objections. It seems better, therefore, with Cheyne, Nowack and others, to read על זרועתי (?) לקחתם, "I took them up in my arms." Cf. R.V., also Isa. 63:9.

In 2:18 for the Hebrew תקראי אישי ולא תקראי לי the LXX. has καλέσει με for both; the Vulgate, "vocabit me," for both; the Peshitta, ܠܡܢܝܢ for both. The Hebrew, strangely, has the verbs in the second person and omits לי after the first verb, though two codices have it.† The LXX., as indicated, translates both clauses in the same way and the verb is in the third person, agreeing with that preceding and following. The Vulgate, seldom agreeing with the LXX., is confirmatory here.

Similar to this is a peculiar change in 5:3, where, for כי עתה הזנית אפרים נטמא ישראל the LXX. has διότι νῦν ἐξεπόρνευσεν Ἐφραίμ, ἐμίανθη Ἰσραὴλ; the Peshitta, ܟܝ ܥܬܗ ܙܢܝܬ ܐܦܪܝܡ ܢܬܡܐ ܝܫܪܐܝܠ; the Vulgate, "quia nunc fornicatus est Ephraim, contaminatus est Israel"; the Targum, ܐܪܝ ܟܥܢ ܡܥܢ ܝܫܪܐܝܠ ܒܝܬ ܐܦܪܝܡ ܐܫܬܡܬܝܢ ܒܝܬ ܝܫܪܐܝܠ. It would seem that the persons should agree, and the third person of the first verb in the versions is certainly as good as the received reading. Note also והשכבתים = κατοικίω σε, 2:20.

IV. Finally several substitutions of letters, words and phrases occur, and they are of such a character as to show that they are not due to the translator.

In 18:9 for the Hebrew שחתך ישראל כי בי בעורך the LXX. has τῇ διαφθορᾷ σου Ἰσραὴλ τίς βοηθήσει; the Peshitta, ܟܝ ܒܝ ܒܥܘܪܟܝ. Sebök supposes כי may have come from מי† (Cappelle). כי may have come from מי or כ also, for the LXX. and Peshitta must have read מי בעורך and that this is a better reading than that of the Massoretic text, a simple comparison of the texts shows, as well as the peculiar readings and ellipses supposed in attempts to translate the received reading. Cf. R.V. Cheyne retains כי, reading כי מי בעורך, "He hath destroyed thee, O Israel; yea who is thy help?" However, there is no

* *Commentarii et Notae Criticae*. Amsterdam, 1689, p. 558.

† *The Hebrew Text*, p. 123.

‡ So also Driver in an incidental note, p. lxviii.

reason for its omission by the translator. The conjecture of Houbigant* and others after him, viz., **יעורך** is unnecessary since the construction with **כ** is good. Cf. Nah. 3:9; Pss. 118:7 and 35:2. Of course the translation of **שחתך** cannot be sustained as exact.

In 13:5 for the Hebrew **אני ידעתך** the LXX. has *ἐγὼ ἐποιμαίνων σε*; the Peshitta, **אני ידעתך**. Here, as Sebök well points out, **רעיתך** suits the following **במדבר** as well as the next verse better. **ך** and **ר** are readily confused; note also the ' of **אני** which might easily be repeated. The Targum gives a free rendering in **אנא סופקית צורכיהון**, but it shows the sense demanded here.

In 13:15 for the Hebrew **כי הוא בין אהים יפריא** the LXX. has *διότι οὗτος ἀναμέσων ἀδελφῶν διαστελεῖ*; the Vulgate, "Quia ipse inter fratres dividit, etc."; the Peshitta, **נפריא**. These versions require **יפריד** instead of **יפריא**, for it is not probable that they took this verb as equivalent to the Arabic **فرى**. This then becomes a reference to the separation between Judah and Israel. Cf. Zech. 11:14.

In 5:8 for the Hebrew **אחרך בנימין** the LXX. has *ἐξέστη βενιαμίν*. Here again is a peculiar phrase in Hebrew, it being necessary to supply to convey the supposed meaning, while the LXX. **חרר בנימין** is at once clear and forcible in this connection. Cf. the translation of **חרר**, 11:10,11. Cheyne's translation of this is good, viz., "Benjamin is distraught." For the conjecture of Meier,† viz., **אחרית**, I fail to find the support which he finds in the LXX. It is evident that the Massoretic reading might readily have been corrupted to the present form. Cf. Judg. 5:14.

In 13:2 for the Hebrew **כתבונם עצבים** (**ב** in some texts) the LXX. has *κατ'εἰκόνα εἰδῶλων*; the Vulgate, "quasi similitudinem idolorum"; the Targum, **ויעבדו להון מתכא מכספהון** (**כרמותהון**). These versions require the reading **כתבנית עצבים**, which indicates that there was no art then in the manufacture of such images (Cheyne).

In 2:11 for **לכסות** the LXX. has *τοῦ μὴ καλύπτειν*, which requires **מכסות**, as this is the usual method of translation of the infinitive with **מן**. Commentators have succeeded in explaining the use of the **ל** as that of purpose, but an ellipsis must be supposed, such as, *which should have covered*. Strange infinitive force! If referred to the nouns as **לכסות** must be, another pointing of the consonants at the basis of the LXX. would be more forcible, viz., **מכסות**. Cf. Ezek. 1:11,23, etc. However, the reading **מכסות** is the one expected from the context.

In 5:7 for **חרש** the LXX. has *ἰπνσίβη*. Kuinoel's conjecture **חרש** (cited by Drake) is due to the theory that the variations must be explained so as to harmonize with the Massoretic text, and this only involves the confusion of **ך**

* *Biblia Hebraica. In loco.*

† *Studien und Kritiken. 1842. P. 1028.*

and ד, but דרש is not translated by ἐρυσίβη in the LXX., though this is not decisive. It seems more probable that the reading was חסיל. Cf. Joel 1:4 (LXX.). The sense of the LXX. is manifest, needing no explanation. If דרש is taken in the sense of month, the most natural meaning, as it occurs without the article, then, as Prebendary Huxtable observes, "The Hebrew scriptures perhaps furnish no other example of that particular form of personification by which a period of time is spoken of as itself effecting what is done by other agents in it."*

In 4:18 for סר סכאם the LXX. is ἡρέτισε χαναναίους. It is supposed by many commentators that the translation of the LXX. arose from the reading סכאים and the confusion of the Sabaeans with the Canaanites, but this again is due to a theory. Only on the supposition that the MS. underlying the translation differed somewhat from those underlying the Massoretic text, can such variations be explained satisfactorily. A remark of Ewald shows that a fair reading is given by the LXX., viz., "it attached itself in close friendship to the Canaanites; in which case we should have to read סר כנען (comp. נוסד), and the sense would not be bad in this connection as well as suitable to the words in 12:8, if only כנען were not so very unlike the letters סכאם." Theory then is all that is against the reading of the LXX. סר (יסר) is not so translated in the LXX., but was chosen because of the similarity of the letters. כחר is the word most commonly so translated, but does not seem quite suitable here, though a better word does not suggest itself to the writer.

In 8:10 for ויחלו מעט ממשח מלך שרים the LXX. is καὶ κοπάσουσι μικρὸν τοῦ χρίεν βασιλεῖα καὶ ἀρχοντας. Ewald's rendering of the Hebrew, "cease a little" (pointing ויחלו) and "sorrow a little" (A.V.), are both open to Nowack's question, Why a little?† Nor is the reading given by Simson, Wünsche, etc., better, viz., "in a little, etc." What usage is this? מעט in 1:4, cited by Nowack, is different. Nor yet that of Hitzig, Keil,‡ R.V., etc., "they shall begin to be diminished" (reading מעט as inf. or "adj. verb"). Cheyne well asks, "Why 'begin'?" None of the above explanations being satisfactory, the only remedy is with Cheyne to turn to the LXX. which reads ויחלו מעט ממשח מלך ושרים, possibly ויחלו as Ewald read, may be retained; the rendering would be "that they may cease for a little from anointing a king and princes." The reading "king and princes" is found in some Hebrew MSS. and in the versions: it is confirmed also in the following citations by Reuss,§ viz., ch. 3:4; 7:5; 8:4 and 13:10, where "king" and "princes" are thus associated.

In 3:2 for the Hebrew וחרר שערם וחרר שערם the LXX. has καὶ γομῶρ

* *Bible Commentary*. London, 1876. Vol. VI., p. 440.

† *Der Prophet Hosea*. Berlin, 1880, p. 150.

‡ *Commentary on the Minor Prophets*. Edinburgh, 1878. Vol. I., p. 116.

§ *La Bible*. Part II. Les Prophètes. Paris, 1876. *In loco*.

κριθῶν καὶ νέβελ οἶνον; never ἡμικόρον for לֶתֶךְ, as Gesenius and a number of commentators give it, so far as I have been able to learn. Cheyne suggests that probably the translator was unacquainted with the "lethech;" but this fails to account for the transliteration of a Hebrew word. As לֶתֶךְ is one of the ἀπαξ λεγόμενα and there is no measure corresponding to it in the Egyptian dry measure, which, as Cheyne observes, "in other details agrees exactly with the Hebrew," it is very difficult to determine the cause of the variation and at the same time suspicion is cast on the Hebrew word. γόμορ is used as often for חֹמֶר as for עֹמֶר,* and so one cannot determine which was in the MS. before the translator, or some aid in explaining the variation might be derived from it. οἶνον for שְׁעָרִים might be explained from the use of barley to make wine. Compare also the plural of κριθή in Greek; or possibly, according to Schleusner, "Sed mihi שֶׁכֶר legisse videntur."

No explanation on the ground of the use of a MS. similar to that of the Masoretic text is satisfactory. Why should the translator give a Hebrew word in Greek letters if he did not find it in the MS. before him? Newcome supposed that θύλακος, which Symmachus used in the translation here, had crept into the Greek from the Hebrew. This change, however, would not have occurred long before the translation of the LXX., while the word is found in the Odyssey and was used also by Aristophanes; moreover there is another word, λήκυθος, which is just as likely to have come from לֶתֶךְ, but it occurs in Aristophanes, Euripides and Herodotus. It seems more probable that the Hebrew came from the Greek, from confusing the two words, perhaps, with a transposition of consonants, viz., $\theta(v)\lambda(a)\kappa(\alpha)\varsigma$ —a very easy confusion with the different arrangement of the consonants in the Greek words. The former was used for meal, etc., and from the Greek translation, may have passed into Hebrew in this disguised form. There seems to have been great confusion among the Fathers in the reading of this passage. A remark by Epiphanius, viz., *Λεθὲκ δὲ, ὡς ἐν τῷ Ὡσηὲ τῷ προφήτῃ εἴρηται, ὅτι ἐμισθωσάμην ἐμαντῷ λεθὲκ κριθῶν· ἐν ἀντιγράφοις δὲ, γόμορ κριθῶν, τὸ αὐτὸ εἰσι· δέκα γὰρ καὶ πέντε μόδοι σημαίνονται οὗτοι*,† shows that he regarded the "lethech" and the homer as the same measure wrongly, thinking that there were two homers, one of twelve and the other of fifteen baths, the "lethech" corresponding to the latter. This looks as if there had been an understanding that the two expressions were equivalent or that *λεθὲκ* was an explanation of *γόμορ*. In the editor's discussion of this passage, a reading from Ambrosius is cited, viz., "Et conduxī eam gomor hordei et semi-gomor hordei et nevel vini." This combines the two readings, but affords no light on the question considered, except in showing that the texts of

* Driver, however, gives a number of instances showing γ to be the transliteration of γ (ג), pp. 105, 106.

† *Patrologia Graeca*, edited by J. P. Migne. Paris, 1858. Vol. XLIII., pp. 272, 273.

the versions have been tampered with. Whatever the origin of the variation may be, the reading of the LXX. is at least as satisfactory as the received reading.

The explanation of this, referring to 2 Kgs. 7:18, and the inference that a homer and a half of barley would have a value of fifteen shekels, which plus the fifteen shekels of silver would equal the price of a slave, Ex. 21:32, is simply arbitrary. It rests upon the following uncertainties: the value of (1) barley, (2) a slave, (3) לֶחֶךְ; the reason for the amount being (1) the price of a slave, (2) part money, part barley. The best explanation of the received reading is that this amount was given for provision (Huxtable), and this applies to the LXX. also. Cf. I Sam. 25:18; II Sam. 16:1. An offering might also have been contemplated, cf. I Sam. 1:24; perhaps a jealousy offering, cf. Num. 5.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS.

Thus it is seen that, while there are many variations in the LXX., most of these can be satisfactorily explained. It is inevitable that there should be some corruption in the Greek text, and this renders the reading in some places doubtful, but such cases are nearly always manifest and thus one is warned not to use these for critical purposes. The fact also that the translator's aim was to produce a translation for the use of the people of his times, and not that the Hebrew text might be reconstructed from it, allowed him to translate as he understood the Hebrew, and thus to interpretation a number of minor variations may be attributed. Yet the fairness and the literalness of the translation are, withal, astonishing; and these would no doubt seem even greater if we had the MS. from which the translation was made.

The faithful reproduction of Hebrew idioms and even the order of words in Hebrew is remarkable. In ch. 1:9 the translation *καὶ ἐγὼ οὐκ εἶμι ἐμὸν*, shows that if לֵאלֹהִים has dropped out of the text, as many suppose, it must have been before the LXX. was translated. Many other passages showing that the LXX. is a protection against rash conjecture, might also be adduced. But is the value of such a translation to end with this? So, many treat it. An example may suffice to show how the translations of the LXX. are usually treated, viz., in ch. 2:22 the text of the Western Jews is יָדַעַת אֶת יְהוָה as found in our Hebrew Bibles, but in the Babylonian codex the reading is יָדַעַת כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה. Now if our Hebrew text had happened to have read as the Babylonian codex, no doubt those who regard the LXX. as of no value, would have found here a false translation of the LXX., supporting the text by the Vulgate, "scies quia ego Dominus." Both translations, however, may be sustained on the supposition that there were different readings in the Hebrew MSS., as there are in this case. This illustrates the difference between the explanation of the variations, by those who hold that there were different recensions of the Hebrew text, and that given by those who do not admit this.

In the present investigation it has been the aim to explain all the variations which can fairly be attributed to the translation as due to this. But after one has studied the character of these variations, whether due to free translation or to imperfect transmission of the text, and has noted the general tendency of the translator in those instances in which it is evident he has given a free translation, he finds that there are some variations which might possibly be attributed to the translator, but are more likely due to difference of recension or perhaps in some cases to imperfect transmission of the text. There are still other variations, however, which cannot be explained in this way. These can only be explained as arbitrary or recensional, but the general fidelity of the translator will not allow the former explanation, moreover the excellence of the readings in many cases will not admit it. Certainly the important variations are not numerous, but one would not expect many variations in Hebrew MSS. of a book the size of Hosea.

The peculiar addition in ch. 13:4 may be thought to reflect on the character of the MS. used by the translator. Yet such peculiarities may easily be detected, and it is to be remembered that if we had the early Hebrew MSS. it would be necessary to use critical judgment in choosing a variant reading, just as is the case with the MSS. of the New Testament. It seems of great importance therefore that the text of the LXX. receive more attention, that it may be had in its very best and most complete form, in order that a more careful comparison of the version with the Massoretic text may be made. Great results certainly may be expected from such study, even in the Minor Prophets, where the translators are supposed to have treated the text with great liberty.

It seems strange that the American Revisers, otherwise less conservative than the English Committee, should have disagreed with the latter in that they refused any reference to the Septuagint and other versions. Care must certainly be used and great discrimination in the study of the versions for textual purposes, but to throw such a valuable critical aid as the Septuagint out of consideration, is to reject what Providence has preserved ; it is to close one's eyes to the light.

NOTES ON THE ANALYSIS OF GENESIS I.-XXXI.*

BY BENJAMIN W. BACON,

Oswego, N. Y.

In the so-called *Urgeschichte*, Gen. I.-XII., the analysis of Budde,† if taken with a grain of salt derived from Kuenen,‡ seems to the present writer on the whole a true one. If the poetic structure discovered by Prof. Briggs§ in Gen. I. really exists, this lends additional force to the argument that this chapter, in other respects so strongly contrasting with the usual style of P, was not original with him, but worked over and incorporated from J². For elsewhere in the priestly document there is not one trace of poetry discoverable, either in thought or structure. A further bit of evidence in favor of Budde's J² (considered by him to have employed *Elohim* previous to Gen. iv. 26—cf. ver. 25) may be derived from Deut. iv. 32 sqq., where indeed *Elohim* in 33 sq. may be accounted for by translating a God; but not in ver. 32. Here the most probable explanation to my mind, in view of the general practice of D, is a retained peculiarity of the source, and so also in 33 sq. There being absolutely no trace of P in D, this reference may accordingly be taken as evidence for an underlying elohistic J² in Gen. I.||

In Gen. vi. 4 I regard the first two clauses אַחֲרֵי־כֵן . . . הַנְּפִלִים as due to supplementary redaction in place of a simple, וַיְהִי כ, an interpolation intended to explain the *Nephilim* of Num. xiii. 33. But the original writer was not giving an aetiology of *Nephilim*, but of *Gibborim*, for the identifying of whom with the *Nephilim* there is not only no evidence, but ver. 4b indicates them to have been quite a different class from the *Nephilim*, and by no means necessarily of gigantic stature. Cf. x. 8 sqq. with Num. xiii. 33. In the latter passage the *Nephilim* appear to be E's parallel to J's *beni-Anak* of vs. 22, 32. At least there can be no certainty that any mention of *Nephilim* occurs in J, and the superfluity if not the disagreement of this clause with the latter part of the verse, together with the extreme awkwardness of its position, seem to be against it.

When J relates the birth of a person or class of persons of importance he says, "— took to wife — and — went in unto — and she (they) bare a child (children) unto him" (them), and then proceeds to tell what became of the child

* A series of sketches preliminary to the author's new analysis of Gen. I.-Ex. xx. in *Bibles within the Bible*. Student Pub. Co., Hartford, Conn., 1891.

† *Die bibl. Urgeschichte untersucht*. Giessen, 1883.

‡ *Th. Tijdschrift*, XVIII. 121-171.

§ *Biblical Study*, p. 278, and *HEBRAICA*, April, 1888.

|| Cf. Wellhausen *Comp. d. Hex.* (Berlin, 1889), 186-189.

or children. Cf. iv. 1,25; xxxviii. 2 sq., etc. He does not interrupt or anticipate this natural order by inserting in advance what the child is going to be after it is born, nor other information which has nothing to do with the story of the birth, but tells his story connectedly. Read now vi. 1-4 as the aetiology of the Gibborim, of whom Nimrod is one mentioned later, and omit ver. 3 (according to Budde displaced from after iii. 21), and the disturbing clauses at the beginning of ver. 4, inserting a simple ׀ after **אֲשֶׁר**, or **יְהִי כֵאֲשֶׁר**, and we have just what J uniformly writes in such cases: "The sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all that they chose. And the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men and they bare children unto them; the same were the *Gibborim* which were of old, the men of renown."

Kautzsch and Socin* call attention to the fact that x. 1b is probably from J², and argue thence that ix. 18 sq. = R. Insert, however, x. 1b between ix. 19a and 19b and there is no occasion for rejecting anything but 18b.

From vs. 8,13,15 it may perhaps be inferred that in J² the sons of Ham were a triad, Cush, Mizraim, and Canaan.

For the analysis of ch. xv. see *HEBRAICA*, vii. 1.

Chapters xx.-xxii. are admitted by all critics to have undergone harmonistic treatment by JE only less severe than that of ch. xv. where E's narrative is first introduced. Omissions occur not only after xx. 2 (cf. vs. 6b,17 sq), but in ch. xxi. the substance of xxvi. 12-25 (J) has fallen out between vs. 21 and 22, as appears from ver. 25. The aetiology of Beersheba is retained, perhaps because it differs in its etymology from that of ch. xxvi. It has repeatedly been remarked, however, that portions of the last verses (32b,33) do not fit this narrative. Yahweh, ver. 33, might be explained as a scribal alteration. Not so, however, 32b, which assumes that Beersheba is not in the land of the Philistines, but that Abimelech and Phicol have come away from their own land. This is in accord with xxvi. 26 sq., but not with xx. 15; xxi. 22 sq. and 34. The subject of the verbs in ver. 33 is also curiously wanting. But to attribute 32b sq. to R is a mere subterfuge; there is no motive for interpolation. To the above objections to 32b, 33 in their present position I will add that 31 and 32a are equally inappropriate. The etymology led up to in vs. 28-30 is based upon **שֶׁבַע** in the sense of "seven." Abraham obtains the well for "value received," and in token hereof *should* name it "Well of the Seven," otherwise the "seven" lambs are not the "witness" they are intended to be (ver. 30). If now we are suddenly put on another track, and find that the well was not called the well of the seven but "the Well of the Oath,

* *Die Genesis*, p. 17, notes 28 and 30.

because there they *sware* both of them," it leaves the expected etymology from שבע "seven" hanging in mid-air. Ver. 32a again is here a mere repetition of ver. 27, which does not need to be repeated, because in 28 sqq. we have passed on to a new theme. Finally the form of ver. 31 is decidedly characteristic of J. The remedy for all this is a simple transposition of vs. 31-33 into the place of xxvi. 33, and of xxvi. 33 into this place. The missing subject of ver. 33 is therefore Isaac; the play upon "sware," ver. 31, finds its necessary antecedent in xxvi. 31; the returning into the land of the Philistines finds its condition precedent in xxvi. 26; the "calling on the name of Yahweh," ver. 33, and the על-כן וְנָ, ver. 31, find their explanation in the fact that these verses are taken from the J version of the Beersheba-saga. On the other hand xxvi. 33 correspondingly fits, both in style and content, with equal exactness between xxi. 30 and 34.

With regard to ch. xxii. I have only possibilities to suggest. Ver. 14 is universally acknowledged to have suffered alteration, and "Moriah," ver. 2, is of course dependent upon the altered situation and etymology. "Yahweh," v. 11, and the supplementary second appearance of the angel, vs. 15-18, are of course due also to the Jehovistic redactor, and furnish additional evidence of the *Umdeutung* the whole chapter has undergone. Nevertheless it is certain that the alteration of ver. 14 was, as usual, only superficial; for ver. 8 leads up to a derivation from the stem ראה and the saying, 14b, cannot have been manufactured. Unless the redactor was unusually fortunate in finding one exactly suited to his purpose, we must suppose that he found it in the original. Again, if he had been manufacturing an etymology for "Moriah" he surely would have made a better fit than *Yahweh-yireh*, a *lucus a non lucendo* which surpasses even the etymological wonders of J and E. May we not suppose that his work was mainly a mere alteration of Yahweh to Elohim, as elsewhere (cf. ver. 11), so that the saying, 14b, was originally of E's well-known *Mount of God* where "he is seen" by Moses and the people, Ex. iii. 6; xxiv. 11; and sought, if not seen, by Elijah, I Kgs. xix. 13 (cf. Ex. iii. 6).^{*} The transformation to "Mount of Yahweh" then immediately suggested "Moriah" (Ex. xv. 17), in place of the name of a *land* which must originally have stood in ver. 2.

What then was this "land" where the "mount of God" was? Assuredly "the land of the Negeb," Gen. xxiv. 62; Num. xiii. 29.

For a long time, mistaking the origin of "Moriah" for a phonetic modification, I had sought to connect it with *Moreh*, xii. 6 (J), Judg. vii. 1, or with האמר, but met the objection that the hill of Moreh (Shechem) cannot possibly be called a "land," whereas "land of the Amorite" is too general, and "land of Hamor" very unlikely. A further objection not to be disregarded is the carrying

^{*} I suspect that the number 40 in xix. 8 has been conformed to Ex. xxxiv. 28.

of the wood. Carrying wood from Beersheba to Shechem or any part of the "hill country of the Amorites" is worse than "carrying coals to Newcastle." Not so if Abraham journeyed southward to the "Mount of God." The graphic imagination of the narrator depicts before his mind's eye the sandy, rocky, treeless wastes of the southern *Negeb*. Else why does he speak of the wood at all? If he simply did not think, he simply would have kept silence.

What now did Abraham, according to the original ver. 14a, "call the name of that place"? for the characteristic form of the half verse indicates that again nothing is altered here but the mere name itself. In view of ver. 8, which assuredly leads up to an original etymology from הַרְאֵי, and of 14b, which with the mere alteration of Elohim to Yahweh I judge to be original, I would suggest as possible, *El-roi*, and that we have—or should have—here E's parallel to the etymology of J in xvi. 13. True J is there aetiologizing on the name of the deity of a certain locality, whereas here it is the locality itself, perhaps the altar itself,* whose name is accounted for. But this is exactly the practice of E. He calls "the place" or "the pillar" *El-Bethel*, or *El-Elohai-Israel* (cf. xxxiii. 20; xxxv. 7). I venture therefore to think that E may have written in ver. 14, "So Abraham called the name of that place *El-roi*; as it is said to this day, In the mount of God it shall be provided."†

A very important consequence of this conjecture is the implied location of Horeb near Beer-lahai-roi. *A priori* this would be far from an unlikely scene for E's setting of the single incident he relates of Isaac, cf. xxv. 11b (J). My analysis of *Exodus* leads me to the belief that Sinai (J) and Horeb (E) are by no means identical in location, and that Horeb at least must be looked for in the *Negeb*. We shall understand then why Moses should "lead the flock to the further side of the wilderness" (from *Cush*) since he aimed at the *oasis* which had been the home of Isaac; and why Israel on their way to *Kadesh* from Egypt and *Shur* should come to Horeb the mount of God, if this was "between Kadesh and Bered," "in the way to Shur," xvi. 7, 14. We shall understand the seeming interchangeableness of Massah and Meribah, Kadesh, Rephidim and Horeb, in Ex. xvii.; Num. xx., etc.; and why Amalek who "dwelt in the land of the *Negeb*," Num. xiii. 29, should come to attack Israel there. Abraham's three days' journey from Beersheba, xxii. 4, agrees also with Hagar's wandering. It disagrees entirely to be sure with I Kgs. xix. 8. But I think there is reason to suspect the genuineness of these forty days and nights, or to doubt whether they were days and nights of travel.

Further explanations and evidence will be found in my "Bibles within the

* הַמְקוֹם in the pregnant sense, "the (sacred) place."

† Doubtless the sense of the *saying* was that of the margin, R.V., "He shall be seen" (cf. xvi. 13 and the conjectural reading of Well., *Comp. d. Hex.*); but E naturally prefers a less anthropomorphic sense and interprets as ver. 8 requires.

Bible" (Student Pub. Co., Hartford, Conn.), soon to appear, and in the series of articles in *Journal of Bibl. Lit.*, x. sqq., on "JE in the Middle Books." If the present conjecture bears the weight of adverse criticism, a very welcome light will be thrown upon E's whole narrative of the Exodus; "Horeb, the mount of God," Ex. III. 1, will receive the preliminary explanation of which it now stands in so much need, and even the critic who demands as the original scene of Gen. XXII., *jedenfalls eine berühmte Menschenopferstätte*, will perhaps find satisfaction.

For the analysis of ch. XXVII. see HEBRAICA, VII. 2.

In my opinion Kautzsch and Socin are right in their analysis of ch. XXVIII. and XXIX. 1-14. Kuenen's objections to XXVIII. 13-16 = J, are not conclusive, especially if, as I conceive, this passage has been taken from its original position in the connection of XXXV. 14 and transferred hither by JE. The linguistics of ver. 14, נברכו, פרץ, משפחת, and the doctrinal standpoint of ver. 16, which is not of an editorial nature, but leads up to the *naming*, ver. 19, speak strongly for J. On the other hand, ver. 15 cannot be assigned to J as in Kautzsch and Socin, for it follows, item by item, ver. 20, which is certainly (XXXI. 13; XXXV. 3) E's. The only obstacle to understanding J's Bethel story to have occupied originally the position where the fragment XXXV. 14 still remains, is thus removed. P had then, no doubt, authority for placing his Bethel theophany after the return from Paddan-aram, and so Hos. XII. 5 [4].

The division of Kautzsch and Socin in XXIX. 14 is to be preferred to Dillmann's. Cf. Gen. II. 23.

None of the analyses of JE in the latter part of chs. XXX. and XXXI. are acknowledged to be completely satisfactory, even by the analyzers themselves. I may be permitted therefore to present one which in some respects may possess advantages. In ch. XXX. vs. 32 and 33 are, as Wellhausen points out (*Jahrb. f. D. Th.* XXI. 428 sqq.), in flagrant contradiction to both what precedes and what follows. The sense of ver. 31 is unmistakably this (cf. Dillmann, *Genesis*⁵, p. 341), "Thou shalt not give me aught *now*; hereafter, when certain lambs to be specified are born, they shall be mine" (ver. 39 sq.). In ver. 32 Jacob proposes on the contrary to sever out the speckled and spotted *now* and take them ("it shall be my hire"). The sense of the last clause of ver. 32 is not to be obliterated by connecting it with ver. 33 (Dillmann), for the sentence produced is too awkward (cf. Kautzsch and Socin, p. 67, note 125), nor can it be assumed, with Kautzsch and Socin, that the words are merely an ancient gloss, for which there is no sufficient ground. On the contrary ver. 33 agrees exactly in conception and language with 32 (both have the phrase "speckled and spotted among the goats and black among

the sheep"; elsewhere different language is employed), and both agree with xxxi. 8a, which must be the ultimate determinator of what E had. Vs. 32 and 33 taken together are perfectly in order and comprehensible. Jacob takes, as xxxi. 8 says, "the speckled"; and Laban may see for himself when he comes "to-morrow" or "in the future" that Jacob has taken none but "the speckled." This agrees neither with 31 ("thou shalt not give me aught") nor with 35 (*Laban* separates the flock), but it is self-consistent and agrees with xxxi. 8. We may therefore safely regard the whole of 32sq. as E's.

Vs. 34-36 are then just as certainly J's, for here we have a different object in view in the separation, one which in all these verses is identical. *Laban* removes the parti-colored animals, and removes them *a long distance*, to prevent intercourse between the herds; quite a different matter from *Jacob's* mere setting apart the speckled for his own.

Vs. 37 and 38a again contain Jacob's counter-move by which Laban's cunning is over-matched. He overcomes the obstacle of distance. There is not only the immediate connection of the sense to show that this passage belongs with 34-36, but its whole spirit of diamond cut diamond over-reaching on Jacob's part is contrary to E's representation; for in E Jacob's position is that of injured innocence. God interposes on his behalf and "suffers not Laban to hurt him" (xxx. 7), while Jacob himself is the **אִישׁ תָּם** of xxv. 27, "the man of simple integrity." But 38b, from **בְּשִׁקְתוֹת**, "in the watering-troughs," on, is clearly E's duplicate of 38a and 39 (J). In ver. 41 (J) we have "in the gutters" simply, to which Rje has added here the parallel expression of E, by way of explanation of the unusual **רִחְטִים**, "gutters," of J. Still more striking is the reduplication of the last clause of ver. 38 compared with the first of ver. 39. The latter verse is clearly connected with J's account (ver. 37) of Jacob's trick. Vs. 41 and 42 are also manifestly a part of the same story, and the latter verses make plain the reason of the first and last clauses of ver. 40, viz., Jacob has now charge of an exclusively white flock, and has obtained control of the color of the progeny; hence, having secured a flock of parti-colored lambs, he does not permit them to mingle indiscriminately with the white (Heb. **לָבָן** *laban*) flock of Laban, and so take the chances of further parti-colored births, but adopts the (in the author's eyes) surer means of the rods, allowing the progeny to resume their natural white color only when the flock are in poor condition. Laban, three days' journey distant, does not realize what is happening. Ver. 43 also is clearly J's not only on account of **פָּרִץ** and **שִׁפְחוֹת** but from the connection with xxxii. 4sq. Only the middle clause of ver. 40 stands out in irreconcilable incongruity with this representation. How indeed is Jacob to "set the faces of the flocks" in any given direction? and what is it expected to accomplish when the parti-colored flock is three days' journey off? And, finally, what is the use of it when Jacob has already attained his purposes by another and easier method? The answer is, The middle clause of

ver. 40 belongs to E; and to this the language again corresponds. It is not the "speckled and spotted" (E under Laban's *first* agreement) nor "the ringstraked, speckled and spotted" (J), but "the ringstraked and all the black" (E under Laban's *second* agreement. Cf. xxxi. 8b). Thus the fragments of E in ch. xxx. agree with the résumé of the story in xxxi. 7sq. E related a changing of Jacob's wages with the final result that not merely "the stronger were Jacob's and the feebler Laban's," ver. 42 (J), but all the flock of Laban became Jacob's, xxxi. 9 (E). Laban assigned him the speckled; then *God* caused all the flock to bear speckled. He offered him the ringstraked; the *whole* progeny was ringstraked. Jacob's effort in his own behalf is confined to setting the two kinds of sheep opposite one another "at the watering-troughs" where it could easily be done (38b, 40, middle clause).

Critics are for the most part quite agreed upon the analysis of xxxi. 1-18. The only questions in debate are as to the possible interpolation of vs. 3, 10, 12. Vs. 1 and 2 are easily seen to be doublets, the former J's, the latter E's (cf. ver. 5). Ver. 3 is referred to by xxxii. 9, but this latter is itself an interpolated passage, and ver. 3 is excluded by ver. 1, which supplies the motive for Jacob's return. A didactic interest has supplemented this comparatively unworthy motive by a special divine direction. Ver. 12 interrupts the necessary connection of ver. 11 with 13 and is in the highest degree malapropos. The language too heaps together adjectives which in E must have applied only in separate instances; "ringstraked" at one time, "speckled and grised" at another. The matter may perhaps have been derived from E's story of the acquisition of the flock, but in its present position ver. 12 must be due to didactic interpolation. The same remarks apply of course to ver. 10. With the exception of ver. 18 (P) the rest of vs. 1-20 is indisputably E's; but the middle clause of ver. 21 is a new beginning, duplicating the first clause, and 25a is a more remarkable doublet of 23b. Ver. 25b too comes in too late after ver. 24 to belong to E. Ver. 27 also not only duplicates ver. 26, but brings into striking contrast its different expression for denoting the stealthy flight of Jacob (ver. 26, "didst steal my heart;" v. 27, "didst steal me"). All these phenomena are rightly noted by the later critics and the indicated fragments assigned to J. Also the gap in ver. 25, where the name of "the mountain" has been omitted, doubtless in deference to E's narrative which made Mt. Gilead the scene of both camps. In connection herewith, however, it should be noted that only in the J passages in the complicated mosaic at the end of the chapter is there an apparent attempt to furnish an etymology for *two* places; E's narrative confining itself to the name Gal-ee'd (Gilead). Observe also that ver. 31 stands in the worst possible connection with its present context, "Wherefore hast thou stolen my gods?—Because I was afraid," etc. The verse contains really the answer, not to the question which stands immediately before it, but to that of ver. 27 (J), "Wherefore didst thou flee secretly?" On the other hand, by withdrawing

ver. 31, we bring ver. 32 into a better connection after ver. 30. The **וַיֹּאמֶר** of LXX. at the beginning of ver. 32 may then well be genuine, and marks the beginning of Jacob's answer in E.

Both matter and language show that the succeeding verses down to ver. 42 are E's. A single clause, "and into the tent of the two maidservants," has been supplemented in ver. 33, as the last clause of the verse shows; but the mere parallelism of vs. 38 and 41 (Well.) without any trace of divergence in the conception, is scarcely sufficient to suggest the presence of J.

Not until we reach ver. 43 can there be any reasonable doubt of E as the author, but here the impression is very strong upon my mind that the debate between Laban and Jacob in E reaches a conclusion with Jacob's triumphant rejoinder of ver. 42; and that ver. 43 is the answer to Jacob's imputation in ver. 31 (J). In E the *teraphim* are the matter of prime importance. It seems to be J who brings the *daughters* into the front rank of controversy, and instead of Laban appearing in rather humiliating colors, discomfited and put to shame by Jacob, himself and his gods turned to ridicule by Rachel, in J it is Laban who makes decidedly the best appearance, acting a really generous part (vs. 27,48 sq.), while Jacob presents a rather sorry excuse for his flight from a shadow (ver. 31).

Ver. 44 is evidently concerned to furnish an etymology for Gilead (Gal-ead) for **וְהָיָה לְעֵד** "it shall be for a witness" can only refer to some substantive now missing. A clause has been omitted which, as the evidently contemplated etymology suggests, can only have been **וַיַּעֲשֶׂה גִל** "and make a heap" (Olshausen, Dillmann), in spite of Kautzsch and Socin. The verse thus stands connected with vs. 46-50, where the etymology is developed according to J's style, returning to the word played upon and concluding with his regular **עַל־כֵּן קָרָא שְׁמוֹ גִלְעָד** "Therefore was the name of it called Gal-ead" (48b). In this passage (vs. 46-50) there has been considerable alteration, transposition and interpolation, as has long been recognized; yet the main characteristics of language are J's, and the subject of the covenant, ver. 50, again agrees with the topic of discussion in vs. 27,31 and 43 (J), and contrasts with that of E, vs. 32-42, 52. Moreover it is Laban who seems to have the best of the argument in these verses of J, and hence Laban also who naturally takes the initiative in the suggestion of the covenant; for as Laban undertakes to tell the meaning of the cairn in vs. 48 sqq., it must be Laban, and not "Jacob" as in the present text, who says to his *brethren*, "Gather stones," etc. Ver. 47 is either, as Wellhausen says, "a very superfluous exhibition of learning" on the part of some interpolator, or else has been removed from between 53a and 53b, and perhaps altered in the process. At any rate it has no place alongside of ver. 48 and is much more than superfluous where it stands. Ver. 48b, the formula with which J's aetiological narratives regularly conclude, can of course originally have stood nowhere but after ver. 50, this verse itself being separated from its true connection with 48a, as has long

been recognized, by the intruder ver. 49. Finally אלהים "God" in ver. 50 is easily recognized as a subject wrongly supplied by some glossator, since it destroys the sense of the narrative. It is not God (*Elohim*), but the cairn (*gal*), which is to be the witness (*ed*) between the parties to the covenant; else the etymology is lost.

It is easy simply to banish ver. 49 from the text as an interloper. Undoubtedly it is in a wrong position and has occasioned the straying of 48b; but the language agrees with the style of J, and one cannot forget the significant gap in ver. 25, where Jacob's camp was also located by J, but in a different place from Laban's. There were then *two* names of places in J's narrative. Did not each have its aetiology? And what other place more likely to be associated with Ramoth-Gilead in this connection than the famous Mizpah of Gilead? It seems to me not at all impossible that in J this verse may have followed upon the story of vs. 48-50 somewhat as follows. [And Jacob set up a stone in the place where he had pitched his tent] and called it Mizpah (Sam. המצבה, LXX. *Μασηφα*), for he said, Yahweh watch (צפה *tsaphah*) between me and thee when we are hidden one from the other." The erection of *maṣṣebah* or "pillars" is comparatively exceptional in J in contrast with E, but there is abundant evidence in xxxv. 14 and Josh. iv. 20 that they are not unknown to this writer, as erections of the patriarchs, or at least of Jacob. The curious variants of Sam. and LXX. can scarcely be accounted for save as traces of an original play upon the name המצבה *ham-maṣṣebah* "the pillar," which can only have stood in the original J (cf. Well. i. p. 432, note). Is it possible that J was again indulging in a word play, connecting *maṣṣebah* with the stem צפה through the resemblance of מצבה and מצפה?

Vs. 51-54 are again another story of the covenant at Gilead with a different motive (establishment of a boundary line) and a second covenant feast (cf. vs. 46 and 54). Vs. 51 sq. labor under a load of interpolation in the shape of harmonistic redaction which has introduced both cairn and pillar where only one can be intended. That the one which originally stood in E's narrative was, in spite of Kautzsch and Socin, the cairn (*gal*), and not the pillar (*maṣṣebah*), should be sufficiently clear from the fact alone that E is obviously giving also, as J has given already, vs. 48 sq., an etymology of Gilead (*Gal-ed*, not *maṣṣebah-ed*); but there is additional evidence that the cairn belongs here and the pillar is interpolated, in the fact that in the single instance passed over by the interpolator (middle of ver. 52), it is the *cairn* which stands by itself and not the *pillar*. It becomes apparent from this that 51-54 must be regarded as E's story of the covenant at Gilead. But certainly the favorite *maṣṣebah* of E was not left out of this story to appear only in J. No, E also attributes the pillar to Jacob and the cairn to Laban, but here it is naturally Jacob who takes the initiative (vs. 45 and 54), as seems most appropriate after Jacob's speech in ver. 42. The redaction of E's narrative

included beside the introduction of "the pillar" in vs. 51 sq., the supplementation of ver. 53a with the superfluous clause "the God of their father," which contradicts E in Josh. xxiv. 2; and perhaps also the removal (and alteration?) of ver. 47 from between 53a and 53b. With this restoration but few words are lacking to make the narratives of both J and E in ch. xxxi. fairly complete; a result not only gratifying in itself, but corresponding to the procedure of JE as developed in the close inspection of other passages where the strands of J and E are most intimately interwoven.

The above analysis of chs. xxx. and xxxi., as well as the suggestions upon previous passages of difficulty, will prove, let us hope, not barren of valuable deductions and inferences for the historical critic. An improved analysis of the succeeding chapters, especially in Exodus, will certainly afford important results.

➤BOOK NOTICES.◀

WRIGHT ON COMPARATIVE SEMITIC GRAMMAR.*

The time has not yet come for the preparation of a scientifically satisfactory comparative grammar of the Semitic tongues. Nor does the volume of Wright lay claims to the distinction of being such a work. The title page does not announce it as a comparative grammar, but as lectures on the comparative grammar of these languages. The work does not claim to be a solution of a vexing and perplexing problem, but only a contribution towards its solution. And as such it is entitled to a place in the front rank of purely philological works in the Old Testament literature of the day. Detailed researches in not a few of the leading questions of comparative Semitic grammar have already been made, both in etymology and in syntax. These contributions and preliminary investigations are found in nearly all the larger grammars, such as Olshausen's and Stade's Hebrew grammar, Dillmann's Ethiopic grammar, Wright's Arabic grammar; also in the publications of Lagarde, Nöldeke and others in books, pamphlets and magazine articles, while special researches, such as Driver's discussion of Hebrew tenses, or Philippi on the Status Constructus, and several treatises on the prepositions, on the infinitive and other topics, have handled these individual topics in an almost exhaustive manner. It was time that some specialist should draw the *facit* of what had been done, and intelligently compile and gather together the treasures of thought found so widely scattered. This Wright has done in a manner that makes his work absolutely necessary to the student of the Semitic languages. Very little seems to have escaped him. Nor can it be said that his volume is merely a compilation. It is true that those who have been working in this line will recognize probably in more than one-half of the instances cited matter that has been used and approved by specialists in other works; but a good many of the data are doubtless the result and fruit of Wright's own studies. Naturally it is impossible for any reader to control the correctness of each and every comparison; but as the work is edited by Professor W. Robertson Smith and the proof sheets passed through the hands of "the little giant" of Strassburg, Professor Nöldeke, generally recognized as the leading Semitic scholar of the world, we have a reasonable right to have confidence in the quality of the work done, aside from that already inspired by the established reputation of the author himself.

The book itself grew out of lectures delivered at the University of Cambridge. In all there are nine chapters, treating of introductory matter; of the term Semitic; the original home and the diffusion of the Semites; general survey of the languages; Semitic writing and alphabet; the Vowels and their permuta-

* LECTURES ON THE COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR OF THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES. From the papers of the late William Wright, LL. D., Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. Cambridge: University Press. New York: Macmillan and Co., 1890. Pp. xi, 288. Size 9x6 inches. Price \$3.50.

tions; the Pronouns; the Noun; the Verb (regular); and the Irregular Verb. To these are added a few additional notes and corrections. As is thus seen the work covers only etymology and the forms; the syntax being entirely left out of consideration. As a rule Wright confines himself to the statement and arrangement of the facts and does not endeavor to go further and unravel the mysteries of the philosophy of the Semitic tongues. Doubtless this is the part of wisdom; as we have not yet a sufficient number of facts on all the subjects in question to justify extensive theorizing. Ewald's Hebrew grammar is an illustration of the result of abstract philosophizing without a full foundation of facts. Wright generally takes positions on points *sub judice*, but he is cautious and conservative, only rarely, as in his hypothesis on the Personal pronoun, venturing into deep waters. All these features of the volume make it an excellent handbook for advanced students and for teachers. It is not free from errors. The omission of all mention of Praetorius' *Ethiopic Grammar*, of Merx *Chrestomathia Targumica* and other literature, at the proper places, is to be regretted. Indeed it is almost a crime that this excellent manual has been permitted to appear without any indices whatever! It would have doubled and trebled the value of the work for the student's use if these had been added. For the omission of the indices there can be no excuse whatever, as any wide awake student in this department could have prepared them.

GEORGE H. SCHODDE,
Columbus, Ohio.

KEILSCHRIFTTEXTE ZUM GEBRAUCH BEI VORLESUNGEN.*

Delitzsch's *Lesestücke* has become a household word among students of Assyrian. With its help they have all treaded their way through the maze of the Assyrian syllabary. It is natural that they have conceived a love for it as for an old friend. With the exception of Lyon's *Manual* (which was intended to serve other purposes) and Teloni's *Crestomazia*, no serious attempt has been made to improve upon the *Lesestücke*. Messrs. Abel and Winckler—well known from their other joint publications—have attempted to do this. They must have thought that, in some one way or another, Delitzsch's work even in its third edition did not quite satisfy the requirements. And, though they do not expressly state it, the idea that guided them in this is to be found in the first sentence of the preface, "The present publication is intended solely for practical purposes, and wishes only to give beginners a selection of such texts, the study of which will enable them quickly and surely to carry on their studies of their own accord." Their book must, therefore, be judged by their own standard; and that standard is its greater practical usefulness in beginning the study of Assyrian.

The *Keilschrifttexte* has one great advantage to begin with. It is cheap: half again as cheap as the *Lesestücke*. Every student can thus become possessor of a copy. Though it contains only about 102 pages to the 148 of Delitzsch's publication, the amount of material given is much greater, as the whole is more com-

* KEILSCHRIFTTEXTE ZUM GEBRAUCH BEI VORLESUNGEN, herausgegeben von Ludwig Abel und Hugo Winckler. Berlin: W. Speman, 1890.

pressed. In this compression clearness has not been sacrificed as regards the texts. But in one part it has resulted unfavorably for the student,—in the *Schrifttafel*. It is true that we have some 384 signs, against 326 in Delitzsch—undoubtedly the largest collection of signs in any of the current handbooks. But in Abel-Winckler the double column makes the finding of the different signs difficult, especially for beginners. The commentary on each sign is also compressed into one single column, making it impossible for the eye to come to the aid of the searcher. Here the *Lesestücke* with its different columns will commend itself.

What is to be specially commended in this new publication is the selection of the texts. The editors have rightly laid stress upon this. Students will always have to confine themselves, during the first two or three semesters, to historical inscriptions, monumental and other. A large selection of such texts ought to be made readily accessible. This Abel and Winckler have done. They give us forty-eight pages of historical inscriptions arranged in chronological order, from Tiglath Pileser I. to Xerxes. Whilst in Delitzsch we have but a few pages devoted to these historical inscriptions, we have here material enough to give students a thorough induction into the cuneiform script and grammar. The scarcity and unwieldiness of Layard and of the *Rawlinsons* add an additional value to this publication. Several lengthy inscriptions are given entire—of Shalmaneser, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon. The editors have, however, not kept strictly to the task they themselves have set. As the book is especially intended for students, we could readily have dispensed with the first page, containing the old Assyrian inscriptions from Kalah Shergat; and the last twelve pages as well, which contain seventy-six lines of the Flood story, a few extracts from the syllabaries and a few hymns. Whoever is ripe enough to take up such texts as these will go straight to the originals; and will read, not a bit, but the whole of the text. In a future edition it will be well to omit these pages, and in their place to enlarge the table of signs and arrange it in a little more practical manner. On the whole then as regards the text Abel-Winckler is a decided improvement upon Delitzsch: and it is these texts primarily which will give the new *Keilschrifttexte* entrance into our universities and colleges.

There remains the glossary! I wish I could say the same of it as I have said of the texts. But, measured only by the standard set by the editors themselves, it does not come up to one's reasonable expectations. Why have the Hebrew letters used by Delitzsch in the *Lesestücke* been abandoned? For mere practical purposes it is necessary that the eye of the student catch at once the letters of the root. They should be distinguished in some way. And why, again, have they abandoned the good principle of arranging the words under their respective roots? It is true that our Hebrew dictionaries have not yet climbed to that pinnacle. But this is only one out of a number of their sins of commission and omission. It is confusing for a student to see *tibūtu* separated from *tibū*, *tidūku* from *dāku*, *tidišti* from *idišu*, *limetu* from *lamū*, *libittu* from *labānu*, etc., etc. Otherwise, the glossary makes no pretence to be more than a help to the student. I have gone through a number of the inscriptions with that end in view, and have found all the words duly registered there. To many of the translations and derivations there given scholars will take exception; and, doubtless, Winckler himself—who is alone responsible for this portion of the

work—would now change much in the light which later criticism has thrown upon many of the inscriptions.

The texts are excellently reproduced. Abel has done his work well. The script of the monumental inscriptions (especially the Black Obelisk) is exceedingly clear and bold; whilst the script of the other inscriptions, though evidently modelled after that of the contract tablets, comes very fairly near the actual script of the inscriptions.

Delitzsch's *Lesestücke* is, however, not made superfluous by this new publication. It can well exist side by side with it. It has a worth above and beyond that of a mere text-book. The syllabaries and vocabularies will still have to be studied there, as well as the story of the Flood.

The note on p. 46 is entirely gratuitous. A comparison of the two texts shows not more than *four* variants!

RICHARD GOTTHEIL,
Columbia College, in the City of New York.

DRIVER'S SAMUEL.*

In his preface, the author discusses the reliability of the MT., which "has suffered unusually from transcriptional corruption," and the history of the textual criticism of the Books of Samuel. Otto Thenius in his *Die Bücher Samuelis* (1842) was the first to point out the value of the LXX. for the study of the MT., and Ewald in 1843 follows closely on the same lines and makes too frequent use of the results of Thenius, without suitable acknowledgment. Driver regards Wellhausen's monogram on the text of the Books of Samuel (1871) as epoch-making. After discussing Wellhausen's methods, he says: "Wellhausen's scholarship is fine: his judgment is rarely at fault; and in the critical treatment of the text, I have been strongly sensible of the value of his guidance. I trust that I may not appear to have used his volume too freely: my excuse, if I have done so, must be that I was writing for English students, most of whom are unacquainted with German; and I could not withhold from them some of the best and soundest results which have been gained for the textual criticism of the Old Testament." The author claims that, notwithstanding his very great indebtedness to Wellhausen, he has always maintained an independent judgment, and a study of the book fully confirms this statement. Driver also acknowledges the value of Klosterman's commentary in Strack and Zöckler's *Kurzgefasster Commentar zu den Heiligen Schriften Alten und Neuen Testaments* (1887), but he regards him as too original, too ingenious, "too apt to assume that the text has suffered more than is probable," and, although scholarly, his restorations are often far-fetched and "betray sometimes a defective appreciation of Hebrew modes of expression."

In his Introduction, Driver discusses

I. The Early History of the Hebrew Alphabet—the **כתב עברי** and **כתב**

* NOTES ON THE HEBREW TEXT OF THE BOOKS OF SAMUEL, with an Introduction on Hebrew Palaeography and the Ancient Versions and Facsimiles of Inscriptions, by the Rev. S. R. Driver, D. D., Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1890.

אשורי, or the so-called Hebrew and Assyrian characters, the latter in later times known as the כתב מרבע, or square character; the transition of the former to the latter. He also gives facsimiles of many gems and inscriptions written in the עברי, e. g., the inscription of Mesha (as an appendix) and numerous Aramaic, Hebrew, and Phœnician gems. To these are added a transliteration in the square characters, a translation and commentary. The history of the discovery of the Siloam inscription is also given, with transliteration, translation and notes.

II. Early Hebrew Orthography—the division of words. The author thinks that the division of words had been pretty definitely made, and the five final letters introduced before the MT. was established. The LXX., however, often translated from a text with divisions differing widely from those of the MT. He then notices that the *plena scriptio* was rare and that the suffix of the 3 sg. masc. was written ה instead of ו, etc., etc.

III. The Chief Ancient Versions of the O. T.—the MSS., the LXX. (which he regards of very great value for the study of all the books of the O. T., but especially valuable for Samuel, parts of Kings and Ezechiel), Targums, Peshitta, etc. The history of these versions and a conservative estimate of their value are given under this heading, but nothing new is added. It is, however, a valuable collection of facts for the student.

IV. Characteristics of the Chief Ancient Versions of Samuel. Here Driver takes up the characteristics of the versions in great detail. His tables are very valuable for the history of textual criticism and as furnishing a basis for the canons which should guide us in our criticism.

I will now examine a very few of his emendations to the MT. of Samuel, taking the examples from the first Book. In III. 7, we have טַרְם יָדַע, i. e., טַרְם with a Perf., which is very rare. Driver suggests יָדַע the Impf. and his emendation is rendered almost certain by the יָנִיחַ in the parallel. His grammatical note on IV. 15 is very instructive. He adds nothing new to the difficult passage in V. 4, where he would either accept Wellhausen's view that the original was דָּגַן and the ך has arisen by dittography from the נִשְׂאָר, or simply say that a word had been dropped out of the text. In IX. 24, the difficult הָעֵלִיָּה is taken up at length. ה, with a preposition, with the apparent force of a relative occurs only here. This makes the reading of the MT. very doubtful, and Driver is inclined to read with Geiger, וְהָאֵלִיָּה = *the fat tail*. In XII. 7 he would follow the LXX.'s καὶ ἀπαγγελῶ ὑμῖν and insert וְאֶגִּידָה לָכֶם. Cf. his remarks on XII. 21 on the intrusive כִּי. XIII. 1 he would take as a marginal gloss. The last three or four verses of ch. XIII. are very difficult and Driver is not able to give us any help. He regards the הַפְּצִירָה פִּים as hopelessly corrupt. In XIV. 16 the וְיִלֵּךְ is to be corrected with the LXX. to וְהָלַם הָלַם = ἐλθεν καὶ ἐθθεν. Why not retain the וְיִלֵּךְ here and simply insert the first הָלַם which could have been omitted because of second וְהָלַם? In XIV. 18 we must also read with the LXX. הַגִּישָׁה הָאֶפֹּד, cf. V. 3 and XXIII. 9. Cf. also his notes on XIV. 21. These examples are sufficient to show his methods, and his position towards the MT. We would have been pleased if he had discussed the literary problems, but these lay without the compass of his book.

In conclusion I would say that Driver has given us a good model for further

work in this line. Every book in the O. T. should be edited as a text-book with textual, grammatical, lexicographical and historical notes. It would also be well to add a glossary of the Hebrew words, so that the Hebrew of any one book could be compared with that of any other. Such critical editions of Hebrew texts would be of great aid not only to the student, but to the higher and lower critics. Driver's lexicographical and grammatical notes are numerous and valuable. He is very conservative. He has made good use of Wellhausen's work on these texts. In the main, he accepts Wellhausen's conclusions. Wellhausen's judgment is seldom at fault, as Driver admits. The texts of Samuel are very corrupt. Every page is full of errors. Driver has attempted to point these out and to correct them. His work has been very successful. The books of Kings should receive similar treatment at once, and all the history furnished by the Assyrian inscriptions should be incorporated in the notes.

ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER,
Yale University.

SCHÉLL'S ŠAMŠI-RAMMÂN IV.*

In the preface, the author notes the main points of history connected with the inscription, the difficulty of the text, the poor transcription of the Archaic into the late Assyrian script found in I R. and also the fact that this text contains several unusual and difficult Assyrian words.

Then follow a transliteration and translation of the four columns of this inscription. The method of transliteration is essentially that of the Leipzig school, which is much preferable to the usual French or English (Sayce) system.† With the exception of the preface, the book is autographed and one must add that the author's script is poor and careless. The 67 pp. could have been condensed to 24 if put in type, but for this the publisher could not have charged 8 frs. Hence the number of pages.

There are numerous evidences of great carelessness on the part of the author in his transliteration. I can notice only a few examples: In 1:41 he reads ušpalkit and in 2:23 and 3:37 attapalkad and in 4:4 appalkid. In the glossary the stem is given as palkātu. In col. 1, he uniformly writes apal, and later just as uniformly abal, neither of which is correct. In 3:40 we read natbaki and in 4:3 nadbak. There is no consistency in the placing of accents, and in many places the diacritical points of the ḥ and š are omitted—and these mistakes cannot, as is usual, be excused as typographical errors. Both transliteration and translation are to be preferred to those of Ludwig Abel in Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*. I will notice only a few readings: In 1:3

* INSCRIPTION ASSYRIENNE ARCHAÏQUE DE ŠAMŠI-RAMMÂN IV. Roi d'Assyrie (824-811 A.V. J.-C.) transcrite, traduite et commentée par le P. V. Schell, lecteur en théologie de l'ordre de Saint-Dominique. Paris: H. Welter, 1899, pp. vii and 87.—Tables des matières: Texte et Traduction, 2-30; Commentaire philologique, 31-47; Notes de Géographie, 48-55; Notes d'Histoire, 56, 57; Glossaire, 58-67.

† Comme système de transcription, nous avons préféré le plus scientifique, malgré sa témérité, le système à transcription liée et accentuée.

and 31 Scheil reads mukir (instead of the usual mu-rim) markas šamê and translates *qui tient en mains les rênes du ciel*, etc., taking mukir from a root kâru. He also reads appul and ippul for abbul and ibbul; garduti for kardûti; pad for paṭ; ḥalzâni for ḥalšâni, etc., etc.

The philological notes bring us nothing new except a few bold readings and derivations which cannot be accepted. For the most part, they are very elementary, being entirely lexicographical. Questions of grammar and syntax have been entirely ignored. The Geographical notes are very meagre and Delitzsch's *Wo lag das Paradies* is closely followed. This inscription is most important for the geography of Assyria and this subject should have received a better treatment. In the glossary, there is no method in the arrangement of the words. For the most part, derivatives are not placed under their respective roots; כ and ח, נ and ק are used indiscriminately and the roots are given in transliteration rather than in the Hebrew. Many mistakes have crept into the glossary, one of the most glaring of which is the placing of muntahḥiṣi under tahâzu.

This book gives us a fairly good translation of the Šamši-Rammân IV. inscription, but nothing more. It is not adapted to the use of students, being bulky and carelessly written. It is not necessary to the library of an Assyriologist.

ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER,
Yale University.

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MANAGING EDITOR:

WILLIAM R. HARPER, PH. D.,

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TWO NESTORIAN RITUAL PRAYERS.

BY ISAAC H. HALL,

Metropolitan Museum, New York City.

In the same manuscript from which I furnished *HEBRAICA* with the text of "The Story of Arsânîs" and of "The Narrative of Moses Elect in Prophecy," are two prayers of some interest. An English translation of both is given in Badger's "Nestorians and their Rituals," Vol. II., pp. 280, 281. But his texts must have differed somewhat from those which I have.

The first prayer is the "Prayer said over the Bride when she enters the church forty days after marriage," and the other the "Prayer said over a child and its mother when it enters the church forty days after delivery." Whatever analogy there may be found in Western customs to the first, the second answers to the Anglican and Protestant Episcopal "Churching of Women."

Of the first I have two texts; one in a manuscript comprising the entire Marriage Service of the Nestorians, which I received from Urmî (Oroomia) last year; and this I take as the text to present here, giving in notes the material variants of the text in my other manuscript first above mentioned. My reason for this choice is (chiefly), that in the marriage service this prayer seems to be used of the bride alone, the ceremony being *her* purification, a thing of which the bridegroom, according to many prevalent notions, and the different constitution and functions of the sexes, should stand in no need. But in the first above-mentioned manuscript, the scribe has added words here and there, and placed points ungrammatically, and changed inflexional and suffix terminations (sometimes, apparently, by mistake), so as to give a text which could be read over *either* bridegroom or bride—and that notwithstanding the fact that some of it (at least according to Oriental notions) is wholly inappropriate to the bridegroom.

THE ORDER OF THE SENTENCE IN THE HEBREW PORTIONS OF DANIEL.

JAMES H. BREASTED,

Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

It has been stated by conservative critics and largely admitted by some more liberal, that the Hebrew of Daniel offers too scanty material from which to draw any conclusions as to the date of its composition. Without here affirming the contrary, it is the object of this paper to present some data in view of which it would seem necessary to modify the above statement. It is well established that such a thing as a historical development in Hebrew syntax is a fact, and investigations in the cognate tongues have shown and are showing every day the marked changes in syntactical structure, which in them also were wrought either by natural decay or the difference in environment as the centuries passed. The greatest drawback to such investigation in Hebrew is the meagreness of the material. While the other Semitic tongues, in general, present such a wealth of literature that the various phases of the development can be traced with tolerable accuracy, such is not the case with the Hebrew writings. And even of those which we have, the date of the majority is very uncertain. Under these circumstances the formulation of any theory of syntactical development is much hampered; first by the lack of material, and second, by the vast periods which intervene between the disputed dates of many of the most extensive products of the literature, so that any theory at all is almost an impossibility till the dates of the books are established with some degree of certainty. Notwithstanding these difficulties which beset the case as a whole, it would seem that in the matter of individual composition certain definite results *can* be obtained, which offer ground for a legitimate induction. It is with this end in view that an examination of some phases of the syntax of the Hebrew of Daniel has been made, rather than for the mere syntax itself, and as data for comparison were also indispensable we shall be nearly as much concerned with some other books as with Daniel.

There is no more definite rule in Hebrew than that which governs the order of the sentence as far as its two chief members are concerned. Indeed we may go further and say that the definite order, predicate-subject, is according to a fundamental principle of the language, which regards the idea contained in the verbal form, as the most important, and hence to be presented first. The subject is entirely secondary and being already implied and contained in the verbal form, therefore follows. Any violation of this principle is for a legitimate

reason; the expression of an adventitious circumstance, emphasis, contrast, chiasm, etc. When both predicate and subject are nouns the opposite order prevails, because not an *action* but a continuous and permanent *condition* is expressed, which demands the same order as in a circumstantial clause. The exception in the case of the predicate adjective is, that it may not be mistaken for an attributive. The above principles being inviolable, save in respect of the exceptions cited, any violations not in accordance with these exceptions may be regarded as abnormal, and if habitual would point to a time when loose usage and laxness prevailed. Hence an examination into the order of subject and predicate seemed to the writer the division of the syntax which would offer the most conclusive results, and it is rather a presentation of results which is here designed than any detailed discussion of them.

Even the most superficial reading of Daniel reveals a looseness and freedom of syntactical structure which is in strange contrast with the earlier simplicity. The writer does not seem at home in the language, and his style is radically different from that which preceded his alleged exilic date. He never rises to a conscious control and complete grasp of the language, such as marks the strong periods of the second Isaiah. Its elements seem cumbrous and clumsy in his hands; the monotonous recurrence of the same construction in successive clauses naturally vitiates any vividness which would result from a choice of expressive words, for in his vocabulary the writer is forcible and strong. But a closer and more systematic examination into the structure of his sentences substantiates the first impression. A strange liberty prevails, and there is entire indifference to some of the fundamental principles of syntax. For example, in the ordinary declarative sentence it seems to make but little difference to the writer whether the subject or predicate precedes, *e. g.*, 8:8a, וְצִפִּיר הָעֵצִים הִגְדִּיל וְנָו. * There is no reasonable ground here for the precedence of the subject. The clause cannot be circumstantial; it is not an emphatic or chiastic arrangement and we can only say that the writer had little or no constraint upon him in the arrangement of his sentence. But to what extent does this looseness of structure prevail? A tabulation of all the declarative sentences reveals that 32½ per cent. of these are of this abnormal order. This classification *excludes all* clauses which could reasonably be called circumstantial or inverted for emphasis, etc. In doubtful cases, the benefit of the doubt was accorded, and such clauses were excluded. What reason can be assigned for this writer's abnormally frequent use of the compound nominal sentence? Including *all* such clauses their occurrence would be at least 35 per cent. of all declarative sentences, and it would be absurd to declare that they are all circumstantial, emphatic, etc. Such an explanation is impossible

* If the reader wishes to note other examples which come under no law, see 8:1; 8:2; 8:5; 8:8; 8:12; 8:22; 8:27. Their frequency in this chapter may afford some idea of the looseness which prevails, and show how lax is the style.

on the face of it, and an examination of such individual clauses as the above demonstrates that it is not the case. We must then accept the fact that this writer sets at utter defiance the law above stated and writes in entire disregard of it. But this fact does not stand alone. We find the same peculiarity is characteristic of the simple nominal sentence, or rather its opposite is true. The continuance of any state or condition, since it implies the prominence of the *subject*, demands as above stated, the precedence of the same. This is a fundamental law; but is not so regarded by the writer of Daniel; e. g., 8:17b, : **לְעַת־קֵץ הַחַיּוֹן** :.* This order prevails in 28½ per cent. of the simple nominal clauses. Of course it is necessary in this class to exclude all cases in which the predicate is an adjective, for the precedence of the predicate adjective is so prevalent as to be almost regular. The explanation of this abnormal order in the simple nominal sentence is not far away. The precedence of the subject as already often stated is ordinarily of marked significance, if the predicate be a verb. Now, as we have noted, there occur in Daniel numerous cases of the compound nominal sentence, in which there is *no* significance. That is, this inverted order no longer means anything to this writer. Hence it is no longer necessary or essentially natural for him to place the subject first in the simple nominal sentence, for the idea of continuance of condition implied by the precedence of the subject is gone. This may explain the paucity of circumstantial clauses in Daniel according to our classification, to which some objection might be offered; but many compound nominal sentences which we have counted as circumstantial have been translated as principal clauses by the revisers. I have not counted the number of such clauses which the revisers have rendered as circumstantial, but they would be very few indeed, and I believe this is largely true of the rest of the Old Testament also.

Now the explanation of this usage is by no means easy. That a difference from ordinary usage, so marked, could have arisen at once we cannot believe. The development is too broad and deep-seated, it goes down into the fundamentals of the language. Is it the result of a long process of syntactical decay just as the gradual dissolution of the organic forms in the language had taken place centuries before? Or shall we call it a development into greater freedom and larger liberty of use rather than a dissolution, and say that the early limitation which confined the chief members of a principal clause to one stereotyped order was narrow; that the language is now breaking away from the primitive fetters which hampered and clogged its action, and attaining a broader scope, just as in later times its vocabulary grew to meet the larger range of thought? Be the change one of development or decay, we are inclined to attribute it to outside influences, for the same phenomenon is observable in the Aramaic of the book.

* Other examples of the same order will be found in 8:17,19; 9:23,26,27; 10:1, etc. It is true that a predicate consisting of a prepositional phrase is inclined to precede, but we have in Hebrew no rigid rule for this case as in Arabic.

Driver* remarks, "A tendency may often be observed in the Chaldee portions of Daniel and Ezra to throw the verb to the end." Indeed we may go further and say that it is *more* than a "tendency," for it is extremely prevalent in the declarative sentence, and with the imperative the precedence of the *object* is so frequent as to be almost regular. With the infinitive it is also very marked. The tendency in the Aramaic is therefore much stronger than in the Hebrew where it is largely confined to the declarative sentence, there being *no* instance of an object preceding an imperative and with extreme rarity, one preceding an infinitive. This phenomenon in both languages cannot but forcibly remind us of the Assyrian in which the subsequence of the verb is regular. Especially is this true of the Aramaic infinitive following its object, which is a rigidly regular order in Assyrian, whenever the infinitive is not a substantive in construct with a following genitive but is treated as a finite verb. (Cf. DG. p. 339) e. g. (Esarh. A. I 48,49) danân Ašûr....kullumimma to *show forth the might of Ashur*; also (Tig.-Pil. I 49) mišir mâtišunu ruppûša iḳbi'uni, to *increase the territory of their country they commanded me*. The resemblance to such Aramaic phrases as the following is quite remarkable לֹא אֲתִי אֲנִשׁ עַל-יִבְשָׁתָא דִּי מִלֵּת מְלָכָא יוֹבֵל לְהַחְיָהּ וּגו'. Is it not reasonable to suppose that the language of a nation whose conquests were so vast and so long continued, and which so impressed the nations round it with the genius of its progressive spirit, must have strongly affected and to some extent warped the kindred tongues with which it came in contact? And though it finally succumbed to the resistless encroachments of the Aramaic, it was probably in many respects a Pyrrhus victory for the latter. If then the Aramaic exhibits the influence of the Assyrian why not also the Hebrew, though perhaps more largely at second-hand through the Aramaic? Prof. William R. Harper would explain some of the puzzling imperfects of the II Isaiah as due to the Babylonian influence;† and the grounds for such a conclusion are very strong.

Before passing to the comparison of Daniel with other books, we note some further facts of less importance concerning it. As a general observation it may be said that the order of words follows the looser rules with much more regularity than those more rigid. As an example of the close observance of a less stringent rule, we may notice the position of the indirect object when it is a pronoun, in which case it usually follows the predicate and precedes the direct object. This, though not an inviolable rule, is well observed in Daniel, cf. 1:7 and 17. Even when it is a noun, the indirect has a strong tendency to precede the direct object. In view of the frequency of entirely abnormal orders in Daniel, it is strange that so few arrangements for emphasis exist. Ewald (quoted by Driver, *Heb. Tenses*,

* *Hebrew Tenses*, p. 806.

† Cf. article "Some of the Imperfects in the Deutero-Isaiah" in the *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, 1891.

pp. 305-6) notes the following variations for emphasis, viz.: *Object, predicate, subject*, which puts the emphasis on the subject. This order occurs once in Daniel, 9:26. (2) *Object, subject, predicate*, a very rare arrangement which does not occur at all in Daniel. It is regular for the participle, but there is no case of it to be found in Daniel, though the participial construction is very common as is usual with late Hebrew. (3) *Subject, object, predicate*. This is not found in Daniel. It makes prominent the subject and is a common enough arrangement. (4) *Predicate, object, subject*. This order, which emphasizes the subject, is found in 10:18, but this single occurrence may be explained by the fact that the object is a pronoun, and being after וְנִי and construed with כִּי, the writer regards it as practically equivalent to an indirect object and hence regularly places it after the predicate, as we have seen he is in the habit of doing. It is thus very evident that the writer does not avail himself of those strikingly emphatic arrangements which are so great an advantage to the style of the earlier prophets, especially Isaiah. In the case of the relative clause the chief fact of interest is that in all clauses where the relative pronoun is the direct object of the verb, there is no instance where the pronoun also occurs as the real object. This would indicate a time when אֲשֶׁר had entirely passed over from being merely a relative *particle* or *nota relationis*, into the true functions of a relative *pronoun*.

Passing now to the comparison of Daniel with other books, we take up Ecclesiastes. It is needless to argue here for the late date of this book. As the writer in the Encyclopædia Britannica remarks, that on the continent, if one were to set about proving that Solomon did not write Ecclesiastes, it would be equivalent to adducing evidence toward a demonstration that the world does not stand still. Assuming its late date therefore, this book may serve to show us the state of the syntax in later Hebrew as evidenced by the order of words. By an examination of all clauses consisting of subject and finite verb we find that 35½ per cent. of these are of the order subject-predicate, and this, after giving the benefit of the doubt to all possible circumstantial clauses or arrangements for emphasis, etc. This is not far from the 32½ per cent. of such inverted order in Daniel. In the case of the simple nominal sentence in Ecclesiastes, the occurrence of the abnormal order predicate-subject is 20⅞ per cent. This is again to be compared with the 28½ per cent. of a like arrangement in Daniel. Are these books very far apart in time? or is an inference that they are not, to be met by the objection, that such a looseness might have prevailed over a century-long period, and that thus, books which are hundreds of years apart may exhibit the same peculiarities? This is a valid objection and a comparison as limited as the above is not conclusive. The length of time during which such syntactical anarchy prevailed must be further defined and limited as to the *terminus a quo*. A tabulation of the declarative sentence in the Hebrew of Ezra was therefore made with the following results: Comp. nominal clause, not circumstantial, nor arranged for emphasis,

etc., 28 $\frac{7}{10}$ per cent.; simple nominal clause, order pred.-subj. 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Assuming some period subsequent to the time of Nehemiah as the date of this book it will be noted that an author writing at this time, is a degree less loose and irregular than the writer of Ecclesiastes at the time of the Maccabees(?), or Daniel writing, as alleged, in the time of the captivity. Passing on to an earlier time and examining Malachi (former half of the fifth century?) we find these results: Comp. nominal clause not circumstantial, nor arranged for emphasis, etc., 15 per cent.; simple nominal clause order pred.-subj., 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. That is, the inversion of the finite verb with its subject is less than *one-half* as frequent as in Daniel. But an examination of an exilic author practically contemporaneous with the alleged date of Daniel ought to furnish results not less interesting than those obtained from Ecclesiastes. For this purpose the prophecy of Ezekiel was used. Time did not permit the writer to tabulate more than ten chapters, but it is thought that these are sufficient for the basis of a fair induction. The declarative sentence in this material more nearly approaches harmony with the principles which were laid down at the outset. These are the results: Comp. nominal clause, not circumstantial, nor arranged for emphasis, etc., .08 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. simple nominal clause order pred.-subj., 13 per cent. That is, the two abnormal orders are respectively about one-fourth and less than one-half as frequent as in Daniel. We can here trace a development, beginning with Ezekiel, some phases of which are quite definite and which it may be well to note. It is noticeable in the earlier literature that two clauses with verbal predicate following the subject in *both*, are found together, their juxtaposition being explained by desire for contrast between the two subjects. In Arabic where this order occurs, if the clause is not circumstantial, a contrast with another subject is *always* implied. Cf. Quran, II. 221, *أُولَٰئِكَ يَدْعُونَ إِلَى النَّارِ وَاللَّهُ يَدْعُو إِلَى الْجَنَّةِ*.... "These invite to the fire, but God invites to Paradise....;" see also II. 271. This is an invariable and rigid rule in Arabic and also in *earlier* Hebrew, which shows very plainly what was the normal rule. The occurrence of such contrasted clauses is very frequent in Ezekiel, and of this the seventh chapter presents a striking example. It contains no less than fourteen such emphatic inversions, i. e. seven pairs, for example v. 23: *בִּיהָאָרֶץ מְלָאָה מִשֶּׁשֶׁפֶט דָּמִים וְהָעִיר מְלָאָה חָמָס*: This method of revelling in antithesis seems to be a favorite one with this prophet. But at this time, *emphatic contrast* in thus placing two inverted clauses together is not the invariable significance, for the same device came to be employed in presenting two parallel propositions, especially in the case of comparison. This was sharply to call attention to the two subjects as possessing something common in the respective actions or qualities predicated of them both. Cf. Job 5:7 *כִּי אָדָם לְעֵמֶל יוֹלֵד וּבְנֵי רֶשֶׁף יִגְבְּהוּ עוֹף*: This usage may perhaps explain the later degeneration, for the comparison is not so strongly emphatic as the contrasted

clauses like the example from Ezekiel. In Malachi's three chapters there are four such couplets, yet not entirely *such* as those in Ezekiel. The first (1:4) presents two *strongly* contrasted subjects, but in the second (1:5) the contrast is doubtful. It is rather the presentation of two co-ordinate facts and not for comparison either. The third (2:6) again presents a strong contrast, while the fourth (3:6) seems to offer a new example in which beside the contrast expressed, the first clause presents the *reason* for the second. Ezra contains but *one* example of this usage, i. e., 9:6: **כִּי עֲזַנְתִּינוּ רַבּוֹ לַמַּעֲלָה רֹאשׁ וְאַשְׁמַתִּינוּ נִדְלָה עַר לְשָׁמַיִם**. Here we have two co-ordinate and practically synonymous clauses. There is no contrast here as in the earlier language. But it is in Ecclesiastes that we find this usage reaching its climax; the inverted couplets are very common, sometimes presenting strong contrasts and again the two facts being merely co-ordinate, and seeming to be thus inverted and placed together from the analogy presented in the case of the comparison. For as in the comparison, the two similar facts are graphically put together by bringing into prominence the two subjects, so here the two co-ordinate and perhaps identical truths are presented in the same way, though there is no comparison and not necessarily the slightest emphasis. As an example of emphatic contrast cf. Eccl. 7:26b: **טוֹב לִפְנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים יִמְלֹט מִמָּוֶה**; and on the other hand for the juxtaposition of two simply co-ordinate statements, without any emphasis because of the inverted order, cf. 10:9: **מִסֵּעַ אֲבָנִים יַעֲצֹב בָּהֶם בּוֹקֵעַ עֵצִים יִסְכֵּן בָּם**. There has plainly been then a degeneration in the usage and significance of two such inverted contiguous clauses, contrasting very strongly with the earlier rigid use, which was without doubt the original, as presented in the Arabic. In the case of Daniel we find the decay complete. In 11:41 there is possibly an example of this usage, but more probably the latter of the two inverted clauses, is circumstantial. One other only is to be found, 11:26 **וְאַבְלִי פִתְּבֹגוּ יִשְׁכְּרוּהוּ וְחִילוֹ יִשְׁטֹף וְגו'**. There is not the slightest emphasis on either of these clauses; the writer seems not to appreciate the force which such an arrangement should imply. Its elder usage is far below the horizon of his knowledge, and the precedence of the subject has little significance to his mind.

Another method of emphasis in the earlier language was the expression of the pronoun as subject, though already implied in the verbal form. If the clause stood alone, unless very strong emphasis was desired, the pronominal subject followed the verb, but if it stood joined to another clause with which contrast was desired *both* subjects preceded, as we have noted was customary in the case just considered. There is a fine example of this in Mal. 1:4, **הִמָּה יִבְנוּ וְאֲנִי אֶהְרֹס, וְגו'**. But as the language developed from its earlier simplicity into a style less severe and more full, the pronoun came to be used in cases where no special emphasis was desired or expressed. This usage finds its greatest development in Ecclesiastes, but it is to be noted that at this period this unemphatic pronoun *always*

follows the verb, e. g., Eccl. 2:1, אֲמַרְתִּי אֲנִי בְלִבִּי וְגו', otherwise some emphasis is implied. But in Daniel, not only does the superfluous pronoun frequently occur, but in quite a number of cases it *precedes the verb*. Not less than nine such are to be found, (two of which are periphrastic), e. g., 9:23, בְּתַחֲלַת תַּחֲנוּנֶיךָ יֵצֵא דָבָר וְאֲנִי בָאתִי לְהַגִּיד. Another example of the same phrase is to be found in 10:12. This construction also occurs in Ezra in six instances and not being found at all in Ecclesiastes, the fact would favor the position of the latter before Ezra, which is given it by Ewald. There is one case in Ecclesiastes where the pronoun does precede, viz., 1:12, אֲנִי קִהַלְתִּי הִיטִי וְגו' but this is probably designed to make prominent the subject. A similar arrangement is found once in Daniel, 8:27 וְאֲנִי דָנִיֵּל נְהִיטִי וְגו' possibly with the same object.

It is to be noted that the order of words in participial clauses is more regular in the earlier books. The percentage of inverted order, that is predicate-subject, is as follows: Ezekiel, .13 $\frac{1}{2}$; Malachi, .10; Ezra, .16 $\frac{1}{2}$; Ecclesiastes, .18 $\frac{1}{2}$; Daniel, .19.

These clauses have already been included of course under simple nominal sentences. In connection with the participle it is interesting to note that in the material examined the periphrastic construction occurs only in Ezra and Daniel; once in the former, five times in the latter. Of these five in Daniel, the inverted order subject-predicate is found in three.

In conclusion, the material classified presents the following order when arranged according to percentage of irregularity, comprising *all* inversions in the declarative sentence: Ezekiel, .10 $\frac{1}{2}$; Malachi, .16 $\frac{1}{2}$; Ezra, .25; Ecclesiastes, .27 $\frac{1}{2}$; Daniel, .30 $\frac{1}{2}$.

It is not claimed for a moment that this arrangement is definitely chronological, but the great gulf between Ezekiel and Daniel is very significant, and it seems to be true that the intervening books bridge it quite satisfactorily. Neither is this development without parallel; we are presented with an exactly similar phenomenon in the order of the Assyrian sentence. The historical inscriptions show a development, from the rigid observance of the rule for the subsequence of the verb in the time of Tiglath Pileser I. to a freedom so great in the time of Ašurbanipal, that the opposite order predominates.* That is, a much more extensive change has taken place in the Assyrian than is claimed for the Hebrew during practically the same length of time. In view of this analogy, we cannot but think that the facts presented are some additional indication of the late date of Daniel. They may not be conclusive alone, but in connection with the many other considerations which point the same way, they seem very significant. It seems reasonable to the writer that such an examination of the hexateuchal documents might furnish some interesting indications as well as in other fields and it is to be hoped that the time is not far distant when the historical development of Hebrew syntax shall have been definitely determined and arranged.

* This fact is obtained from investigations made by Dr. Lester Bradner, Jr., of Yale University, which will appear in the next number of *HEBRAICA*.

ASSYRIAN ETYMOLOGIES.

BY REV. W. MUSS-ARNOLT, PH. D.,

Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

II. A-ṭap-pu = ṭap-pu = Hebrew מַפְּטָה, *coping*.

According to *KB*. II. 136-7, Esarhaddon used for his buildings (iḡu) gušûrî rabûti (iḡu) dim-me ḡîrûti (iḡu) a-ṭap-pi (iḡu) erinu (iḡu) šur-man¹ (I R. 47, 14a) translated by Abel *large beams, high posts, door-posts of cedar- and cypress-wood*.

Harper, *AEI*. p. 14, reads here and Col. VI. 2, a-bi-me, with Norris, *Dictionary*, I. 40, while Strassmaier's reading a-ṭap-pi (*AV*. 2359) is followed by Abel and others. In favor of this reading, it may be stated that the signs tap and pi can very easily run together so closely as to form the signs bi (kas) and me (šip).

Winckler, *Sargon-texte*, pp. 72, 426; 92, 75; 136, 164 (= *KB*. II. 76); 140, 36 and 154, 116, we find promiscuously the reading (iḡ) tap-pi and (iḡ) dap-pi, in the glossary only tap-pu = *door-post*.

I read throughout (iḡ) ṭap-pi and connect with it the (iḡ) a-ṭap-pi of Esarh. v. 15 and vi. 2. Ṭappu, or with prosthetic *a* a-ṭap-pu, stands for ṭap'u and this for ṭapḥu and is equivalent to the Hebrew מַפְּטָה (from מַפְּחָה = Arabic مَطْمَح)² which in architecture is "the coping" (II Kgs. VII. 9),³ or the pinnacle-like fence of flat roofs, a roof enclosure, or corbel; this meaning suits the context very well, e. g., Col. VI. 2, the aṭappi, being the copings of the dimme ḡîrûti, are of cedar- and cypress-wood, and are placed upon them as the ku-lul ba-be-ši-in, to complete, or round off the doors. The passages quoted from the *Sargon-texte* conclusively show that a-ṭap-pi is the same as ṭap-pi, for they read, without exception, (iḡ) ṭap-pi kulul babešin emid,

¹ šurman is the constr. of šur-man-nu; it is a genuine Semitic word, being derived from the verb šaramu, and a form like allānu, etc.; šurmēnu, šur'inu, etc., are byforms.

² ṭe-pu-u is mentioned in II R. 39, 63 as a synonym of šalû (שָׁלוּ) and na-pa-gu (*to jump* ?); also see 49, 64; Strassmaier, *Nabonidus*, 490, l. 18, we read ḥu-uḡ-ḡu ša itti bīti kārī ṭi-pu-u = *the shed which is in connexion with the garret*. (*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. IV, 117sq.; Tallquist, *Die Sprache des Contracte Nabû-nā'idu*, pp. 74 and 76, translates bīt ḥuḡḡu by "the addition" (Anbau) and ṭepû by "to spread out.")

³ All these (great buildings) were of costly stones according to the measures of hewed stones sawed with saws, within and without, even from the foundation unto the coping, and so on the outside toward the great court.

just as Esarh. VI. 2, the only difference being aṭappi in the one and ṭappi in the other cases.⁴

III. antalû eclipse.

antalû and attalû have usually been considered Akkadian loan words, anta = eliṣ and lu = katamu to cover, make obscure (cf. *KGF.* 341, rem. 1; *ZK.* I. 259-261; *AV.* 919; *ZB.* 6, rem. 1; also see Jensen's *Kosmologie*, p. 32). It is, however, a Semitic noun derived from natalu, in the meaning of ἐκλείπειν. III R. 58 (No. 8) 50 we read a-ta-lu-u (var. to AN-MI) uṣetaq; II R. 48, 29 cd we read at-ta-lu-u and *ibid.*, 30-31 an-ta-lu (for lu see Hr. 119, 12 and 126, 25; *ZK.* I. 259) = a-da-ru ṣa Sin and ūmu da'mu (𐎶𐎶𐎵) a dark day; also III R. 70, 50, where u-tu-lu is followed by an-ta-lu = a-da-ru ṣa Sin and lu = katamu (𐎶𐎶𐎵) and dalaḥu (𐎶𐎶𐎵, II R. 48, 45 cd) whence the Akkadian etymology of antalû; attalû is an eclipse of the moon (according to Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 32, a total eclipse), while ṣalulu is a solar eclipse; cf. *Asrn.* I. 44, *Senn.* I. 6 and II R. 48, 5; 49, 42.

The fact that the Akkadian may have a similar expression for the same phenomenon, cannot militate against a Semitic derivation.⁵

⁴ II R. 21, 14b we read ku-lu [lu] preceded by ka-[li]-lum and according to Del. *Profl.* 174, rem. 1 = hi-it-ti bābani encasements of the doors (V R. 10, 102); the same word occurs in V R. 28, 93cd as a synonym of napsamu bit, rein (cf. V R. 47, 40b = maqqaru ṣa pī sisē) and also on several contract tablets of Cyrus; Tallquist's reading ṣubātu lu-lu = 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵 (*Contracte Nabûnâ'id's*, p. 88) has to be corrected to ku-lu-lu according to *BAS.* I. 635 ad p. 528. V R. 28, 17 we find ṣubat ku-lu-li. To the same stem 𐎶𐎶𐎵 belongs kililu the setting (of a gem); a garland, wreath, Neb. III. 68; ix. 17. Pognon, Wadi-Brissa, 76, rem. 1, compares Arabic اكليل; Del. *Gram.* §63; kililiš like a wreath, Esarh. VI. 5; Harper, *AEI.* Speaking of Delitzsch's Grammar, I should like to point out some errors made by the translator, Prof. Kennedy. §65, 35 adannu is translated: tent (= Zelt), but correct it to time (= Zeit); §39 Šiptu is incantation (Beschwörung) not conspiracy (Verschwörung); i-qi-pa-an-ni (Neb. I. 42) is = he ordered me (er gab mir auf) not he gave me up (er gab mich auf), as we find on p. 187, addenda; also see p. 296 ad IV R. 65, 4 and several other passages.

⁵ Cf. e. g. ṣangû priest = Akkadian sanga, from the Semitic verb nagû: 𐎶𐎶𐎵 to be bright, pure, thus originally = purifier, enlightener, cf. 𐎶𐎶𐎵 Psalm XVIII. 29 (*BAS.* I. 160, rem. 2); while *BOR.* III. 120 explains it as "one bound by a vow"; *Sa.* 148 nanga from nagû district; just as balanga from balaku; ṣa-ki-ir-ru a drinking-vessel, from ṣakaru (𐎶𐎶𐎵) Akkadian ṣakir II R. 22, 28 de; Hr. 11, 81; illatu power, force, Akkadian el-lat from alalu to be strong; also see *BAS.* I. 168, 11. In all these cases Akkadian has undoubtedly borrowed from the Assyrian, i. e. the Assyrian scribes, compiling syllabaries, etc., disfigured and mutilated Assyrian words so as to make them appear like Akkadian; to this category belongs a number of readings in *Sa.*, *Ss.* and *Sc.*, e. g. *Ss.* 1, 2 and 4; 49, 68, 78, 79 and 80, 89, 116, 118, 123 sa-xar = ep-ru; 130, 132, 134, 139, 141, 146 u-sar = ṣe-it-tum from eseru; 157, 158 si-gi-ṣe = ni-qu-u from ṣaqašu to slaughter; 169 and 170; 178-181; 186; 190 u-nu = ṣub-tu (cf. ūnu and ūnūtu); 193 (cf. *ZA.* IV. 63, No. 21), 212 (cf. *HEBRAICA.* VII., 89, rem. 17), 215 and 216, 225, 235, 237, 241-3; 247-8; 257, 260, 261, 269, 278, 280, 282, 290-1, 296, 302, 304, 307, 311; 313 ka-ra from ka-ra-ru to surround; 349; 354sq., 378 and many others. It is also strange that the name of the moon-god Sin should be derived from the Akkadian zu-en = enzu Lord of wisdom = bēl nēmēqi, which latter is the title of Ea, not of Sin. Si-in occurs IV R. 68, 9b; *ZK.* I. 271; *ZA.* I. 227, note g. Could this be the later Assyrian form of the earlier AN Ši-nu-um, read by M. Jules Oppert on a tablet in 1855 (see *GGA.* 78, 1032) and derived from 𐎶𐎶𐎵 to change?

IV. Tamkaru and Timkallu.

Dam-ka-ru, *servant, field laborer*, is usually derived from the Akkadian DAM-KAR; Ht. 35, 838, Del. *Lesest.*³ 22, 182; DAM being explained as an Akkadian prefix having the force of the Arabic Zaid and KAR = ab-bu-ut-tu (Ht. 60, Col. IV. 4, 24, 501) *fetter* (?); Haupt, *SFG.* 35-6; etc.⁶ The variant tam-ka-ru,⁷ occurring in several passages, shows that the 7 is due to partial assimilation of 7 to the following 7; thus read tamkaru and derive it from makaru to *buy* and to *sell* (Hebr. מכר *to sell*); the tam-ka-ru was properly "the bought slave."⁸

Another word of Semitic origin is timkallu or timkallû *architect, artist*; Senn. VI. 45 ekallu ša elî maḥṛiti ma'diš šûturat rabâta u naklat ina šipir (ameluti) tim-kal-li-e enquti ana mûšab belûtiia ušepiš; this passage supports my etymology from nakalu נכל to be skillful; timkallu stands for tinkallu and is a form like tiḫmaru, tisqaru, etc.

V. ŠE-BAR and ŠE-ZIR.

Are usually considered Akkadian ideograms. This would imply that ŠE itself is an ideogram. Granting this, it does not follow by any means that the expressions are of Akkadian origin as is usually supposed. Šeum is to be connected with שׁעׁוּם to which belongs Mishnic שׁעׁוּיָת (J. Halévy, *ZA.* IV. 58); the Meš in še-im-Meš Tig. Pil. VI. 103 merely indicates the quantity; in II R. 44, 66 ab we find the feminine form še-a-tum = Še-Bar, *corn*; and Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 372, reads Del. *Lesest.* p. 101, Frg. b, l. 7, šeatka for Še-BAR-ka. The ideogram ŠE = še-um *corn* (e. g. Ht. 26, 556) is the abbreviated construct state of the Assyrian še-um, while *ibid.* No. 557 še = maḡaru is abbreviated from šemû, to *hear, listen*, a synonym of maḡaru. Še-BAR is a compound of this še + BAR from barû⁹ to *become full, satisfied, to eat*, a synonym of li-e-mu (לחם) and še-bu-u (II R. 24, 53 ab, sqq.). Še-BAR could there-

³ II R. 31, 72 we have an officer of "tam-qar" perhaps = *overseer of the slaves*; II R. 7, 84; V R. 39, 38-39 gh we read i-bi-ra = dam-ka-ru and dam-qar = damkaru, preceded by ma-ag-ri-tu on which see Zb. 43, rem. 2; *BAS.* I. 14, rem. 6; Jensen, *Kosmol.* 123, rem. 1, and *ZDMG.* 43, 198. On i-bi-ra see *HEBRAICA*, VII., 82, rem. 3.

⁷ Ht. 69, 8 AZAG DAM-GAR-BA = ka-sap tam-ka-ri.

⁸ V R. 16, 23 gh has nothing to do with tamkaru; we read here SAP-GAL = dam-ga-ru (for tam-ga-ru) *tub, barrel*, a synonym of našpaku II R. 22, 19 d; *BAS.* I. 177 and 635 SAP is from the Semitic šap-pu Ša. 218 = a *jug* from a root שׁפׁ according to *BAS.* I. 533; while Tallquist, p. 112, reads sappu = Hebrew שׁפׁ.

⁹ From the same barû I derive ta-bar-ru in such expressions as qubât ta-bar-ra, etc., literally = *gesättigt* (i. e. dyed, said of wools and clothings). V R. 61, 47 e we read qubât ta-bar-ru followed by qubât takiltu (תכלית); this takiltu violet purple is, by no means, to be confounded with takiltu = *omen*, as Winckler does in *KB.* II. 142-3 ad Col. I. 8. Could Greek σῖρος, pl. σῖρα, *corn*, which has no Indo-germanic etymon, have any connexion with this še-um, še-a-tum?

fore be = šeum ana bâri *corn for food = cereals*; še-BAR being equivalent to še-a-tum; ŠE-BAR-su can be read še-at-su, but še-BAR-šu is to be read še-bar-šu. Like še-BAR I explain še-ZIR as a compound of še + zir from zêru *seed*; thus = *corn for seeding purposes*. Nabonidus, 445, ŠE-BAR ana ŠE-ZIR would be corn which was to be used for food is now used for seeding purposes. Zehnpfund, *BAS.* i. 515, still considers both expressions as Akkadian ideograms.*

* The next number of *HEBRAICA* will contain etymologies, among others, of šātu, *south-wind*, pagtu and pagûtu, ta-a-an the complement after cardinal numerals and GAB-RI = mahîru.

A PHOENICIAN SEAL.

BY MORRIS JASTROW, JR., PH. D.,

University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

The material of this seal* is a dark agate of quite ordinary quality, interspersed with streaks and spots of bright jasper on the under side. In contradistinction to the ordinary character of the material, which, with cornelian, is the most common substance of Phoenician seals, the design and inscription on it are unusually interesting and so far as can be ascertained unique.

The stone is pierced at the oblong ends, no doubt for being set in a circular clasp, such as is figured in Perrot and Chipiez's *History of Art in Phoenicia*, I., p. 241. This clasp was in turn surmounted by a ring through which the cord was passed that, permitted the seal to be worn around the neck.† The shape of the seal with its convex surface and flat bottom recalls the Egyptian scarab while the fact that, as is the case with so many of the Phoenician seals, nothing more than the general outlines of the beetle have been copied with no attempt at detail, also proves that for the artist the 'scarab' shape did not have the sacred importance which a pious Egyptian would attach to it.‡ The conclusion that may thus be drawn from a consideration of the shape as revealing to a certain extent Egyptian influence, without an adherence to Egyptian ideas, accords with the character of the design on the seal. The figure is clearly that of a demon whose attitude, as well as the instrument he holds in his left hand, suggests a contest in which he is engaged. Apart from the crescent and star above the head which are so distinctly Babylonian, the wings, claws and tail also point to southern Mesopotamia as the source of the design. Nor need we seek long for a satisfactory explanation of the figure. The fight between a monster and a deity, based presumably upon the tale of the dragon Tiamat and the god Marduk, occurs as a quite frequent representation on Babylonian seals, both of ancient and more modern make, but the

* The property of Mayer Sulzberger, Esq., of Philadelphia, by whom it was kindly placed at my disposal. The reproduction on a somewhat larger scale than the original is by the Levy-type process of Philadelphia.

† This method of attaching the seal is interesting as forming the link which leads from the seal cylinder suspended around the neck to the seal ring. It would appear that the Phoenicians were not only the first, as Perrot and Chipiez, *ib.* p. 250, suggest, to fix seals in rings but through them, if not directly, then indirectly, the next step was taken of wearing the seal on the finger. The natural evolution in the shape of the seal corresponding to this change in the fashion of wearing it, may be represented by the following scale—long cylinder, cone, scarab-eoids, gradually toned down till the more or less flat surface, in circular or square form is reached.

‡ See Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Phoenicia*, I., 239.

variations in which this design is met with are numerous. This monster sometimes appears with the head of a bull or a unicorn, again of a lion, and again apparently of a bird; now with wings and sometimes without wings, with an instrument in his hand and without one,* etc. Another and more important variation occurs when instead of against one monster, we find the deity fighting two monsters, one on either side, and corresponding to this enlargement of the "motif," we find a curtailing of it on other seals by a representation of the monster alone. This curtailing of a design is particularly common on seals of "Phoenician" manufacture superinduced no doubt by the smaller size of their seals as compared with those of the Babylonians, but it is to be noticed that it also occurs on seals of unquestioned Babylonian origin. So for example, the scene so common in seals of the worship of a deity, is curtailed by a representation of two persons instead of three or of the deity alone without the worshipers or of the worshiper alone, and again where we find on seals the crescent and star (or stars) alone or the tree, column, altar or the like without any accompaniment, we are justified in connecting these symbols with the worship "motif," and as originally forming part of a more complete scene.† Coming back to our seal, the attitude of the demon it seems to me, receives its explanation only if we suppose some figure before him against whom the attack is directed and I have, therefore, no hesitation in connecting the figure in some way with one of the Babylonian dragons and curtailed from some more complete scene. But the figure, while thus traceable to Babylonian models, cannot be called entirely Babylonian. There are at least, two details which may be set down as revealing Egyptian influence, viz., the head and the dress. In all the representations on distinctively Babylonian or Assyrian cylinders or on other works of Babylonian art, one finds no head like the one we have here, whereas the wolf-life features do most strongly suggest the Egyptian deity "Anubis." True, the snout on the Egyptian representations of the god is usually somewhat longer and sharper, but such a deviation is exactly one for which we ought to be prepared in a design based upon a mixture of Babylonian and Egyptian figures and in which through the preponderance of the Babylonian elements, we are not justified in looking for more than *traces* of Egyptian influence. Again, the dress of the demon is peculiar. As a general thing the Babylonian-Assyrian demons are naked; and moreover the ordinary garment on Babylonian seals is the loosely hanging one which permits the leg to be easily uncovered or the "hoop-skirt." An approach to our tight-fitting tunic may be recognized in the demons from a slab in Ašurbanipal's palace,‡ but the late

* See Menant-Le Clercq *Collection Le Clercq, Cat.-Rats.*, etc., Pl. xxxi., Pl. xxxiii.; also Nos. 823bis. No. 150 is a curious combination of two bulls and two lions against a deity. Menant-Le Clercq fail to distinguish between representations of animal sacrifice and what are distinctly contests between deities and monsters.

† Numerous examples in Menant-Le Clercq, *ib.* Nos. 245, 255, 259-261 Pl. xx. etc. See also Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Chaldaea*, I. p. 74.

‡ Cf. Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Chaldaea*, I., p. 61.

period of this monument together with other indications warrant the suspicion of foreign influence. In Egypt, however, the tight-fitting short tunic is the common one and on an Egypto-Phoenician seal,* containing several distinct "Anubis" figures we have almost the exact counterpart of the dress on our seal. We conclude then that the design shows that peculiar mixture of Babylonian and Egyptian element which has been ascertained to be the characteristic of Phoenician art in general, corresponding to the general eclecticism prevailing in the religious ideas and customs of the Phoenicians. Before proceeding to the inscription which further fixes the seal as distinctly "Phoenician," the question may be raised whether there are any indications in the design that justify conclusions as to its date. To this I venture to reply that the wings argue in favor of a late period. In the first place although distinctly Babylonian in shape, their large size in proportion to the stature of the animal shows a pronounced departure from early and even late Babylonian models. They are certainly not Egyptian, and approach the variation found in monuments of the Persian period. As a further indication of an influence that is neither Egyptian nor Babylonian, attention might be directed to the manner in which the wings are attached to the demons. They do not appear to be growths on the figure as is always the case in Babylono-Assyrian as well as Egyptian deities and monsters, but fastened to the animal by means of the belt around the waist, a feature which suggests the artificial attachment of wings in Greek art, as in the case of Hermes. At all events and be this as it may, the departure from Babylonian and Egyptian ideas on the seal is sufficiently pronounced to make a very late date preferable to an early one, and furthermore to suggest a place of manufacture for the seal removed from Egyptian or Babylonian centres of art. The inscription points in the same direction. It consists of two parts one to each side of the figure, the letters appearing reversed. Beginning with the side behind the figure, I read as follows:

לארנלח עברעמנרב

The characters are clearly cut and but for the curious form of one of them, might belong to a very early period. This one is the Hêth which here has a somewhat unusual shape. The cross line at the top, it ought to be added, turns out upon microscopic examination to be due to a dent in the stone, so that the latter comes quite near the form it has in late Phoenician seals and in monuments, more particularly those of western origin.

Regarding the juxtaposition of the two names, one might be tempted to suppose the first to be a title but for the fact that titles in Phoenician monuments, as among Semites in general, are invariably placed after the name of the persons

* Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Phoenicia*, I., p. 255, fig. 192. See also the Egypto-Assyrian seals in Menant-Le Clercq. Nos. 336-89; and (Pl. xxxviii.) 336 bis and 336 ter.

to whom they belong.* Again it hardly seems reasonable to take עֶבֶר as "servant" literally, as some scholars in such cases are inclined to do. While no doubt the origin of proper names containing the element עֶבֶר followed by the name of some deity is due to a supposed actual relation of master and servant between a worshipper and his god, still the consciousness of this meaning attaching to the word must have died out when proper names from being invocations pronounced over a person and attached to him as a kind of talismanic formula grew to be simple appellations. Corresponding with this growth, the name of the deity following upon 'abḏ came to be chosen quite promiscuously and with no defined religious aim. It will therefore be most satisfactory to assume with Levy (*Phoenizische Studien*, IV., p. 72), whom Euting (*Punische Steine*, p. 11) is inclined to follow, that the word for son בֶּן has been left out. This omission is very common on Palmyrene monuments (e. g. Sachau, *ZDMG.*, 1881, p. 424, and see Levy and Euting as above), and has with a great show of probability been traced to Greek influence—a supposition that, it will be seen, strengthens the general indications above referred to in favor of a late date for the seal. Taking the Lāmēdh at the beginning as the ordinary sign of possession the inscription is to be rendered thus:

[seal of] Aḏōngallaḥ (son of) 'Aḇdamōnraḇ.



Both names are new and extremely interesting. The first is compounded of two elements, the well-known Aḏōn and a stem גַּלַח that has not as yet been met with on Phoenician inscriptions. Aḏōn appears as a general thing in Phoenician proper names combined with some other deity. Thus we have אֲרַנְבַּעַל אֲרַנְשַׁמִּישׁ אֲשַׁמְנַאֲדָן, אֲרַנְבַּל. But these names are not to be placed in the same category with such combinations as מֶלְקֶרֶת-אֲשַׁמֶן אֶל-חַמֶן.

* Only in the case of deities we find such descriptive epithets as לִבְעַל לֶאֱרֹן לֶאֱרֹנִי placed before the name itself, though occasionally also after the name (e. g. *Corpus Inscr. Sem.*, I., p. 24 sqq.).

הדר-רמון where the idea conveyed is of the amalgamation of two deities, nor are they parallel with combinations of בעל, as צפנבעל בעללבנן, בעלשכס, where a particular manifestation of Baal is indicated, but the common use of Adôn as a mere epithet of deity (לארני לאשמן לארן, לבעלחמן, etc.), and also of persons (ארנמלכס and ארמלכס Levy, *Phoenizische Studien*, III., p. 34 sqq.; IV., p. 7), as also its use in such names as ארניבזק (see Schroeder *Phoeniz. Spr.*, pp. 9 and 176), shows that the word from designating originally a specific deity has advanced even beyond the stage of a generic term for "deity" like the Babylonian *ilu* to a term for "lord," or "master," being used precisely like the Hebrew equivalent, as Muenther, *Religion d. Karthager*, p. 25,* already recognized. Accordingly Adôn bēl and Eshmunadôn are to be rendered simply, "the lord Bel" and "Eshmun is master," and applying this conclusion to the name on our seal, it will be seen that we are not justified in taking גלח as a verb, of which Adôn as a deity is the subject, but on the contrary if there is a divine element in the name it must be sought in the second part. The question now arises, what is גלח? There is no trace of a god galaḥ or gallaḥ among any of the Semites and the meaning of the stem which, from its occurrence in Hebrew, Arabic and several of the Aramaic languages, is very well known, makes it improbable that it should have ever been the name of a deity. With a primitive meaning like "scrape" or the like, we find the stem used in all the three groups mentioned for "shaving," more particularly the hair of the head, but in Hebrew at least, also of the face and other parts of the body. In Arabic, where the stem has a wider usage, it obtains the force also of plucking, rendering bald or bare (see Lane's *Arabic Dictionary*, s. v.) and allied meanings, while in Syriac the metaphorical application to "revealing, exposing" and then "expanding" appears to prevail. The Old Testament usage of the stem is particularly instructive, and the close relationship existing between Phoenician and Hebrew warrants us in starting from the latter for an explanation of the name under consideration. Almost all the passages in which the word occurs have a bearing on the religious significance which in the primitive Semitic ritual was attached to the cutting off of the hair. Both in the reference to the leper (Lev. 13:33; 14:8,9), and to the nazîr (Num. 6:9,18) גלח is used of the ordained shaving off of the hair, in the case of the former of the whole body, in the latter of the head, and since under the aspect of *taboo* both leper and nazîr were "sacred" there can be no doubt of the sacrificial purpose which the ceremony originally served.† Again in the case of the woman captured in war (Deut. 21:12), we have the galaḥ ceremony (for the head alone), which

* An approach to the use of בעל like ארן appears in such a phrase as למקרת בעל צר, i. e. to Melkart, the master of Tyre (Gesenius, *Script. Ling. Phoen.*, p. 96).

† See the admirable discussion of "Hair-offerings" and Hair-rituals among the Semites in W. R. Smith's *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 306-15, where also references to the copious literature on the subject will be found.

here appears to be a rite of initiation into the tribe of the captor;* thirdly there is the prohibition against shaving of the head and beard as a rite of initiation in the case of priests, recorded in Lev. 21:5 and Ezek. 44:20, and finally we have the valuable testimony of Jer. 41:5 to the actual religious practice, and the words of Isa. 7:20, "ביום ההוא יגלח ארני תער השכירה ונ", which, as the reference at the end of the verse to the head, limbs and "also beard" suggest, receive additional force by being brought into connection with some galaḥ-ritual.

Now there is abundant evidence that at all times the shaving of the head was observed as a rite among the Phoenician priests† and wherever Phoenician worship spread, as for example in the rites of the Phrygian Cybele,‡ the galaḥ-ceremony is found. According to Lucian indeed (*De Dea Syria*, § 55) the rite was practised by all persons at Hierapolis, where, as a preliminary to citizenship, they had to "shave their head and eyebrows."§ However this may be, we have now also the direct testimony of the inscriptions to the religious significance of the tonsure among the Phoenicians. On a Phoenician monument found near Larnaka (*Corpus Inscr. Sem.*, I., p. 92sq.) there is a mention among those entitled to the temple revenues (*Facies A*, l. 12), לנלכם פעלם על מלאכת, which Renan renders *tonsoribus operantibus pro ministerio*. However the difficult word קפא following upon מלאכת is to be understood, there is no doubt, as Renan suggests in his note to the passage (*ibid.*, p. 95), that the reference is to the barbers attached to the temple, for the purpose of performing the tonsure on the priests. The further proof for the sacredness of this office is furnished by the title גלח אלם "barber of the gods," i. e., "sacred barber," given to individuals on two Phoenician inscriptions (*Sainte Marie*, 1784 and 2110, cf. *CIS.*, I., p. 71).

* In addition to the shaving of the head, there is also ordered the cutting of the nails. With this rite may be compared the injunction in the so-called "Sumerian family-laws" (V R. 25, 31 Haupt's *SFG.*, p. 34) to cut off the nails in the case of the son who severs the legal status existing between himself and his father, and in the case of the same severance between son and mother, the cutting off—in both cases the verb gallābu is used—of the muttatu, which I cannot help thinking, despite Haupt's suggestive remarks, *Beitr. z. Assyr.*, I., pp. 15, 16, must refer to hairs (perhaps to beard as sign of manhood or the hairs *circa membrum virile*). It seems to me that here too the rite symbolized originally the formal exit from one tribe or family and admittance into another. The transition from this view to the observance of the custom as a mark of subjection and then sign of disgrace, which appears already to prevail at the time of the "Sumerian" laws, is a natural one, when once the ideas underlying the rite are lost sight of or outgrown.

† See Mover's *Phoenizien*, I., 572-87, on the priesthood among the Phoenicians.

‡ The connection between the Phrygian and Phoenician rites is now universally admitted. See Ramsay in the *Encyclop. Brit.* article (9th ed., Vol. XVIII., p. 853a). Creuzer, *Symbolik und Mythologie d. Alten Voelker*, II., 389, already established the practical identity of the Cybele and Ashtarte rites, and he is followed by Boettger, *Ideen zur Kunst-Mythologie*, I., p. 281.

§ It is in this sense I think that the passage is to be interpreted, for when Lucian says "every one who entered the city," he can certainly mean only those who came for the purpose of settling there. Whether Lucian is altogether exact in stating that the priestly tonsure was universal is another matter. One is inclined to suspect that the "shaving of the hair" refers merely to the custom, referred to in Lev. 19:27, of cutting off the hair and beard, which is something different from the galaḥ-ceremony.

Coming back now to our name *Adōngallaḥ*, it will readily be admitted that there is everything in favor of assuming a meaning for the stem *גלח*, similar to that which it obtains in Hebrew and that further this second element in the name stands in some connection with the religious tonsure. We may advance a step further and venture to assign a specific meaning to this second element. If *גלח*, which, as referring to a profession, is probably to be read *gallab* (cf. Schroeder, *Phoeniz. Sprache*, p. 167), is the barber, *gallaḥ* as the "shaven" or "shorn one"* would appear to be an appropriate name for the initiated one or more specifically for the priest. Is there any evidence in favor of this assumption? Now it is significant that this very word *גלח* in late Hebrew has become the common expression for "priest." The general supposition has been that it was first applied to Christian monks as a nickname because of the tonsure, which it is interesting to recall, was also prescribed by the Catholic Church as a preliminary to initiation into clerical orders. It occurs in Tišbi's *Hebrew Dictionary*. Buxtorf (*Lexicon Chald.* s. v.) also notes the word, and while I am unable to trace its use beyond the appearance of Christianity, there is nothing improbable in the supposition that as so many words current in "modern" Hebrew, it is very old. From the Hebrew it appears to have made its way into Arabic. In what is known as the Mauritanian-Arabic version of the Pentateuch (published by Th. Erpenius, Leyden, 1622) the word כהן, Gen. 47:22, is translated جالח† and its occurrence here would go to show that the term designation in Phoenician for "priest" by the side of כהן, which occurs rather frequently, as also does the fem. כהנת once (Eshmunasar Inscript. 15), and like the Hebrew equivalent suggested by the tonsure which distinguished the Phoenician priests. In further support of this proposition I would call attention to a was not necessarily a nickname and that it was not restricted in its application to Christian monks.‡ My proposition then is to take *גלח* in our name as an actual

* So I propose to read, since the *kaṭṭāl* form of the Semitic noun indicates both a profession and a habitual condition. See Stade, *Hebr. Gram.*, § 217a; Caspari, *Arab. Gram.*, 5th ed.,

§ 234. Compare with *גלח* "one who has been shorn," Arabic عطار "one who has been perfumed," but also used of the "perfumer."

† See Castellus, *Lex. Heptaglotton*, s. v., *גלח*, where the word is also applied to a "celibate"; also Gollus, *Lex. Arab.*, s. v., and (following Gollus) Freytag, *Lex. Arab.-Lat.* s. v. The native Arabic lexicographers do not record the word, nor does Gawālikl mention it.

‡ *جالح* occurs also as a proper name in Arabic, e. g., *احيعة ابن جالح* (*Kutab al-Fihrist ed Fluegel*, p. 202, 28; Ibn Khallican, *Biogr. Diet.* (Slane), I., p. 84, who, being expressly mentioned as an anṣārī, may fairly be considered to have born a genuine Arabic name. There are also names of places formed of the stem *גלח*, so e. g. *جلم* and *الجلحام* (*Jacut ed Wuestenfeld*, II., p. 98), and *Talmud Babli Nidd*, 69a, makes mention of a place גלח in Sodom.

curious and interesting term which has hitherto been involved in considerable obscurity.

Roman writers make frequent mention of the Phrygian worship which was introduced into Rome at the time of the second Punic war.* The deity around which the worship that appeared so strange to the Romans centered, was Cybele, the *mater magna*, and the officiating priests are invariably termed by the Romans, *galli*. Now the close connection between Phrygian and Phoenician rites (as intimated above) is placed beyond all doubts by the testimony of Lucian who applies the very same term γάλλος (*De Dea Syria*, §§ 5, 15, 55) to the Syrian priests.† The etymology currently adopted by Roman and Greek writers (e. g. *Festus De Verb. Signif.* Ovid *Festi* IV. 363, *Pliny Hist. Nat.* V., § 147, *Suidas Lexicon*, s. v., etc.) and that is still followed in modern works (so in the new edition of Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*) derives the word from a river Gallus in Phrygia (a tributary of the Sangarius) the waters of which were thought to have the power of making those who drank of them mad, and the name was accordingly applied to the priests of Cybele because of the fury they exhibited in the performance of the religious rites. The lameness of such an etymological *tour de force* needs no comment. Hieronymos followed by others tried to connect the word with the Gauls but naturally without success. Creuzer, *Symbolik and Mythol.*, II., 370, thinks it is a "Bithynian" word. Boettger, *Ideen zur Kunst Mythol.*, I., 280, explains it as "wanderer," but upon what grounds I do not know. Movers (*Phonizier*, I., 687) is the first of modern writers to properly seek for a Semitic origin of a word that belongs to a worship so distinctly Semitic, but the etymology he proposes, from גלל "to turn," in allusion to the dances of the Phoenician and Phrygian priests has no warrant and can hardly be called happy. Sayce, who in a note in his *Hibbert Lectures* (p. 62), and without offering the slightest proof connects the word with the Assyrian *kalu* (an epithet of the priests) needs only a passing mention. Strangely enough, Alexander Polyhistor (Mueller, *Fragm. Histor. Graec.*, III., p. 202) preserves a tradition (adopted literally by Stoll in Roscher's *Mythol. Lexicon*) which ought to have put investigators on the right path. He says that the name was due to a person named *Gallus* who was the first priest of Cybele and that so far as the river is concerned it was so called after the priests and not *vice versa*. What more natural and more common than that a foreign term should become in tradition a proper name? Leaving aside the question of the river altogether, which may be a mere coincidence, the notice in Alexander Polyhistor, points directly to *gallus* as a term for

* It is well to take note of this period assigned for the introduction. The story in Livy xxix. 10, when stripped of its principal features clearly points to Phoenician influence as the immediate cause for the spread of Cybele worship in Rome, so that the connection in which the Cybele worship is brought with the Punic wars is only another induction of the identity of Phrygian and Phoenician rites.

† See also Scholz, *Goetzendienst und Zauberverwesen bei den Hebraern*, p. 323.

priest and taking the evidence above brought forward together, it seems to me that *gallus* is none other than our Hebrew and Phoenician גלל. As for the loss of the final guttural, it is to be noticed that we have here the soft so-called unpointed ח which already in Assyrian has disappeared and whose loss in the Romanized and Greek form of a foreign word would only serve to confirm for the Phoenician the common tendency of the Semitic languages to the aspiration of the gutturals* and even the hard ones. So *Plautus Poen.* VI., 16, writes *lia* = ליה and *ib.* V. 1,3 *ri* = אחי. Other instances in Phoenician of this tendency are עמן—very common—המן—neo-punic—and even אמן (Levy, *Phoenizische Stud.*, IV., p. 82) for חמן; עמש “five” for חמש (Levy, *Phoeniz. Woerterb.* S. V.).† Finally, before proceeding to the second name, a word about the force of *adôn* in combination with *gallaḥ*. With a precedent like עבראלם (*CIS.*, I., p. 30; Levy, *Phoeniz. Stud.*, II., 32) “divine servant,” which must originally have designated some sacred office like עברעלינים, (Gesenius, *Mon. Scrip. Phoen.*, p. 13), becoming a proper name, there is sufficient justification in accounting for our name in the same way. *Adôngallaḥ*, then, I take it is nothing else than the “chief *gallaḥ*,” the כהן גלל of the Phoenician worship and but for its position before *Abdamonrab*, it might very well be the title of the later, particularly in view of the express mention of an *Archigallus* by Roman writers, *Plin.*, *Hist. Nat.* 35, 10; *Tertull. Apol.* 25; *Servius Ad Aen.* XII. 116 at the head of the *Cybele* worship, of which term *Adôngallaḥ* it will be seen is the exact equivalent. As it is, it will be safer to assume that *Adôngallaḥ* like עבראלם has passed into a proper name and is so used in the present instance.

Coming now to the second name, the three elements of which it is combined עבר, עמן, and רב are perfectly well-known but the combination is new. The first part is of course the well-known word which with בעל occurs oftenest in the formation of Phoenician names. The combination עברעמן is identical with עבראמן (Levy, *Phoeniz. Stud.*, IV., p. 72), is moreover vouched for by the Tyrian Ἀβδάμων mentioned by Josephus (*Contra App.* I., 18) and parallel to בעל עמן (Levy, *Phoeniz. Stud.*, IV., 73).‡ It has been customary hitherto to take עמן in all instances as another form for חמן. (Cf. e. g., Levy, *Phoeniz. Stud.*, II., p. 119; Schroder, *Phoeniz. Sprache*, pp. 81, 125). In such combinations as בעל עמן, I believe this to be the case, but the question may be raised whether in combination with עבר, the element עמן (and אמי) may

See Renan, *Hist. Gen. d. Langues Semit.* 5th ed., p. 427.

* This process has proceeded furthest in the case of the Samaritan where all distinctions between gutturals are lost sight of and even the hard ones are aspirated. The Assyrian retaining only the pointed ח follows next. See a paper by the writer on Assyrian and Samaritan, *Proc. A. O. S.*, October, 1886, p. cvlix.

† See Schroeder's *Phoeniz. Sprache*, pp. 79-98, exhaustive treatment of the gutturals in Phoenician.

‡ Comp. also מילכעמי and צבועמן Levy, *Phoeniz. Woerth.*

not be the Egyptian deity Amon? With P'thah, Horus, Osiris, Athor and Necho so frequent in Phoenician names, in accord with the amalgamation of Egyptian and Phoenician beliefs, there is every reason why we should also look for Amon. Moreover, there is one instance in which there can be no doubt that we have the Egyptian Amon in a proper name and that is the **אמננכא** occurring on a seal published by Gesenius (*Mon. Scrip. Phoen. tab.* 28, No. lxxvii.) and correctly explained by Levy (*ZDMG.* XI., p. 71) as Amon-Necho. 'Abd in proper names as a general thing, though not invariably, is followed by the name of a deity, and unless we are ready to accept the proposition that there was a Phoenician deity **חמן*** for which the evidence does yet appear to be sufficient, it would seem but reasonable to admit the possibility of the god Amôn being contained in **עברעמן**? The possibility also remains of an actual confusion between the Phoenician and Egyptian term,† just as there appears to be a confusion between Egyptian Osiris, written **אסר** as an element in Phoenician names and the Assyrian Ashur, also written **אסר** (**אסררחס**) *CIS.* II., p. 50, **אסרסרער**, p. 54), and *CIS.* II., p. 56, between **אחר** and the Egyptian **אחר** or Hathor. There is also a Punic mountain chain bearing the name Amon-Baal-Ithon mentioned by Strabo, *Geogr.* XVII., 13, and where it would also appear that the Egyptian deity is meant. What adds to the probability of **עמן** in our case being the Egyptian Amon is the unique addition of **רב**. The occurrence of this element in Semitic names in general is rather rare‡ and I find only one doubtful instance of its being attached to a Phoenician deity, namely, **רבעקר** (Gesenius, *Mon. Scrip. Phoen.*, p. 217) and which Gesenius thinks stands for **מלקרתרב**. The prominent rank held by Melkarth would render the combination intelligible, but that would hardly be the case if our **עמן** were the equivalent of **חמן** which even, if originally a deity, at an early period lost its distinctive character as such. "The servant of great Amon," however, strikes one at once as far more plausible. At the same time one is strongly tempted to suspect that some confusion—possibly a species of "popular etymology"—with the well-known Amon-Ra of the Egyptians has taken place in the case of the name on our seal. I have no evidence to offer by way of support for this conjecture which is thrown out merely in the nature of a suggestion that may bear examination. So far, however, as the occurrence of an Egyptian deity in our seal is con-

* See the note in Gesenius, *Handw.* 10th ed., p. xxii. Regarding **חמן** it ought to be said that whether a deity or not, the final nûn is probably nothing but the ten wîn and the question suggests itself whether we have not the same word in the Himyaritic proper name **חמעתת** (*CIS.*, IV., p. 31, 38 and 53), and also in the Babylonian King Hammurabi, rejecting the etymology for the name offered by the Babylonians themselves (II^e Rawl. 44, I., 21) as "great family," which is hardly an appropriate designation for an individual.

† Hamaker, *Miscell. Phoen.* (1838), pp. 49 and 57, appears to suspect some connection between **חמן** and Egyptian Amon.

‡ Cf. Hammurabi in Babylonian, Rabê in Himyaritic (*CIS.* IV., pp. 27 and 101); and Euting *Nab. Inschr.* 21, 3; 27, 14; 28, 3; Rib-addi (*ZA.* IV., pp. 404).

cerned, it will be seen that it accords perfectly with the indications of Egyptian influence that were found in the shape and design of the seal and perhaps it will be admitted that the unusual character of the first name renders the proposition of explaining the second as "Servant of Amon-Ra" less bold and startling than it might otherwise be. The traces of Egyptian influence are together perhaps strong enough to warrant us in classing the seal among those known as Egypto-Phoenician,* though there is no need of insisting upon this. If a date were to be assigned to the seal, I should feel inclined to say, not earlier than the fifth century B. C.

* Menant *Le Clercq Catalogue Raisonné*, etc., p. 28.

AN ARABIC VERSION OF THE ABGAR-LEGEND.

BY PROFESSOR R. J. H. GOTTHEIL, PH. D.,

Columbia College in the City of New York.

It is not my intention to discuss here the interesting legend which is connected with the early history of Edessa as a christian city. That has lately been done with much learning and care.¹ I wish only to call attention to the following Arabic version which, I believe, has not been known heretofore—and to point out with what lines in the development of the legend it runs parallel.

Tixeront has collected (*loc. cit.* p. 28) the titles of four Arabic MSS. of the Abgar legend. The vatican text he has himself published at the end of the volume. With this our MS. has many points in common: but it is easy to see that it is greatly amplified. The one published by Ludovicus de Dieu² is not accessible to me at present.

A glance is enough to show us that the chief interest of the writer lies in the legend regarding the image of Jesus, rather than in that of the letters between him and Abgar. It belongs, therefore, to the Byzantine line of development. It is not necessary to adduce proof for this statement. We can go one step further, and can fix upon the Greek MS. which evidently lies back of our Arabic text.

There is a MS. in the Imperial Library at Vienna (*cod. theol. graec.* 315) which has been described by Lambecius, and of which Lipsius has given some extracts.³ The scope of both texts is the same: the letters of Abgar and Jesus; the story of the picture put on the handkerchief; the second image made on a brick at Heliopolis; the healing of the lame man; the healing of Abgar himself; the mission of Thaddaeus and the baptism of Abgar. Some of the characteristic additions in *cod.* 315 to the account in Eusebius are found again here: e. g., *καὶ γυναῖκα ἐν ῥύσει αἵματος ἀφαμένην σου ἰδῶ* = *وامرأة نازفة* *الدم لها لمست يدك فبريت.* So also the addition *καὶ ἡ πόλις σου ἤτις καλεῖται ἔδεσσα* = *وللمدينة الرها*;⁴ although some of the additions in *cod.* 315 are wanting in the Arabic.

For the sake of comparison I have reprinted the four continuous extracts of *cod.* 315 as published by Lipsius.

¹ Tixeront, *Les origines de l'Église d'Édesse*, etc. Paris, 1888. Dashian, *Zur Abgar-Sage*. *WZKM.* iv., pp. 17 sqq.

² Tixeront, *loc. cit.* p. 28. Lipsius, *Die Edessentische Abgar-Sage*, p. 20. Nestle, *De Santa Cruce*, p. 83.

³ *Loc. cit.* pp. 16, 21, 56, 59, 62.

⁴ Lipsius, p. 16.

αὕτη δέ μου ἐπιστολὴ ὅπου ἂν προβληθῇ εἴτε ἐν δίκῃ ἢ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, εἴτε ἐν ὁδῷ εἴτε ἐν θαλάσῃ, εἴτε ἐν ῥηγίῳσιν [l. ῥιγοῦσιν] εἴτε ἐν πυρέσσουσιν ἢ φρικῳσιν ἢ ἐκβράζουσιν ἢ κατὰδεσμον ἔχωσιν [l. ἔχουσιν] ἢ ὑπερβρασιν, ἢ φαρμακευθεῖσιν ἢ ὅσα τούτοις δμοια, διαλυθήσονται. ἔστω δὲ ὁ φορῶν αὐτὴν ἄνθρωπος ἀπεχόμενος ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ πράγματος, καὶ λεγέτω· αὕτη μὲν εἰς ἴασιν εἶναι [ἔσται?] καὶ χαρὰν βέβαιαν. διότι ὁ λόγος γραπτὸς γέγραπται τῇ ἰδίᾳ μου χειρὶ μετὰ τῆς σφραγίδος τῆς ἐμῆς. αἵτινες εἰσὶν ἐντετυπωμέναι [εἰς] τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ταύτῃ ἐπτά σφραγίδων. T. Ψ. X. E. Y. P. A. ἰησοῦς χριστὸς υἱὸς θεοῦ καὶ υἱὸς μαρίας ψυχὴν φέρων ἐν δύο φύσεσιν γνωριζόμενος, θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος. τῶν δὲ σφραγίδων ἡ λύσις ἦν αὕτη. ὁ μὲν T δηλοῖ, ὅτι ἔκων ἐπάγην ἐν σταυρῷ. τὸ δὲ Ψ, ὅτι ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος οὐκ εἰμί, ἀλλὰ ἄνθρωπος κατὰ ἀλήθ. τὸ δὲ X, ὅτι ἀναπέπαυμαι ὑπὸ τῶν χερουβείμ. τὸ E, ἐγὼ θεὸς πρῶτος ἐγὼ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, καὶ πλὴν ἐμοῦ οὐκ ἔστι θεὸς ἕτερος. τὸ Y, ὁ ψηλὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ θεὸς τῶν θεῶν. τὸ P, ῥύστης εἰμὶ τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους. τὸ A, δι' ὅλου καὶ διημεκῶς καὶ διὰ παντὸς ζῶ καὶ διαμένω εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ταύτας οὖν τὰς σφραγίδας ἐχάρᾳα ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ὁ χαράξας τὰς πλάκας τὰς δοθείσας τῷ μωσῇ.

καὶ δεξιόμενος ὁ αὐγαρος τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἐπιστολὴν, ἀκούσας ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἰουδαῖοι ἐπείγονται [cod. ἐπήγοντε] τοῦ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν κύριον. πέμψας οὖν αὐτίκα ἐπ' αὐτὸν (?) ταχυδρόμον τῇ τέχνῃ ζώγραφον τοῦ λαβεῖν τὸ ὁμοίωμα τοῦ κυρίου. καὶ εἰσελθόντος τοῦ ταχυδρόμου εἰς τὰ προπύλαια ἱεροσολύμων ὑπὴντησεν ὁ κύριος αὐτῷ [cod. αὐτόν]. καὶ διαλεχθεὶς μετ' αὐτοῦ εἶπεν αὐτῷ. κατὰσκοπος εἶ ἄνθρωπε. ἐκεῖνος δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπεν· ἀπεσταλμένος εἰμὶ ὑπὸ αὐγάρου θεάσασθαι ἰησοῦν τὸν ναζωραῖον τοῦ λαβεῖν τὸ ὁμοίωμα τοῦ [cod. τὸ] προσώπου αὐτοῦ. καὶ συνετάξατο οὖν ὁ ἰησοῦς παραγενέσθαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν συναγωγὴν· τῇ δὲ ἐξῆς ἀπελθὼν ὁ ἰησοῦς ἐπὶ τῆς συναγωγῆς, ἐκαθέζετο διδάσκων τοὺς ὄχλους. ὁ δὲ ταχυδρόμος εἰσελθὼν ἔστη εἰς τὸ προπύλαιον ζωγραφῶν τὸ ὁμοίωμα τοῦ ἰησοῦ. καὶ μὴ δυναμένου καταλαβέσθαι τὴν μορφήν τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ, κατέλαβε καὶ ὁ σύνδρομος αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὠθήσας αὐτὸν εἶπεν· εἰσελθε καὶ ἀπόδος ἡν περιέχεις σινδόνα τοῦ αὐγάρου [τοῦ τοπάρχου] καὶ δεσπότου ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῆς συναγωγῆς. καὶ εἰσελθὼν ἐπὶ πάντων ἔπεσεν εἰς τοὺς πόδας τοῦ ἰησοῦ ἀποδόσας αὐτῷ τὴν σινδόνα. καὶ λαβὼν ὕδωρ ὁ κύριος ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ ἀπενίψατο τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιθείς τὴν σινδόνα ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ ἀνεζωγραφήθη [cod. ἀνεζωγραφέισθ.]. καὶ ἐγένετο τὸ ὁμοίωμα τοῦ ἰησοῦ ἐπ' αὐτὴν, ὥστε

θαυμάζειν πάντας τοὺς καθημένους μετ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ δοὺς τὴν σινδόνα τῇ ταχυδρόμῳ ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς τὸν αὐγαρον.

ἔλθόντες οὖν οἱ ταχυδρόμοι ὡς μιλίου ἐνὸς τῆς πόλεως ἐδέσσης συρόμενός τις εὐρέθη κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν. καὶ ἀψάμενος τῆς ἀγίου σινδόνης εὐθέως ἤλετο καὶ περιεπάτη καὶ εἰσελθὼν ὁρομαῖος πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν μητέρα χαίρων καὶ ἀγαλλιώμενος καὶ θεαθεὶς ὑπὸ πάντων. ἐθαύμαζον ἐπὶ τῇ γεροντίᾳ εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ ἔλεγον. οὐχ οὗτος ἦν ὁ συρόμενος τῇσδε τῆς χήρας ὁ υἱός; καὶ εὐθέως ἀνηνέχθη τῇ βασιλεῖ αὐγάρῳ περὶ αὐτοῦ. καὶ μετακαλεσάμενος αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς λέγει αὐτῷ· πῶς ἰάθης; ἀπεκρίθη ἐκεῖνος καὶ εἶπεν ὡς ἀπὸ μιλίου ἐνὸς παρεγενόμεν τῆς πόλεως αἰτῶν. καὶ τις ἤψατο μου καὶ ἀνωρθώθη καὶ περιεπάτησα. ὁ δὲ αὐγαρος ὑπέλαβεν, ὅτι ὁ χριστὸς ἦν καὶ πέμψας εὔρε τὸν ταχυδρόμον μετὰ τοῦ συνδρόμου αὐτοῦ, ἐπιφέροντας [cod.τες] τὴν τοῦ χριστοῦ εἰκόνα. καὶ ἐλθόντων αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ παλάτιον ἐδέξατο αὐτοὺς ἐν χαρᾷ καὶ ἀσπασίῳ ὁ αὐγαρος κατακείμενος ἐπὶ κλίνης. ἐξέστη καὶ δεξιόμενος τὴν σινδόνα εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ μετὰ πίστεως ἴαθη παραχρῆμα. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀναλφθῆναι τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἰησοῦν χριστὸν ἀπέστειλε θαδδαῖον ἐν ἐδέσσει τῇ πόλει τοῦ ἰδασθαι αὐγάρου πᾶσαν [R. καὶ πᾶσαν] μαλακίαν. ἐλθὼν οὖν ὁ θαδδαῖος καὶ λαλήσας αὐτῷ τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατηχήσας ἐκατέβη ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν τὴν λεγομένην κερασσὰ καὶ ἐβάπτισεν αὐτὸν πανοικί. καὶ εὐθέως ἐκαθερίσθη αὐτοῦ τὸ πάθος. καὶ ἡγαλλιάσατο τῷ πνεύματι δοξάζων καὶ εὐλογῶν τὸν θεὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

ἐλθὼν οὖν ὁ ταχυδρόμος καὶ ὁ σύνδρομος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἔμειναν ἕξω πόλεως ὀνόματι ἱεράπολις εἰς κεραμαρεῖον [I. κεραμεῖον]. Καὶ φοβηθέντες ἔκρυψαν τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ χριστοῦ ἀνὰ μεταξὺ δύο κεραμίδιων καὶ ἐκοιμήθησαν. κατὰ δὲ τὸ μεσονύκτιον ἐφάνη στύλος πυρὸς ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἔστη ἐπάνω, οὗ ἦν ἡ εἰκὼν τοῦ κυρίου. Καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ καστροφύλαξ τῆς πόλεως τὸν στύλον τοῦ πυρός ἐφώνησεν φωνὴν μεγάλην, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ λαὸς τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἰδόντες τὴν ἐν σινδόνι εἰκόνα τοῦ κυρίου ἤθελον αὐτὴν λαβεῖν. Καὶ φηλαφήσαντες εὗρον ὅτι ἀνεξωγραφήθη εἰς ἐν τῶν κεραμίδιων καὶ ἔλαβον τὸ κεραμίδιον, ἐσίγησαν ἑάσαντες τοὺς ταχυδρόμους πορεύεσθαι.

The MS. from which the present text is taken is now in the Library of Columbia College. It is incomplete at the end. Its general title is as follows:

بسم الابن والروح القدس الاله الواحد. نبتدى نكتب اخبار

قصص الشهد او القديسين الذين ارضوا الله بصالح اعمالهم وصفة سيرتهم الفاضلة صلواتهم وبركاتهم تحفظنا واياكم سرمد امين.
The contents are apochryphal in character. The MS. is quite modern, and is written without a too strict regard for the niceties of grammar or of correct spelling. In fact many very modern—and, at times perhaps, incorrect—forms have found entrance.⁵ But it is impossible to tell the exact date of the original text; and it would have been wrong to correct all things according to the Mufaṣṣal.⁶ I have therefore only called attention to what seemed to me to be evident mistakes.

نكتب رسالة ملك الرها الابجر رسلها الى ربنا يسوع المسيح.
قد بلغنى عن عجائبك. وعنك انك بلا سحر ولا دوا بتشفى المرضى.
وانك بكلمة واحدة. وهبت للعيان النظر وللزمن الشفى وللخمرص
التكلم وللصم السماع وللمرضا الشفا وتطرد الارواح النجسة بكلمتك.
5 والذى دحرهم الوجع والعداب تشفيهم وتقيم الموتى وامراة نازفة⁷
الدم لما لمست يديك⁸ فبريت فيا سيدى بلغنى عنك ظنيت في
قلبك انك الله او انك ابن الله نذلت من السما وفعلت هذا كله. يا
سيدى فمن اجل هذا اسالك انا واتوسل اليك ان تاتى لعندى وان كنت
انا غير مستحق اتكنن على واحضر لى تشفينى من هذا الالام
10 الذى فى وبلغنى ايضا ان اليهود قد مقتول وهم ان يظلموك وليس
خافيك اننى انا فى مدينة صغيرة لطيلنة⁹ اشهيت ان تكون لى انا
وانت ولك السلام كما تريد*
جواب رسالة الملك الابجر الذى هى من عند سيدنا يسوع
المسيح.

⁵ E. g. بتشفى i. e. of. Spitta, *Grammatik des Arab. Vulgardiialects von Ägypten*, p. 203 (ZDMG. 44, 543). JA. 1887. Extrait No. 22, p. 8. نزل i. 50, for نزل. Spitta, loc. cit., p. 18. مثل for مثل.

⁶ See Sachau, *Chronologie Orientalischer Völker von Al-Bērūnī*. Introd. p. lxx.

⁷ MS. نازفة. * Conjectural: the MS. is blotted here. * So the MS. Read لطيفة.

يقول هكذا طوباك يا ابجر وللمدينتك الرها. طوباك لانك لم¹⁵
 ترانى وامنت ومن الان وهبت لك العافية والشفاء واما ما كتبت
 لى من اننى¹⁰ اجى اليك ناولا واجب لى ان اتممت العمل الذى وردت
 لاجله واصعد الى عند من ارسلنى ارسل لك احد من تلاميذى وهو
 يشفى مرضك ويهب لك الحيا الداعية والسلامة لك والى من فى²⁰
 مدينتك الذى لا ينبغى لاحدا من الناس ان يقدر عليها الى انقضا
 العالم امين *

يا خوة¹¹ هذه الرسالة مكتوبة بيد ربنا والاهنا يسوع المسيح وختمها
 ببختامة¹² سبعة ختوم حروف يونانية بيد الخاصة الخاتم الاول يدل
 اننى باختياري تقدمت للصلب والثانى¹³ بانى انسان تام والا²⁵
 بالحقيقة والثالث فاننى رفعت على الشاروييم¹⁴ والرابع ان الاله الاول
 وليس الاله اخر سواى الخامس ملك على انا واله الالهت¹⁵ السادس
 صرت مخلص السابع بالكلية فى كل حين انا حى دايم الى دهر
 الداهرين. هذه الرسالة من حملها براسة تنجيها من خطر الطريق
 ومن واجه الحكام والى السلاطين تخلص ومن به حمار دية تشفيه ومن³⁰
 بهم ارواح سوا وشى من السكر ينجيهم ومن كان فى مجا وفى نهر
 او فى قتال او فى كل شى سيتم على الانسان تجل عليه وان كان
 مقعد بتريه ويكون حاملها محفوظ من كل اعمال الشرير وتكون له
 شفا لروحه وجسده ويكون له الفرح والسرور دايم سرمدان امين.

¹⁰ MS. has اتي.

¹¹ Read يا اخوة.

¹² MS. ببختامت. In other places I have simply substituted ت for ت.

¹³ MS. والثانى. In other places I have simply substituted ث for ت. Cf. Mihail Sab-
 bāg's *Grammatik der Arab. Umgangssprache in Syrien und Ägypten*, p. 12.

¹⁴ Cf. Dozy, *Supplement*, i. 715. Muḥīṭ al Muḥīṭ, p. 1802.

¹⁵ Read الالهات.

35 فلما قبل الابجر رسالة الرب فدا دشوقه وغرامه¹⁶ به وحالاً وجه
 مصور ماهر جدّاً حادثاً فارسله لكي ان يمسد بمسد الرب
 وبمسد وجهه¹⁷ ففسار المصور في الطريق حتى انه التقا بالرب
 سبحانه فخطابه قايلًا انت ايها الانسان كلوس فاجابه قايلًا انا
 مرسل من عند ابجر لكي انظر يسوع الناصري واتميز مثال¹⁸
 وجهته وامثلها فامر الرب ان يقيم مع الجمع وعرفه في حاله انه
 هو يسوع الناصري فجلس يسوع معلم الشعوب فاراد المصور يتم امر
 سيده فوقف مقابل الرب ليصور مثالة وجهه فما كان يقدر يمثل وجه
 الرب فقال الرب للرسول اين السفينة التي معك فتقدم الرسول
 مسرعاً نحو الرب وطرح نفسه على قدميه ودفع له السفينة قدام
 45 الشعوب فاخذها السيد على يديه وغسل وجهه بماء ومسحه بتلك
 السفينة حتى تعجب الرسول المصور وكل الجمع تعجب فدفعها
 للرسول فاخذها وهو فرحان الرسول وانطلق الى عند سيده الابجر
 وهو ساير في الطريق هو ورفاقه فانتبهوا الى مدينة مبسج فباتوا
 خارج المدينة في فاخورة الفخار فوضعوا صورة المسيح بين قرميدين
 50 خوفاً من اللصوص وناموا ففي تلك الليل نذل¹⁹ عامود نار اخضر
 ووقف على صورة المسيح فلما مر²⁰ حراس تلك المدينة فنظر
 تلك العجب العظيم فتعجب فصرخ بصوت عالي حتى خرجها
 جميع الناس لخارج المدينة ونظروا العجب فهموا ان ياخذوها من

¹⁶ MS. وعمره .

¹⁷ MS. وجهه a mistake, if we ought not to read وجهه .

¹⁸ MS. here and in other places مسال . Cf. Spitta loc. cit. p. 9.

¹⁹ I. e. نذل .

²⁰ I. e. مر .

الرسول ففتشو بين القرميدين فراوها قد لزقت بواحدة من
 القرميدين فاخذ هو قرميدة الصورة وارضاهم في قرميدة الثانية⁵⁵
 فاسار الرسول حتى دنى في مدينة الرها مقدار ميل وان بانسان مقعد
 لمس بيده الصورة فللوقت فبرى حالاً فمشى قايباً وجرى لعند امه
 للمدينة مسرعاً فلما بصرت امه والعالم تعجبوا وصاروا جايرين
 ويقولو بعضهم لبعض ما هذا ابن²¹ الارملة المقعد فوصل خبره للملك⁶⁰
 فاحضره لعنده وقال له كيف بريت فاجابه قايل اننى من مقدار ميل
 واحد من المدينة وانا جالس اطلب صدقة من الناس وان بواحد
 ماررا في الطريق فالتمنى فللوقت قمت واقفا فافتكر الملك
 الابجر ان مراسله جابه وصورة المسيح معه . فارسل بلقاهم فوجد
 الرسول مع رفيقه حاملين صورة السيد المسيح فلما وصلوا الى البلاط⁶⁵
 اخذ الملك تلك الصورة على يديه وهو مطروح على السرير من
 مدة ستة سنين وسويه فللوقت برى بالساعة وتعافوا²² ان سيدنا
 يسوع المسيح بعد صعوده الى السما ارسل تداوس تلاميذه²³ لنى اعد
 الابجر فشفاه من كافة امراضه وعرفه طريق الحق وكلام الحق
 وانحدر الى عين ما تسما كارسا فعمده بها وجميع²⁴ اهل بيته بسم الاب⁷⁰
 والابن والروح القدس الاله واحد وتهلل بروح القدس وهو يسبح
 اليه المجد الى دهر الداهرين فهذا ماء²⁵ انتها اليها من امر الملك
 السعيد الابجر وتمننه سبحانه الله تعالى في ملكه امين . تم امين .

²¹ MS. هداين .

²² ويقال ؟

²³ Read. تداوس احد من .

²⁴ MS. .ولجميع .

²⁵ Sic!

كما يقول اطلبوا تجدو واقرو يفتح لكم ينجبنا اليه تعالى من
جميع الشدايد كما نجا²⁶ هذا الملك العسيد امين تم امين.

We shall write the letter of the King of Edessa, Abgar, which he sent to our master Jesus, the Messiah.

I have heard of thy wonderful deeds and that thou dost heal the sick without enchantment and without medicine; and that thou, by means of one word, hast given sight to the blind and to the lame recovery, to the dumb speech, to the deaf hearing, to the sick healing. Thou casteth out unclean spirits by thy word, and those whom pain and punishment injure thou healest. Thou raisest the dead; and the woman flowing with blood, when she touched thy hands became well. And now, O Master, I have heard that thou thinkest in thy heart that thou art God or the Son of God. Thou hast come down from heaven and hast done all this, O Master! On this account I beg and request of thee that thou come to me. Although I am not worthy, do thou show mercy to me and come so that thou mayest heal me from this pain which is in me. I have also heard that the Jews hate thee and wish to do thee harm. It is not hidden from thee that I am in a city, small and beautiful. I wish that it be for me and for thee. And to thee be peace—as thou wilt.

Answer to the letter of King Abgar which came from our master Jesus, the Messiah.

He says as follows: Blessed art thou, O Abgar and thy city Edessa. Blessed art thou, in that thou didst believe in me, not having seen me. From the present time I have given thee health and healing. Now regarding that about which thou hast written to me that I should come to thee, first it is necessary that I should complete the work for the sake of which I have come down. And [when] I shall have ascended unto Him that sent me, I shall send to thee one of my disciples that he may heal thy disease and give to thee eternal life. Peace be to thee and to those who are in thy city, which no man will be able to take to the end of the world. Amen.

O brother! This letter was written by the hand of our master and our God, Jesus, the Messiah, and he sealed it with seven seals in Grecian characters by means of a eunuch.²⁷

The first seal showed "I, of my own free will, went to the cross." The second, "that I am a perfect²⁸ man and God in very truth." The third, "that I have ascended to the cherubim." The fourth "that [I] am God, the first,

²⁶ MS. نجبنا.

²⁷ I do not find this form in the dictionaries: but it must be some derivative of ḥaṣa(y) "he drew forth, or castrated his testicles" (Lane S. V.).

²⁸ Or real.

and that there is no other God beside me." The fifth, "that I am an exalted King and God of Gods." The sixth, "I am the Saviour." The seventh, "altogether, at all times I live, existing forever." Whoever bears this letter upon his head, it will save him from the danger of the road; and he who meets wise men and rulers, it will spare him; he who has a strong fever, it will heal him; and those who have evil spirits or any other form of enchantment, it will free them. He who is on the road,²⁹ or on a river, or in a battle or in anything that happens to a man, it will release him [from his difficulty]. And if anyone be seated in ————— and carry it, he will be free from all unpleasant labor. It will be medicine for his spirit and his body: and joy and gladness will be to him forever and ever. Amen.

Now when Abgar had received the letter of the master, his desire and his wish grew strong; and at once he sent a very skillful sculptor. He directed him to go to procure a likeness of the master and of his face. Then the sculptor went on his way until he reached the master, praised be he! Then he spake to him saying: Verily thou art a sculptor.³⁰ Then he answered him, saying, I am sent by Abgar to see Jesus, the Nazarene, to see the likeness of his face and to picture it. The master commanded him to take his place with the multitude. Then he told him of himself that he was Jesus the Nazarene. Then Jesus sat down to teach the people and the sculptor wished to fulfil the behest of his superior. He placed himself opposite the master in order to paint the likeness of his face. But he was not able to picture the likeness of the face of the master. Then said the master to the messenger, where is the handkerchief(?)³¹ which thou hast. Then the messenger came quickly to the master and threw himself at his feet and gave him the handkerchief before all the people. Then the master took it in his hands, washed his face with the water and wiped it with the handkerchief so that the sculptor who had been sent and all the people wondered. Then he gave it to the messenger who seized it joyfully and went to his superior, Abgar. This one was journeying upon the road with his escort. They had come to the city MBSJ.³² They remained over night outside the city in the shop of a potter: and placed the image of the Messiah between two bricks out of fear of robbers. Then they slept. Now during the night there came down a dark pillar of fire upon the image of the Messiah. And when the guard of that city passed by and saw this great wonder, they were amazed and cried out with a loud cry until a multitude of people came

²⁹ The lexica do not give this derivation of جاء; but it must correspond to the Greek ἐν ὁδῷ.

³⁰ In the Greek text, we read κατάσκοπος εἰς ἀνθρώπου.

³¹ Ms. السفينة which is undoubtedly a mistake. Ibn el Athir, VIII., p. 302, 21 has منديل of. also Tixeront, *loc. laud.* p. 190.

³² Read منبج Mabug. Greek has λεράπολις.

to the outskirts of the city. They saw the wonder and desired to take it (i. e. the picture) from the messenger. They searched between the two bricks, and saw that it was fixed fast to one of them. Then [the messenger] caught hold of one of the bricks, and gave them the second one. Then the messenger journeyed until he had come to within one mile of the city of Edessa. Here he lighted upon a man deprived of the use of his limbs who touched the picture with his hand. At that very moment he became completely well and went on his way standing upright. He came quickly to the city to his mother and when the other people saw him they wondered, and came saying to each other: what has come over the widow's son who had not the use of his legs? His story reached the King who had him brought to him. Then he said to him, how hast thou become healed? He answered him saying, behold I was seated about a mile distant from the city. I was seated looking for alms from men when something passed secretly up the road and touched me and at once I arose upright. And King Abgar understood at once that this messenger had come back to him with the picture of the Messiah. Then he sent to meet them and he found the messenger with his escort, bearing the image of the master, the Messiah. Now when they had come to the palace, the King took this image in his hands, he having lain upon his couch for a little over six years. At once, at that moment, he was healed and became well.

Now, our master, Jesus the Messiah, after his ascent to heaven sent Thaddaeus [one of] his disciples to Abgar and he healed him from all his sickness. He taught him the way of life and the word of truth. And he went down to a well of water which was called كارسا,³³ and he baptized him in it and all the people of his household in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, one God. And he gloried in the Holy Spirit and praised God who is to be glorified unto all generations.

Now this is what has reached us about the glorious King Abgar and the doings(?) of God, praised and exalted be, in his kingdom. Amen! Amen! As is said, seek and ye shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you.³⁴ May God the exalted one free us from every misfortune as he freed this exalted King! Amen! Amen!

³³ In Greek *κερασά*.

³⁴ Matthew 7:7.

NOTES ON THE ANALYSIS OF GENESIS XXXII.-L.*

BY BENJAMIN W. BACON,

Oswego, N. Y.

There can be no doubt in the mind of critics that we have in Gen. XXXII. 1-3 and 4-13 respectively E's and J's story of Mahanaim, though the question must doubtless be considered still open whether, as Wellhausen holds, E in ver. 3 really takes the name **מַחֲנֵי** as a singular with locative ending (cf. **מַחֲנֶה** 3a); or whether, as Dillmann maintains, E as well as J understood it as a dual, his own host and God's being the "two companies." There seems to be, however, a general and very natural tendency to react from the stringency of Wellhausen's analysis, in the excision of portions like vs. 10-13, from a context with which they agree in style and language, on the ground of difference in subject-matter and point of view. Dillmann's inclusiveness, which has strong support in the practical identity in vocabulary, phraseology and style, of passages such as Gen. XII. 10 sqq., XVIII. 23 sqq., etc., with the rest of J, is apparently and perhaps justly gaining in favor. Nevertheless in the case of vs. 10-13 I am obliged to side with Wellhausen in attributing the verses to J². The reference to XXXI. 3 is not decisive; the new etymology of Mahanaim, ver. 11, might have stood originally in J side by side with that of ver. 8. "Jordan" even, ver. 11, can perhaps be explained, if "Jabbok," v. 23, is from E, as an inconsistency of J with his own situation; but over and above these formidable objections to the authenticity of the passage comes ver. 13 undertaking to give the language of Yahweh's promises to Jacob and quoting a combination of XVI. 10 and XXII. 16, both certainly of origin subsequent to the union of J and E, and neither addressed to Jacob. If any promise of the kind was given to Jacob in J we should be driven to assume that it stood originally in ch. XXVIII. and has disappeared without any special reason, and to make the further assumption that J had a narrative of the theophany at Bethel

* See *HEBRAICA*, VII., 1, 2 and 3, and the author's *Bibles within the Bible*. Student Pub. Co., Hartford, Conn. (In press.) Also *Journal of Bibl. Lit.*, IX. 2, 1890.

The author may be permitted to insert here a communication from Dr. Karl Budde, of Heidelberg, on the subject of the evidence from Deut. iv. 32 sq. in favor of an Elohistic creation story of J¹ underlying the present Gen. I., in the preceding article, *HEBRAICA*, VII. 3, p. 222, which arrived too late for insertion in that number. Dr. Budde writes: Ein schöner Beweis.....ist wieder Ihre schöne Beobachtung an Deut. iv. 32, die mir ganz neu war. Ich bin ganz mit Ihnen derselben Meinung, dass dies einzige **אֱלֹהִים** bei D zusammen mit **אֱלֹהִים** eine vollkommene Erklärung eigentlich nur in einer früheren Fassung von Gen. I. 36 sq. von der Hand eines J¹ finden kann (vgl. **אֱלֹהִים** auch Ex. xxxiv. 10, soviel ich sehe, von spät-jahwistischer Hand). Das ist wirklich sehr überraschend und für mich eine grosse Genugthung.

already previous to this time, which is, to say the least, extremely doubtful. The sermonic tone of the passage has been pointed out by Wellhausen.

The two clauses 14a and 22b are practically identical. Their assignment severally to E or J will depend upon that of vs. 14b-22a; for 22b is inseparable from 22a. Now it is true that all critics agree in attributing 14b-22a to E, partly on the ground that in ver. 22b we are brought back to the point of 14a and partly because 22b knows of only one "company," and to controvert this unanimous opinion may seem hazardous; yet as the analyses of ch. XXXII. heretofore advanced confessedly involve very serious difficulties in ch. XXXIII. or *vice versa*, the reader's attention may reasonably be invited to certain evidence for assigning vs. 14b-22 as well as vs. 4-9 to J.

The first of the two arguments above cited in favor of 14b-22a as E's is readily met by simply connecting 14a with ver. 3, the nearest E section. We are then indeed brought back to the same point in ver. 22 as in ver. 14a (ver. 3), but this only makes vs. 4-9, 14b-22 = vs. 1-3, 14a, not 4-14a = 14b-22. The second assumes that J would not have written **במחנה** (ver. 22) if he had previously spoken of *two* camps. Wellhausen (*Comp. d. Hex.*, p. 45) translates in ver. 22 "in Mahaneh." But supposing Wellhausen to be wrong and that the allusion is indeed to Jacob's double camp on the northern shore, the author had no alternative but to express himself in this way in order to present the intended contrast between the band which crossed the river and that which remained behind. If the author meant "in this party rather than in that," he could not have said **במחנים**, for this would have been taken as the proper name. On the other hand he could say without real ambiguity **במחנה** "in the camp," meaning thereby Jacob's personal following in contrast with the **מנחה** which passed over in advance. And here it would be more natural to use the singular even though this camp was a double one.

Certainly neither of the above arguments, nor both together, can be considered as establishing authorship by E as against any considerable evidence for J. Let us see what there is to be urged on this side. Be it first observed that whether 14b-22 be J's or E's, in neither case does this passage form the parallel to vs. 4-9; for XXXIII. 8, which certainly refers to and must be connected with, XXXII. 14b-22, requires us to assume that this "company" which Esau "met" was not a first embassy, but a second one. Otherwise we must suppose that Esau was already *en route* without having received any notice of Jacob's arrival. Still more plainly it appears from ver. 18 that Jacob knows Esau to be *en route*, for the servants are given instructions for "when Esau meeteth thee." We must understand this to be a reference to ver. 7 or else supply the equivalent. Again XXXIII. 10 and 11 are certainly doublets, from which it appears that both J and E related the sending the one a **מנחה** the other a **ברכה** to Esau. If then we separate XXXII. 14b sqq. from vs. 4-9 we find ourselves at best obliged to supply a first half of the

story to E and a second half to J. Dillmann points indeed to שרה אדם in ver. 4 as a relic of an E version of vs. 4-9, but as we are by no means obliged to suppose that E had any narrative of this first embassy these two words, which are readily explicable as a mere gloss to ארץ שעיר, or which might have come from quite a different connection, form a very inadequate foundation for any positive assumption. It clearly appears that there can be no argument here from duplication, for if 14b sqq. did not originally follow upon vs. 4-9 we are obliged to suppose that something of equivalent meaning did. So far then as appears from the story in ch. xxxii. it might equally well be J's or E's version of the sending of a present to Esau which is preserved to us in xxxii. 14b sqq.

But let us turn to xxxiii. 8-10. Here we have most undeniably a play upon the name Peniel, just as in xxxii. 4-9 upon Mahanaim. To the author's mind the traditional interpretation of the clause, "as one seeth the face of God," i. e., *tam benignam*, an interpretation which even Dillmann adopts, is an absurdity. The point of the comparison to which all of xxxii. 14b-22 and xxxiii. 8 sq. has been leading up is that as the worshipper "before God" presents his מנחה and is accepted (Gen. iv. 2-7) so Jacob seeks to "appease" Esau "with the מנחה which goeth before him; afterwards he will see his face and peradventure will be accepted" (xxxii. 21). Hence he can say when the result has followed his expectation. "If now I have found grace in thy sight then receive my מנחה at my hand; forasmuch as I have seen thy face as one seeth the face of God (cf. Ex. xxxiv. 20b) and thou wast pleased with me." The connection of xxxiii. 8-10 with the whole passage descriptive of the מנחה and above all with xxxii. 21 is absolutely undeniable. Dillmann even, who assigns xxxii. 14b sq. to E, attempts to separate ver. 21, explaining it as inserted by R from J, but the verse cannot be disconnected from the context. Throughout xxxii. 8 sq., 14-22; xxxiii. 1-3, 6-10 there is the same underlying idea, the shrewd disposition of Jacob's forces in view of the 400 men.

On the other hand, much as it may interfere with the smoothness of analysis, the linguistic and stylistic marks of xxxiii. 8-10 are too strong to be ignored. Dillmann is certainly right in insisting that none but J could have written twice here מציא חן and once כי על כן, and we might now add that it is J who speaks of the divisions of Jacob's retinue as מחנות, xxxii. 4-9, 22; xxxiii. 8, and J who speaks of the present as a מנחה (cf. ver. 11, ברכה). Moreover ver. 11, unless we abstract from it the middle clause without reason, must certainly be E's (cf. ver. 5 and אלהים), and this compels us to assign its manifest doublet, ver. 10, to J. I see no escape from the conclusion that xxxii. 14b-22; xxxiii. 8-10 are J's as well as xxxii. 4-9.

Turning now again to xxxii. 14b sqq. and critically examining the language we find indeed nothing decisive either way, yet all the peculiarities which do appear favor the authorship of J. מנחה, vs. 14b and 20, must be contrasted

with **ברכה**, xxxiii. 11. **תישים**, ver. 15, is found only in J, Gen. xxx. 35, and **רחלים** in the same verse only in J, Gen. xxxi. 38. The words may be considered characteristic although here unavoidable terms, in the sense that J displays a greater interest than E in the shepherd's art and shepherd scenes, and greater familiarity with shepherds' terms. **צדר**, vs. 17 and 20 (four times), is found only in J, Gen. xxix. 2 *bis*, 3, 8; xxx. 40; xxxv. 21 (E has **צאן**). **אולי**, ver. 21 (cf. Gen. xviii. 24, 28; xxiv. 5, 39; xxvii. 12; xliii. 12); **נשא פנים**, ver. 21 (cf. Gen. xix. 21 (iv. 7?)); **גם הוא**, ver. 19 (cf. Gen. iii. 6; iv. 22, 26; x. 21, etc.); **מחנה**, ver. 22 (cf. ver. 8 sq.; xxxiii. 8); are also worthy of note.

From the above analysis it appears that JE presented in his narrative of the meeting and reconciliation of Jacob and Esau only the merest traces and fragments of E, and this no doubt corresponds to the original proportions of E's account relatively to J's. We have no right to assume that E presented a duplicate of everything in J, but must supply the gaps as briefly as is consistent with subsequent references in E's narrative. Acting on this principle we gather from xxxiii. 11 that Jacob had sent a gift (**ברכה**) to Esau, "to the field of Edom," accompanied perhaps with a message like Gen. L. 17, and that Esau had therefore come to meet him. Further assumptions are gratuitous.

In ver. 23 sq. we have two contradictory statements, one that Jacob "passed over the ford of Jabbok," and one that he remained behind, but sent over his retinue. The latter stands connected with the story of the nightly wrestling. Ver. 23, on account of **שפחות** and because J alone (ver. 7 sq.) furnishes a motive for a crossing at night, must be assigned, at least in part, to J, and Dillmann reasons that because the clause, "and passed over the ford of Jabbok," stands connected with this verse and not with ver. 24a it must be J who brings Jacob to the southern bank at this point and consequently leaves no room for the story of the wrestling, for this is certainly enacted on the *northern* shore (cf. ver. 24 sq.). But this reasoning is not conclusive; for the datum, "and he passed over the ford of Jabbok," is all that is introduced into the *Hauptbericht* from the parallel source, **ויקחם** being a mere resumption by JE² of the thread of ver. 23. This datum had to be inserted here and could not be inserted in ver. 24 since Jacob could not then have been "left alone" (ver. 25). In other words, if JE² had before him the parallels,

J.

And he took his two wives, etc., and sent them over the stream.

E.

[And he took his household (?)] and [he] passed over the ford of Jabbok.

he was obliged, in order to connect with ver. 25, to put first the item, "and passed over the ford of Jabbok," and afterward the item, "and sent them over the stream," whether they stood as above in the originals or *vice versa*.

If now "Jordan" in ver. 11 be original with J, it appears highly improbable that the name Jabbok should have occurred in the same document immediately

after. The present writer, however, rejecting ver. 11, cannot of course lay stress upon this point. Whether J had originally the clause, "and passed over the ford of Jabbok," or "and sent them over," etc., must depend upon whether ver. 25 is assigned to E or J.

It may seem as if E's authorship of vs. 25-32 was conclusively established by the assignment of xxxiii. 8-10 to J, for the author is not of those who believe that the two aetiologies of Peniel in xxxii. 31 and xxxiii. 10 can both be assigned to the same document. I am indebted to Prof. G. F. Moore, of Andover, for the suggestion that ver. 31 is perhaps separable from its present context. Here in fact is to be found in my opinion the solution of the many difficulties with which the analysis of chs. xxxii. sq. is surrounded.

Nearly all critics (Dillmann excepted) feel compelled to assign vs. 25 sq. to J for reasons doubtless familiar to the reader. Of these, however, the most important is the fact that it is J, not E, who from this point on (changes of R in view of xxxv. 9 sq. excepted) adopts the name Israel.

Apparently ver. 31 stands very closely related to the context, although it might be questioned whether "I have *seen* God" was a suitable expression to describe the encounter just related. Certainly the stylistic form of the verse is E's (cf. for this elliptical form xli. 51 sq.; Ex. xviii. 4; cf. also ver. 3 and contrast xxxiii. 17), though פנים אל פנים (Ex. xxxiii. 7) cannot in the author's view be cited in favor of E. But the fatal objection to regarding the verse as standing in its original context here is that the scene of the encounter is certainly Mahanaim on the northern bank of the Jabbok, and not Peniel on the southern. Cf. xxxii. 23 sq.; xxxiii. 10. The encounter of vs. 25-30 then is not so much a parallel, as suggested by Wellhausen, to the meeting with Esau, but to the meeting with the angels of God at Mahanaim, vs. 1-3. It is not Peniel at all that the author has in mind originally, but the word-play is upon *Jabbok* and *Israel*. The scene of vs. 25-30 is Mahanaim. In E's narrative of Peniel the meeting was doubtless some appearance of God to Jacob, assuring him of a peaceful reception by Esau (cf. xxxi. 24), from which all that now survives is ver. 31. The original context was perhaps quite similar to the present, though scarcely so anthropomorphic, but the scene of ver. 31 can only have been Peniel on the southern bank. Whether פניאל of ver. 32 in contrast with פניאל of ver. 31 can be taken as marking an original distinction of authorship is doubtful, but certainly there can be no good ground for attributing ver. 33 to R merely because it displays an unmistakable resemblance to J. The language and style of all the passage 25-33 *except* ver. 31 are also that of J. שחר, vs. 25 and 27, איש of the superhuman being, ver. 25, על-כן, ver. 33, are characteristic; the unwillingness of the elohim-being to be seen by day light (cf. ii. 21; xix. 15) and the resemblance of the story in its anthropomorphic conceptions to Ex. iv. 24-26 also speak for this author.

In ch. XXXIII. vs. 1-3,4a are universally recognized as J's on account of the 400 men (xxxii. 7) and **שְׁפָחוֹת**. Vs. 4b,5 and 11 are with equal unanimity and for obvious reasons assigned to E, whose narrative accordingly must have been quite brief.

After the theophany at Peniel Jacob meets Esau, "who fell on his neck and kissed him." Esau inquires concerning the women and children (and the present?) and is prevailed upon by Jacob to accept his gift.

Verses 18-20 are now recognized as E's with the exception of **בָּכָאוּ מִפָּרָן** אֲרָם = R and with the addition of **מִצְבֵּה וִיבֵן** in ver. 20. The conjecture of Wellhausen (*Comp.*, p. 316) of **שָׁלֵם** for **שָׁכֵם** in v. 18 is attractive, but cf. xxviii. 21, of which the narrative just ended of Jacob's meeting with Esau was the fulfillment.

With regard to ch. xxxiv., Cornill (*Zeitschr. f. Alt. Wiss.* xi. 1) seems to have uttered the last word of analytical criticism; but his argument for connecting xxxv. 14 with ver. 8 is not convincing. If the verse was obnoxious to R we can understand his omitting it but not his appending it to P's Bethel story. In fact it is hard to find a reason for its introduction into a Bethel story unless it originally referred to the *maçgebah* at Bethel. The clause "In the place where he spake with him" is to be eliminated from ver. 13 (cf. xvii. 22) as dittographic, but not from this verse, since here it is required to locate the *maçgebah*. The *maçgebah* then memorialized not a grave (ver. 8) but a theophany. **מִצְבֵּה אֵבֶן** is remarkable, but cannot possibly be assigned to R who makes it his business rather to obliterate than to define the *maçgeboth*. (Cf. xxxiii. 20). But why should it be deemed inappropriate in J? This author alludes indeed but rarely to *maçgeboth*; still there is reason to think his narrative does contain allusions to them (cf. xxxi. 25,49 E, Josh. iv. 3,8); J hence might naturally introduce such an explanatory clause. But in E it is scarcely conceivable. I incline to think rather with Kuenen that we have here the relic of J's account of the theophany at Bethel, upon which Hos. xii. 5 and the narrative of P, xxxv. 9sq. are based, and from which the J elements of xxvii. 11sq. were taken. The narrative then stood originally at this place and comprised xxviii. 13sq.,16, then xxxv. 14; xxviii. 19.

The JE verses which follow, viz., 16-18, I judge to be from the same source and connection. "And they journeyed from Bethel" does not stand very well so directly after the command in ver. 1 (E) "Go up to Bethel and dwell (**יֵשֶׁב**) there." Ver. 17 seems to refer quite pointedly to xxx. 24 (J). We know from xxxiii. 2 and other passages that J must have related the birth of Benjamin after Jacob's return. We do not know this of E, but on the contrary P, vs. 25sq., describes it as taking place in Paddan-Aram. If P had any authority for this statement it can only have been E. This would, of course, exclude vs. 16-18

from this author. Vs. 19sq. on the contrary, are certainly E's (cf. "Jacob" with "Israel," v. 21, and the **מצבה**) but these verses may at least equally well be regarded as parallel to 16-19 (cf. **ומתה** ver. 9) Vs. 21sq. are of course to be assigned to J with all critics. We may then perhaps assume that J alone brought Israel on his journey toward the south, E regarding Bethel as his dwelling-place (cf. "Dothan" xxxvii. 17), J locating it at Hebron (xxxvii. 14).

In ch. xxxvii. a proper division of the material avoids all difficulty in the analysis. Vs. 12, 13a must be J's on account of "Israel;" 13b from **ויאמר לו הנני** and 14a should be assigned to E on account of the expression just quoted (cf. xxi. 1, 7, 11, etc.); 14b then joins without break upon 13a and ver. 18 follows with only the subject "his brethren" to be supplied in place of "they." Vs. 15-17 on the other hand follow just as naturally upon 14a, though perhaps we should supply **וישלחוהו** or the equivalent. The verses explain how Joseph comes to be so far from home as to be beyond help even when Reuben desires to restore him to his father. He was not originally expected to go far from home (Bethel?) but not finding his brethren in the vicinity he is directed to the comparatively distant Dothan. In J he is expected originally to go to a much greater distance.

The first clause of ver. 25 is essential to the story of E, for it explains how Joseph could be "stolen away" (xl. 15) by the Midianites without the knowledge of Reuben (ver. 29) or the brethren. While they are occupied with their noonday meal the Midianite merchantmen pass by unobserved, and hearing Joseph's cries take him off to Egypt.

There is no reason to suppose that the "pit" appeared at all in J's version. Judah interferes (ver. 21) with the plot of the brethren against Joseph, "delivers him out of their hand" protesting against their cruelty. While thus engaged in dispute they see a passing company of Ishmaelites and compromise by selling him into slavery. The explanatory clause in ver. 23 **את-כתנת הפסים אשר עליו** may be redactional or a fragment of J; but in neither case need the perfect continuity of E in vs. 10sq., 22-25a, 28a (to **הכור**), be interrupted. The presence of **ויעלו** in ver. 28 alongside of **וימשכו** is not a sufficient reason for assuming a parallel in J.

In ver. 32sq. **וישלחו את-כתנת הפסים** and **טרף טרף יסף** are from J, the latter being a duplicate of the first part of the verse; this can only be E's, on account of ver. 20, while **טרף ווג'** must be J's on account of xliv. 28. With the exception of **וימכרו את-יוסף לישמעלים בעשרים כסף** in ver. 28, of these two clauses in 32sq. and of ver. 34, vs. 28-36 are exclusively from E.

Few chapters afford so perfect an example as this of an analysis of JE to be carried through on really conclusive evidence. It is a pity to introduce confusion by a misplaced clause or two.

Gen. xli. 30-xlii. 7 affords a very difficult problem to the analysis. There does not indeed seem to be adequate reason for dividing the two dreams of Pharaoh, of the cattle and the ears of corn, to J and E respectively. E has in chs. xxxvii. and xl. in each case a pair of dreams, and unless we are prepared to discard as redactional vs. 25sq. and 32 we must admit that this was here also the case. The middle clause of ver. 14, which presupposes J's form of the narrative (ch. xxxix.), is, of course from J; and it is possible that here and there a word may have been taken by JE² from the parallel narrative which J doubtless afforded. Otherwise in vs. 1-30 I see no reason to suspect the presence of J. Ver. 31, however, is almost certainly a doublet of ver. 30, and כָּבֵד is characteristic of J (cf. xii. 10; xliii. 1; xlvii. 4, 13). Vs. 32sq. again are certainly from E (cf. xxii. 8), and the latter verse carries with it ver. 39 (cf. נִבְן חֻקִּים ver. 33 and 39).

In 34sq. we begin to meet real perplexities. The first clause of v. 34 has no relation to the rest of the verse, and the three consecutive יָמָאֵל in vs. 39, 41, 44 can scarcely be original. The best clew for analysis which I have been able to find is xlvii. 13sq. (certainly J's) where a sentiment in decided contrast to the humane feeling of v. 36 comes into very plain view. To the author of xlvii. 13sq. the famine of the unfortunate peasants is purely an opportunity for the aggrandizement of Joseph and Pharaoh at their expense. His interest centers not at all in the "great deliverance" by which "much people are saved alive," xlv. 5b, 7; L. 20 (E), but in the shrewd corner in wheat effected by Joseph and Pharaoh, where Pharaoh furnishes the capital and Joseph the foresight. Through this combination a decidedly Jewish bargain is driven with the starving people. Vs. 35a, 36, according to this view, would belong to E; and ver. 35bc which is the statement of a plan for getting the crops under Pharaoh's control, and for keeping it "in the cities" whither in fact we find Joseph removing the people in xlvii. 21 when the famine comes on, must be J's. It seems in fact to be J who is impressed with the phenomenon of the congestion of the population of Egypt in the cities and the despotic landlord system. Again the tax of the fifth part in ver. 34 is conceived as a special rate enacted temporarily in years of extraordinary yield, to meet an imminent public danger. But in xlvii. 24 the "fifth" is a permanent tax, imposed in perpetuity after the years of plenty and famine are over, and not apparently regarded by the people as excessive (xlvii. 25). The difference is no doubt reconcilable, but makes the assignment of ver. 34 (except first clause) to E, more probable. After the יָעַשׂ פִּרְעֹה (=J) we should probably supply the word now apparently corrupted in v. 56, which LXX. render *σιτοβολῶνες* and the revisers "storehouses." In place of ver. 36 should be perhaps some outline of the plan followed in xlvii. 13sq.

Ver. 37 might belong to either document, but ver. 38 is to be assigned to E on account of the prophetic character attributed to Joseph and the connection with

ver. 33, and this verse may carry the preceding with it. Vs. 39sq. are from the same writer (cf. v. 33 and observe **אחרי** instead of **כי-על-כן**), **רק**, ver. 40, although more frequent in J occurring also in E, Gen. xx. 11. Vs. 41-44 are manifestly parallel to 38-40, still we have twice consecutively **אל יסך**, **וַיֹּאמֶר פ' אל יסך**, but there is not the same objection to assigning both of these to the same document as in the case of vs. 38 and 41, since here Pharaoh's address is interrupted by the relation of a number of actions. **נִתְּתִי אֶתְךָ** might be cited in favor of identity of vs. 41 and 43 with ver. 33, but the expression is the most natural one for J to adopt as well as E, for the expression of his thought; and the resemblance of this expression is more than outweighed by the word connected with it, **רֹאֵה**, which occurs nowhere in E, but in J repeatedly; cf. Gen. xxvii. 27; xxxi. 50; Ex. xxxiii. 13. Again it is in J that Joseph is made to "run" from the dungeon into Pharaoh's presence and the transformation of his dress and personal appearance has therefore more significance in this narrative. Finally it is J, never E, who take a special interest in priests and priestly connections for his characters. (Cf. ver. 45 [J]; xlvii. 22,26; Ex. ii. 16sq.; xix. 22,24.) The garment of byssus with which Joseph is clothed is a *priestly* garment.

Ver. 44 follows better, as has been shown, after 43 than after 39sq. and its hyperbolic figure is quite characteristic of J (cf. Ex. x. 26; xi. 7). Ver. 45 must be J's as the mention of an alliance of this kind is highly improbable in P and the variants Potiphar (E, xxxvii. 36) and Potipherah can scarcely have stood for different persons in the same writing. Ver. 45c seems to connect itself with the narrative of P which here (in 46a) comes in with its usual data of age. Ver. 45c is in any case parallel to 46b which has the phraseology of J. Ver. 46b in turn connects immediately with ver. 48, where the plan of collecting food "in the cities" is followed, which appears also in v. 35 and xlvii. 21 (J). Ver. 47 thus falls into place in the narrative of E after ver. 40, and it does not appear that anything is missing. Ver. 49 affords difficulty as **הָרָלָה** speaks strongly for J; but the verse itself seems to be a doublet of 48 and the expression "as the sand on the seashore" is more characteristic of E. (Cf. I Kgs. iv. 20,29 E, with Gen. xiii. 16; xxviii. 14, J). On the whole the verse (or a part?) may better be assigned to E; likewise 50a, 51-53 on account of **אלהים**. Ver. 54a stands connected with 55,56sq. where the thought stands in strange contrast with 54b, this latter regarding the plenty of the people as Joseph's triumph, and vs. 54a,55,56b, making their necessity his opportunity. In the portions omitted in the extrication of this J element, viz., vs. 53,54b,56a,57 = E, the contrast is between all other countries and Egypt. In J the contrast is between the helpless distress of the starving people and Joseph's overflowing granaries. We are not informed of the condition of other countries until xlii. 5; xlvii. 13-15, where we learn—quite unnecessarily if xlii. 54b,56a,57 have already stated the case—that the famine extended to Canaan as well as Egypt.

In xli. 30-57 we have therefore a tolerably complete narrative in each of the prophetic documents. In xlii. 1-7 we have again only fragments of J, apparently because of the close similarity of the two sources at this point. The superfluous **וַיֹּאמֶר** of ver. 2; ver. 4b (cf. ver. 38 and xliv. 29); ver. 5 (cf. "Israel" with "Jacob" in vs. 1-4); the middle clause of ver. 6 (Joseph as corn-dealer, cf. xli. 56, rather than governor of the land), and ver. 7 (except the clause "and spake roughly to them," displaced from ver. 9; cf. ver. 30 sq., E, with xliii. 7; xliv. 18 sqq., J) are the only traces of J suggested; but these suffice to give the substance of the subordinate source. The writer acknowledges a disposition to overlook the **וַיֹּאמֶר** of ver. 2 as insignificant, and to consider 4b an explanatory gloss derived from ver. 38, ver. 5 being the real beginning of J's narrative. The absence of Benjamin requires no special explanation after xxxv. 16 sqq. (cf. xliv. 20) and ver. 5b gives the occasion of the brother's visit in a way that seems to exclude any other, 5a joining directly upon xli. 56. Ver. 11a may also be a trace of the conversation referred to by xliii. 3 sqq. and xliv. 18 sqq., as it seems to be a doublet (cf. ver. 13) and to be excluded by the report of ver. 31 sq. The contrast in conception of J and E in this passage is accordingly: In J, the famine invading Canaan the sons of Israel come among the rest of Joseph's customers. He knows them, but contents himself with friendly inquiries; finally, however, insisting as a condition of further purchases that they shall bring Benjamin. In E, all countries except Egypt being famine-stricken, Jacob despatches the ten brethren to Egypt to "the governor of the land," who is Joseph, to obtain permission "to traffic in the land" (ver. 34). In the presence of the governor they prostrate themselves, which recalls to Joseph his dreams (xxxvii. 6-10); he accuses them and treats them as spies, but finally releases all but Simeon, who remains a hostage for the bringing of Benjamin.

The passage xlvii. 13-26 is generally ascribed to J, "with traces of E." I have been unable to discover any trace of E, but on the contrary am at a loss to perceive any reason for doubting the unity of the section. In vs. 13-15 the seat of the famine is "Egypt and Canaan" as in J in xli. sq. and ver. 4, not "all the earth" as in E, xli. 54b, 56a, 57. Joseph is the dealer in grain personally, as in xlii. 6. The people of Egypt are starving, contrary to E's representation, xlv. 18 sqq. The priests are favored, and in ver. 26 an antiquarian interest appears as the occasion for the narrative. Cf. ii. 24; xxxii. 33.

The language bears the plainest marks of J, **כָּבֵד**, ver. 13; **הַנִּמְצָא**, 14; **תָּם**, 15, 18, *horses*, 17; **קֶעָה**, 21; and **יָדוּת**, ver. 24, are considered by Dillmann characteristic. **מִקְנֵה הַצֹּאן וּמִקְנֵה הַבָּקָר**, ver. 17, is found only in J, Gen. xxvi. 14. **נָהַל** *ibid.* only in Gen. xxxiii. 14. Ver. 21b recalls xix. 4.

גבול מצרים is characteristic of J (cf. Ex. vii. 27; x. 14,19). רק, vs. 22,26, is much more frequent in J than in E. מצא חן בעיני, ver. 25, occurs in J *passim*, in E nowhere. The mere occurrence of חזק, ver. 20, after כבר, ver. 13, is entirely without weight against such an array.

In other chapters of Gen. xxxii.-L. the analysis of the present writer does not substantially differ from that of Kautzsch and Socin.

ANNEXION IN ASSYRIAN.

BY CHARLES F. KENT, PH. D.,

Berlin, Germany.

In Assyrian, as in every newly discovered literature, the time and attention of scholars has hitherto been chiefly devoted to an etymological study of the language. This has borne its fruits and now we are able to read the inscriptions with comparative ease and certainty. The recent valuable publications of texts have made the more important annals accessible to all. However, before the literature can be rightly estimated as such, the grammar of the language must be scientifically studied. Thus far no conclusive or exhaustive work has been done along this line. Prof. Delitzsch, in his recent *Assyrian Grammar*, claims only to present the latest results of research. With many of his conjectural conclusions, in view of the facts of the language, it will be found necessary radically to disagree.

Under the direction of Prof. William R. Harper and Dr. Robert Francis Harper, an attempt has been made by three or four of the graduate students of Yale to make a thorough study of some of the leading grammatical questions in Assyrian. To avoid the errors incidental to a merely cursory investigation, every case under each form occurring in the leading inscriptions of a certain period has been collected as a basis for inductions.* This makes it possible to treat each point historically and to note its growth, and thus assign each new development to its true position. This knowledge of the order of historical development in turn enables the students to determine the characteristics of each inscription and to ascertain what forms or usages are most prominent in any given period.

The following inductions are based upon a two-fold classification of the examples of annexion (with the first member phonetically written) occurring in the historical inscriptions found in Volumes I. and II. of Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*. Though it has been found necessary constantly to correct the transliteration from the original cuneiform, yet this has proved the most convenient basis of work and reference. The first classification is based upon the form assumed by the first and second members of the annexion, and it includes the cases of ša employed to indicate the construct relation; the second upon the syntactical

* Since the beginning of this study, works on Greek grammar, based on the same methods of investigation have appeared indicating that the classicists are beginning to appreciate the need and value of such conclusive work.

force thus expressed. In addition to these, all peculiar forms and cases are collated under a special classification. This work has been supplemented by a discussion of doubtful cases in the class-room.

I. FORMS EMPLOYED TO EXPRESS ANNEXION.—A. THE FIRST MEMBER ENDING IN *i*.

That there was a primitive Semitic noun declension with a nominative in *u*, a genitive in *i*, and an accusative in *a* is now generally admitted. That this is retained in Assyrian, although with an infinite variety of exceptions, appears also to be true.* The Arabic not only retains these case-endings in the absolute, but also regularly with the first member of the construct. Accepting these premises, the early history of the form is clear. It is the remnant of the primitive Semitic genitive ending frequently retained in the construct after the analogy of the Arabic.

The use of the first member in *i*:

1) As to case—historical development—two questions immediately arise. (1) Is the *i* retained with the first member only when it stands in the genitive? (2) If not, are there any indications of such a restricted use in the early Assyrian? The following table based on the total number of cases of the first member in *i* answers these questions:

TABLE I.

	Genitive.	Nomina- tive.	Accusa- tive.	Total Nom. and Acc.	Totals.
First member in Oldest					
Inscriptions.....	8	3	..	3	11
Tiglath-pileser.....	16	1	13	14	30
Ašûrnâsirpal.....	60	12	20	32	92
Shalmaneser IV.....	50	11	16	27	77
Šamši-Rammân.....	14	5	2	7	21
	148			83	
Tiglath-pileser III.....	15	2	8	10	25
Sargon.....	27	10	25	35	62
Sennacherib.....	22	4	23	27	49
Esarhaddon.....	23	1	7	8	31
Ašûrbânipal.....	42	6	18	24	66
	129			104	

* Cf. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gram.*, § 66.

From the above table it is evident (1) that the use of *i* with the first member is by no means confined to the cases in which this stands in the genitive. But (2) there are plain indications of a tendency to employ this form in the earlier inscriptions more commonly when this first member is in the genitive than when in the nominative and accusative. Combining the results in Table I, the total number of cases in which *i* is employed in the genitive in the inscriptions of the old Assyrian kingdom is 148; in other cases (nominative and accusative), 83. In the new Assyrian kingdom the total of the genitives is 129; other cases, 104. Comparing these totals, we see that in the first kingdom the ratio is about seven to four, while in the latter it is about six to five. If only a few inscriptions were thus compared the value of the results might be questioned; but being based on such a large number of cases (464) they are thus raised above the caprice of one author or subject, and any induction based upon them must be considered reasonably reliable. Although it may seem at first glance that the difference in the ratio is small, still when the large number of cases, in which the form absolutely demands the first member with final *i*, has been studied the variation will appear the more remarkable.

Referring again to the table, we observe that in the oldest inscriptions only three out of the eleven examples in *i* are not in the genitive. In TP. I. there is a marked increase due in part to the recurrence in the accusative of *libbi* (which necessarily takes *i*) as the first member. In Ašurn., Shalm. II. and Šamši-Rammān, *i* with the genitive is nearly twice as common as with all other cases.

From the above facts the inferences can fairly be drawn (1) that this *i* is a remnant of the primitive genitive case-ending; (2) that in the earlier inscriptions a memory of this primitive use remains; but (3) that at an early period this lost, to a large extent, its original force as the sign of the genitive; and hence is the vowel which appears most commonly as the final vowel of the first member, when one is necessarily required. By this early transference to other cases, *i* appears to have secured the priority of possession so that, next to those in which the final vowel of the first member is elided, these cases are most frequent in the inscriptions. (4) That in the later inscriptions *i* is employed quite irrespective of the case of the first member. The ratio which exists between the examples of *i* with a first member in the genitive or in the nominative or accusative, I should say from general observation, represents the usual ratio between the frequency of occurrence of these cases in the absolute; and hence we are not justified in saying that *i* is still employed oftener in the genitive because of the influence of that case.

2) Used interchangeably with other parallel forms.

The interchangeable use of exactly parallel forms, as far as noun-root and meaning is concerned, throws much light upon the freedom in the choice of the ending of the first member.

(a) Variants. Ašurn. II. 118 *ana tu-ru gimilli* or *ana tu-ri gi milli*; Senn. II. A, *ina kirbi maḥâzi*. B, *ina kirib maḥâzi*.

(b) Parallel phrases. Ašurn. II. 23, *ina limi Ašûrdin*; Shalm. I. 45, *ina limu Dâṇ-Ašûr*; Shalm. I. 27, *ša šulmi šamši*; TP. VI. 44, *ša šalamu šamši*; Shalm. Mon. I. 13, *bêlûti napḥar mâtâti*; Sarg. 2. 45, *bêlût Aššûr*; Šam. Ram III. 8, *tibi taḥâziia*; TP. III. 18, *tib taḥâziia*; Sarg. 3, 135, *ma-a-ti (amelu) Luli*; Sarg. 2, 39, *ma-at Aššûr*.

Three words, used in the first member, are found with both *i* and *u* retained; twenty with *i* or the final vowel elided. Further, two forms of the same word are found in the same inscription. From these facts it is to be inferred (1) that, while in the great majority of words the construct singular form has become fixed, yet in these few cases there is a wavering between the form with the final vowel elided and that with *i* or *u* retained; (2) that all forms conveyed the same shade of meaning and were considered equally correct; (3) that, therefore, in the case of these twenty-three words the form appearing depended upon the style or choice of the different scribes.

3) First member in *i*: when employed. From the preceding discussion it has appeared that there are certain cases in which the use of *i* depends upon the choice of the author. Is this the only reason or are there regular laws governing its use?

From a study of the cases found in the inscriptions, it appears that *i* is commonly found as the final vowel of the first member:

(a) When the first member is derived from a root whose third radical is weak, nominative in *û*. Ašurn. I. 31, *ina pi-i ilâni*; Shalm. II. *naši ḥatti*; Sarg. 2, 6, *li' kâl malki*; Esarh. A. III. 49, *na-gi-i (mâtu) Bâzi*; Ašurb. VIII. 26, *ina ma-li-i libbâti*. This is the only reason suggested by Prof. Delitzsch in his *Assyrian Grammar** for the appearance of *i*. As a matter of fact this explains but a small proportion of the total number of cases. Tig.-Pil. VII. 50, *na-aš ḥatti* might be cited as an exception to the rule, but, with a few exceptions, it is practically universal.

(b) When a final vowel is necessarily retained, or otherwise two consonants would stand at the end of a word (which is contrary to Assyrian usage).

(1) Feminine and abstract nouns formed by the addition of the affix *tu* directly to the stem.† Tig.-Pil. I. 10, *ina tukulti Ašûr*; IV. 89, *šakalti ummânâtîšu*; Sarg. 3, 95, *šalip̄ti bêlusu*; Senn. IV. 21, *si-it-ti nišê*; Esarh. A. VI. 3, *siḫirti êkalli*.

(2) Final radical reduplicated.

* §72.

† Cf. Müller, *Grammatische Bemerkungen zu den Annalen Assurnasirpal*, ZA. I. 4, 358.

Tig.-Pil. IV. 86, *našaddi Ašûr*; VI. 93, *libbi ilâtišunu*; Ašurn. I. 26, *melamme bêlâtišu*; Šam. Ram. I. 8, *allalli ilâni*; Sarg. 3, 118, *turri gimillišu*.

This cause explains nearly half (186 out of a total of 364) of the cases in *i*.

The appearance of *i* instead of *u* or *a* in these instances in which a vowel is required must be regarded as one of the facts of the language, which in turn may be due to the early transference of *i* as the final vowel of the first member in other cases than the genitive, or to the attraction of a preceding or following *i*. It must be placed side by side with the preference shown for the genitive ending outside of the construct.

(c) Final *i* attracted by a preceding *i* and retained for the sake of euphony. Tig.-Pil. VI. 41, *šidi ħuršâni*; Šam. Ram. III. 8, *tibi taĥâziia*; Sarg. 2, 68, *zikri abulli*; Senn. II. 11, *gimri mâtišu*; Ašurb. I. 31, *nirmiki Nabû*; I. 84, *namriri Ašûr u Ištâr*.

Unfortunately the subject of euphony in Assyrian has not received any careful or scientific study. But judging from the results which have already been obtained from this source in explaining etymological changes, it is reasonable to predict that it will prove a valuable field of research. In Hebrew this principle exercises an important influence, especially in determining verbal forms. The presence of a large number of onomatopoeic words in the Semitic languages is an index pointing in the same direction. In view of these and other considerations, we have reasonable cause to anticipate the influence of euphonic principles in regulating the ending of the first member.

From the phonetic law discovered by Professor Haupt,* it appears, that *d* or *a* is changed to *e* or *i* after a preceding *i* or *e* or with a following *i*. With this must be compared the insertion of a similar vowel when segholate nouns stand in the first member of an annexion. From *kalbu*, *kalab*; from *kirbu*, *kirib*; from *šulmu*, *šulum*. The underlying principle in each case seems to be that of similarity, i. e., to have a vowel of a word preceded or followed by a similar vowel wherever this is possible. It is reasonably certain that this principle explains the presence of *i* in the cases under consideration. Add the illustrations of this same case under *u* and *a* which will be studied later and the evidence is conclusive.

(d) When the first number is in the genitive. Šam. Ram. I. 5, *bâni bit Ašûr*; Tig.-Pil. V. 48, *ina tarši (m) Suĥi*; Ašurn. Mon. 83, *ina šarrûti pânišu*; Shalm. 27, *ša šulmi Šamši*.

That the *i* of the first number still bears some relation to its primitive use as the sign of the genitive, at least in the inscriptions of the old Assyrian kingdom, has already been shown. And even if the *i* of the genitive has largely lost its

* Presented by Prof. Delitzsch in his *Assyrian Grammar*, §32-34.

significance in annexion, the fact that to a certain extent it still retains its original force in other constructions cannot fail sometimes to make its influence felt in determining the ending of the first member. Therefore, it is not surprising to find a few cases in which the presence of *i* is explicable only for the reason that the first member is in the genitive. The retention of *i* can often be explained by more than one cause. For example Tig.-Pil. I. 13, *rišti* (gen.) *ilâni*. The *i* may be retained in accordance with the euphonic principle of similarity, because it is added to the nominal stem or because the first member is in the genitive. It is not improbable that the union of two or more causes led to the use of *i*.

Unexplained cases.

Ašurn. I. 80, *pulḥi melamme*; Shalm. 71, *tanâti Ašûr*; Shalm. Mon. II. 68 *nabli mulmuli*; Ašurb. IV. 35, *ḡurdi ilâni*.

(1) *Pulḥi melamme*. Why does this frequently recurring phrase always employ *pulḥi* instead of the corresponding *puluḥ*? It might be said that the phrase has become petrified. This is very probably the case; but, I think, that we can go back of this and find the cause in the principle of euphony. The phrase has become stereotyped, expressing an idea of terror and greatness in which the sound plays a very important part. There is a rhythmic sound in this form which is absent in *puluḥ melamme*. The following *i*'s or *e*'s not improbably exert an influence in retaining the *i* of the first number. (2) So also the principle of rhythm may explain the phrase *nabli mulmuli* (both words ending in *li*). (3) *Tanâti Ašûr* is doubtless for the regular form *tanatti*, which is classified under (b) (1). (4) *Ḡurdi ilâni* has a parallel form *ḡarrad*.

Thus we see that of the 464 cases of the first member retaining *i* only two or three examples cannot be explained by these four simple laws. Of these (a) and (b) are of all but universal application, while (c) and (d) depend in their use to a certain extent upon the particular phrase and the option or style of the author. Hence it may be said that in general the Assyrian exhibits a remarkable regularity in its use of this form of annexion.

In Hebrew, with the exception of the annexion contained in a few proper names which thus retain in petrified form the primitive usage, the cases, in which *i* is still retained with the first member in annexion, are all explained by (a) or (b) i. e. feminine nouns formed by the affixed ך or nouns whose third radical is weak.

*נִגְבְּתִי לִילָה †מְלֹאֲתִי מִשֶּׁפֶט ‡בְּנֵי אֶתְנָן

This is what would naturally be anticipated, for these laws are the most arbitrary. Thus the intermediate position which the Assyrian occupies between the Arabic and the Hebrew is indicated and the steps of development by which the latter has advanced made evident.

B. The first member in the singular ending in *u*.

* Gen. 31:39.

† Isa. 1:21.

‡ Gen. 49:11.

Are these apparent cases of the first member ending in *u* properly constructs? Or are they only "cases of the careless omission of *ša*?" If so, we would expect to find *ša* generally inserted when the same phrases occur elsewhere. An actual comparison of all the cases in *u* and those with *ša* inserted demonstrates that in only one case out of the 113 is a parallel expression found with *ša* inserted; Ašurb. V. 115, *ina nagê ša Hunnir*, where as will be shown later, the form with *ša* is the more proper. Hence, plainly, the cases cannot be explained on the ground that *ša* is omitted, for under the same conditions all authors fail to insert it.

Is this, then, a careless writing for the more common forms with the final vowel elided or with *i* retained? Apparently favoring this view might be cited (a) variant readings and (b) parallel expressions in *u* and *i*, previously noted; (c) parallel expressions in *u* and the final vowel elided. Tig. Pil. VI. 44, *šalamu šamši*; Ram. V. 30, *šulum šarrûtišu*; Shalm. I. 27, *šulme šamši*; Ašurn. II. 118, *ana turu gimilli*; Shalm. I. 75, *ana tu-ur gimilli*; Sarg. 3, 188, *aššu turri gimilli*.

From these examples it might be urged that the author of the variant reading, appreciating the error of the form in *u*, corrects this; that the existence of the otherwise parallel expressions in *i*, or with final vowel elided, indicates that the form with *u* is an error of the scribe.

In answer to these claims the following arguments may be presented: (1) The large number of cases in *u* (113). Even though the Assyrian writers were very careless in their use of case-endings—a statement which the study of the cases in *i* did not support—it would be difficult to believe that such a large number of cases were mere errors. Furthermore it is to be noted that the forms with *u* occur in about the same proportion throughout the inscriptions, and hence are not the errors of one or two careless scribes. (2) Connected with this is the fact that certain phrases in *u*, as *ina limu*, *ina šurru*, run through all the inscriptions, thus indicating that there is a uniformity in their use and that it is not due to mere accident. (3) The examples cited to prove that they are exceptions or errors might be used equally as well to show that they are perfectly regular. The variants and parallel expressions indicate that both forms equally obtained; and that either could be employed as best conduced to the euphony or the choice of the author. As has been shown, the cases in *i* present an exact analogy. (4) The number of cases, in which these parallel expressions employ *u*, equals and sometimes exceeds those in which *i* or the form with final vowel elided appear. If the former were errors or exceptions they naturally would be much less common. (5) Finally the forms in *u* are employed in the same constructions with cases of annexion in which the final vowel of the first member is elided. Tig.-Pil. VIII. 39, *li-ta-at kurdiia irnintu tamharija....altur*, *the might of my heroism and the victory of my battle....I inscribed*; Sarg. 3, 112, *lâ*

adir zikri ilâni kâpidu limneti dâbib şalipti, *who did not fear the renown of the gods, who devised evil, who planned destruction.* Esarh. A. VI. 54, naşir kibsi şarrûtija muḥadû kabattija, *protecting the footsteps of my majesty, causing my spirit to rejoice.*

As a result of these considerations, I would question the statement of Prof. Delitzsch,* that the forms in *u* are exceptions to the general rule; and I must rather regard them as regular forms on a par with those in *i*. Like the latter, it is doubtless a remnant of the early Semitic nominal inflection, which still obtains side by side with the more common form of annexion, in which the final vowel of the first member is dropped. Hence its title to the field is good, which it still holds, although greatly encroached upon by the other forms.

2. Use of the first member in *u*. (1) As to case—historical development.

Does the first member take *u*, as in the Arabic, only when, by virtue of its construction, it is in the nominative case? If not, are there any indications of this primitive use? The following table presents the facts.

TABLE II.

First Member in	Nomina- tive.	Genitive.	Accusa- tive.	Total Gen. and Acc.	Total in <i>u</i> .
Tiglath-Pileser I.....	16	3	1	4	20
Ašûrnâşirpal.....	16		3	3	19
Shalmaneser.....	10	1	1	2	12
Şamši-Rammân.....	1				1
	43			9	
Tiglath-Pileser III.....	2	1		1	3
Sargon.....	12	2	3	5	17
Sennacherib.....	7	1	7	8	15
Esarhaddon.....	7		4	4	11
Ašûrbânipal.....	5	3	7	10	15
	33			28	113

Consulting Table II. it appears that in the early inscriptions the cases in which *u* is employed with the first member in the nominative are far in the ascendency. In course of time the lines approach each other, until in Sennacherib, *u* is used more frequently in the genitive and accusative than in the nominative. There is a slight reversal to earlier usage in Esarhaddon, but in Ašurbanipal the former is twice as common as the latter. Combining the results of Table II. it appears that

* Gram., §72, a, note.

in the inscriptions of the old Assyrian kingdom *u* was employed nearly five times as often, where the first member stood in the nominative, as in both the genitive and accusative, while in the new Assyrian kingdom the relative frequency is about the same. The evidence, therefore, is conclusive that in the early inscriptions the primitive case-usage of *u* was, with a certain degree of care, observed, but that in the later inscriptions it follows in the course of development, taken by the ending *i* much earlier, and came, at least, in the last inscription (Ašurbanipal) to be employed quite irrespective of the case of the first member. Such indications of development in turn point back to an original usage resembling that of the Arabic.

2. First member with final *u*—when employed. Classifying the examples it appears that *u* is retained.

(a) When the third radical is weak, nominative in *u*.

Tig.-Pil. I. 6, šaḫu-u namriri; Ašurn. I. 40, na-bu-u šumia; Šam. Ram. I. 27, rê'û ašrâti.

With but one exception (and that in a late inscription), these cases of *u* thus retained are in the nominative. Comparing this with previous results, it appears that sometimes in the nominative and regularly in other cases this *u* is changed to *i*. This rule explains a large proportion of the examples in *u*.

(b) When attracted by a preceding similar vowel, i. e., retained for the sake of euphony.

Tig.-Pil. I. 62, ina šurru šarrûtiia; Ram. N. 2, 7, ša šulmu šamši; Senn. III. 16, mithuşu zu-uḫ šipî; Esarh. A. IV. 25, puluhtu rašûbat Ašûr; Ašurb. I. 21, šarrûtu (m) Aššûr; IV. 68, limuttu pişunu.

This principle explains more than half the cases in *u*. It confirms and, in turn, its validity is established, by the analogy of the examples in which *i* is retained in accord with the same law.

(c) Because the first member stands in the nominative.

Tig.-Pil. II. 38, pulḫu adiru melam Ašûr; IV. 41, šamšu gimir kâl šarrâni.

That the memory of the primitive use of *u* regularly with the nominative still exercised a considerable influence has been shown.

The presence of *u* (as in the case of *i*) may be explained in many instances by more than one of these principles. Very possibly it was their combined influence which finally resulted in the retention of *u* instead of some other more common form.

Of the total 113 cases, only six are not explained by these three simple principles. If the use of *u* with the first member is due merely to carelessness on the part of the scribes, we would surely expect to find many examples in which the retention of *u* was entirely arbitrary, and not explicable by any general principle of the language. This fact therefore confirms the statement that the form with *u*

is a regular means of indicating annexion. In Hebrew almost all traces of the primitive usage, of which the Arabic is the living representative, have disappeared. The few examples which do remain (as *מֵימֵינוּ אֶרֶץ**) are however sufficient plainly to indicate that this language has passed through the same stage of development as the Assyrian. Traces are even more common in the Phœnician proper names of this primitive use of *u* as the ending of the first member in annexion,† *עֲזֻרְבַּעַל*, *חֲדַרְזַמְתַּיִם*, *מַעֲלַתְיֻבַּעַל*.

(e) First member ending in *a*.

The following cases of the first member ending in *a* are found in the inscriptions.

Shalm. 165, Šam. Ram. II. 44, *ištu pana namurrat kakkija*; Tig.-Pil. III. 2, 13, *eli birina* (mat.) *Hilummi*; 2, 83, *ekallât* (pl.) *ḥudâti na-ša-a hegalli kariba šarri*; Sarg. 3, 143, Esarh. A. VI. 15, *kala rik-ki*; IV. 41, *mala libbi*.

It is a striking fact that out of the more than two thousand cases of annexion examined only six possible examples (representing a total of eight cases), take *a* with the first member.

In view of this fact we shall be obliged to modify the statement of Prof. Delitzsch‡ that "it is an extremely common thing to find the first member retaining the case ending . . . *a* without *ša* appearing before the second member," and say that *a* as the final vowel of the first member is almost unknown.

No stronger proof that the Assyrian proceeded along definite lines in the development of the ending of the first member is needed than this practically total absence of examples of *a* retained by the first member. We have already seen how the Assyrian retained the genitive ending *i* very commonly and the nominative in *u* only less frequently; but the accusative ending in *a* appears early to have fallen into disuse. In this the Assyrian stands in direct antithesis with the Ethiopic,|| which latter retains only the *a* as the sign of the construct state. On the other hand, this usage binds the Assyrian by one more link to the Hebrew where all traces of this ending have disappeared except before certain pronominal suffixes.

D. First member retaining mimmatation.

Esarh. A. II. 8, *ina iršitim* (m.) *Ḥubušna*; IV. 12, 23; Ašurb. IV. 85, *napištim* (amelu) *nakrûtiia*.

In the earlier inscriptions these are regular constructs with first member ending in *i*. Cf. Sarg. 348, *napišti mâtišunu*. In the later inscriptions, how-

* Gen. 1:24.

† Ps. 114:8.

‡ Cf. Schröder, § 77. The long *u* in the examples probably comes from the lengthening of an originally short *u*.

§ *Assyr. Gram.*, § 72, note.

|| Cf. Phillippi, *Wesen und Ursprung des Status Constructus*, p. 153, Dillmann, 154, b, a.

ever, certain words, as *iršitim*, *damiḫtim*, *napištim* and *tâmtim*, appear to have retained this form on all occasions. Hence when these words stand as the first member in annexion, the mimmation is still retained.

It is to be noted that these examples with the first member with mimmation do not appear until Esarh. and Ašurb. and hence are characteristic of these late inscriptions.

E. First member retaining the full plural ending. By a line of proof somewhat similar to that followed with the singular ending *u* it might be demonstrated that the full plural ending is sometimes regularly retained. Assuming this let us endeavor to determine the reasons for this retention.

A study of the cases shows that the endings retained are :

(1) Masculine plural ending in *e* (often *i*). Tig.-Pil. III. 83, *ušši bît Anu*; Sarg. 3, 122, *a-di-e ilâni*; 3, 165, *da-ad-me mâtitân*.

These are by far the most common cases in which the plural ending is retained. This retention of *e* appears to be due to the same causes operative in the case of the singular ending *i*. (a) With nouns whose third radical is weak. (b) With nouns which otherwise would end in two consonants. The retention of this ending in an annexion must, therefore, be considered perfectly regular.

(2) Masculine plural in *-âni*, Sarg. 3, 9, *šarrâni limetišu*. These cases are very rare. In nine cases out of ten *ša* is inserted after this ending. No examples occur of the elision of the final vowel of this ending. In view of these facts, these cases must be regarded as exceptions.

(3) Plural in *u*. Tig.-Pil., III. 3, 7, *zu-u-ku šêpâ(?)*

(4) Plural in *-ûti*. Sarg. 2, 75, *ašibûti šame*; Ašurb. VI. 71, *la pâli-ḫûti Ašûr u Ištâr*.

(5) Feminine plural in *âti* (*ati*, *iti*). Shalm. Mon. II. 60, *epšeti irnin-tiia*; Šam. Ram. IV. 29, *šalmati ḫuradišunu*; IV. 25, *ana ummânâti mâtiia*.

The cases under (4) and (5) are rare compared with those with the first vowel elided. Even some of these examples have parallels with the latter form. While there are too many to be classed as errors yet they are the exception rather than the rule. Thus examples are found of all the plural endings retained except the rare *-a* and the doubtful *-ân*; but the ending *ê* is the only one which can be said to be regularly retained in annexion.

F. Final vowel of the first member dropped.

We are now ready to consider the law laid down by Prof. Delitzsch. "When with a noun in the singular, there is joined a substantive in the genitive (the so-called nexus of the construct state), the first member of the nexus drops the mimmation and also in the nominative and accusative the vowel of the case-ending the *i* of the genitive of the first member is retained."* Is this dropping of the

* 872 *Assyr. Gram.*, a, 2, 1).

case-ending confined to the nominative and accusative, and is the *i* of the genitive always retained?

It has been shown that there is a gradual breaking away from the original use of *i* with the first member only when this is in the genitive; so that in the later inscriptions, it is used quite irrespective of the case. Hence since this use of *i* with the first member of the genitive is more common in the earlier inscriptions, the rule laid down by Prof. Delitzsch will hold true here if anywhere. That there may be sufficient data upon which to base a safe inference, I have taken Tig.-Pil., the largest of the earlier inscriptions. Of the one hundred cases in which the first member stands in the genitive singular, eighty-four drop the final vowel of the first member and only sixteen retain it, or less than one-fifth of the whole number. In view of these facts the error of Prof. Delitzsch's statement is apparent.

Although there are indications that in the earlier inscriptions the case still had some influence upon the ending of the first member, yet the instances really bear such a small proportion to the total number of cases of annexion that the general principle may be laid down that the final vowel of the first member is elided irrespective of case. Since the elision of the final vowel does not depend upon the case of the first member, the rule governing this must be sought elsewhere. A study of the cases shows that nouns constituting the first member fall under one of three divisions. (1) Those always eliding the final vowel. (2) Those sometimes retaining and sometimes eliding it. (3) Those which never drop the final vowel. Omitting the different classes of nouns which are included under each division and combining the results, it appears that the elision or retention of the final vowel of the first member depends, not upon its vowel formation, but upon the character of its third radical or the affix, if any, which is employed in its formation.

The final vowel of the first member is regularly elided (1) in the singular.

(a) With masculine nouns whose third radical is strong, but not reduplicated. Tig.-Pil. I. 3, *gimir annunati*; IV. 14, *ziķip patri*; Šam. Ram. IV. 25, *ķitrub ummânâtija*.

(b) With feminine nouns formed by the affix *-ati*. Tig.-Pil. I. 37, *kibrat arba'i*; Shalm. I. 16, *ķiṣṣat niši*; Ašurb. IV. 99, (*ilu*) *šarrat kidmuri*.

(c) With abstract nouns formed by the affix *-ûtu* (*ûti*). Tig.-Pil. I. 21, *šarru-ut mât Bêli*; Ašurb. I. 111, *tibu-ut Tarkû*.

(d) With feminine nouns formed by the affix *-tu*, added to a root third radical weak. Šam. Ram. IV. 2, *ina birit ṣaddi*; Senn. VI. 64, *tarbit birkia*; Tig.-Pil. V. 54, *sitit ummânâtīṣunu*.

(2) In the plural.

(a) With the ending *ûtu* (*ûti*). Tig.-Pil. VI. 85, *nakrût Ašûr*; Senn. VI. 30, *âlikût maḥri*.

(b) With the feminine ending *âti* (often attracted by a preceding *i* to *itu*, *iti*). Tig.-Pil. I. 8, *šalpat âbi*; Tig.-Pil. VII. 51, *epšet kâtišu*; Esarh. A. IV. 55, *šallat nakire*.

Of the above rules, (1), (b), (c) and (d) are practically universal in their application. To (1) (a) there are a few exceptions, especially those words which have parallel forms. Only 18 exceptions to (2) (b) and 8 to (2) (a) are found in the inscriptions. In view of the fact that both of these plural endings are very common, it is plain that the rule is all but universal.

A study of the cases in which the final vowel is dropped in turn confirms the conclusions reached respecting the cases in which the final vowel is retained. Combining these we see that the final vowel of the first member is retained (1) in the singular.

(a) Always with feminine nouns formed by adding *-tu* directly to the stem, provided the third radical is strong.

(b) Always with nouns whose final radical is re-duplicated.

(c) Generally with masculine nouns whose third radical is weak.

(2) In the plural.

(a) Always with *ê* (î).

(b) Always with *âni*.

The insertion of a short vowel before the final consonant of the first member. An examination of the cases makes it evident that this short vowel appears with but two classes of nouns.

(1) Nouns with but one short vowel, or segholates.

(a) With *a*, Tig.-Pil. III., 38, *ḫabal targigi*.

(b) With *i*, Ašurb. V. 40, *kirib (mātu) Êlamti*.

(c) With *u*, Tig.-Pil. III. 1, 11, *puḫur nišîšu*.

[To be continued in the next number of *HEBRAICA*.]

➤BOOK NOTICES.◀

THE APOLOGY OF ARISTIDES.

One of the most delightful of literary discoveries recently made is that of the lost "Apology of the Philosopher Aristides to the Emperor Hadrian," in a Syriac version, by Professor J. Rendel Harris. This he found in the library of the Monastery of St. Catharine at Mount Sinai, two years ago, in their Syriac Manuscript No. 16. The manuscript is written in fine old Estranghela, apparently of the seventh century, and is a collection of treatises and extracts, chiefly ethical. Its contents are as follows: History of the Egyptian Hermits, containing matter in common with (or being a part of) the *Liber Paradisi*, of which so many more or less identical Greek copies occur (93 folios); The Apology of Aristides (13 folios); A Discourse of Plutarch on the subject of a man's being assisted by his enemy (7 folios); A second Discourse of the same Plutarch on Asceticism (9 folios); A Discourse of Lucius (Lucianus) on the impropriety of receiving slander against our friends (8 folios); A Discourse by a philosopher *De Anima* (3 folios); The Counsel of Theano, a female philosopher of the school of Pythagoras (2 folios); A collection of the Sayings of the Philosophers (6 folios); A First Discourse in explanation of Koheleth, by Mar John the Monk for the blessed Theognis (59 folios); and the rest of the manuscript (the number of folios not stated) is occupied with translations from the Homilies of Chrysostom on Matthew.

The text and translation are given in Vol. I., No. 1, of "Texts and Studies: Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature. Edited by J. Armitage Robinson, M. A., Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge [England], and published by the University Press, Cambridge." It also appears as Nos. 6 and 7 of "Haverford College Studies," and it may be had from Haverford College, Pennsylvania.

Little remark need be made about the Syriac text and the English translation, unless it be to say that both are admirably done. The text seems to be pretty well preserved, except the evident dropping out of a word or two here and there, and the mis-writing of a letter now and then. The translation has much more than the usual thoroughness and scholarship of the common translations from the Syriac; for which the reasons will appear presently.

Naturally there are added notes and prolegomena; the former mainly intended to illustrate the text by the writings of Justin and the Epistle to Diognetus; but they manage to compass a few new, or almost new, contributions to the extant lexicons. As regards the prolegomena, we were accustomed to consider the Apology of Aristides the Athenian philosopher as having been actually made or transmitted or dedicated to the Emperor Hadrian; but it seems, from the considerations brought forward in these prolegomena, to belong probably to the early years of Antoninus Pius. Other matters, connected with early Christian and anti-Christian writings, there is hardly space to dwell upon; but the prolegomena will well repay the reading.

But it would be unjust, however Semitic the character of HEBRAICA may be supposed to be, to stop with this notice of the Syriac version. In the prolegomena

are given translations of the Armenian fragments, from the Venice edition, from a manuscript at Edschmiazin translated by Mr. F. C. Conybeare, of Oxford, and from Pitra. And while Professor Harris was at work over the Syriac version at Cambridge, Mr. J. Armitage Robinson (editor of these Texts and Studies), while he "was turning over Latin Passionals at Vienna in a fruitless search for a lost manuscript of the Passion of S. Perpetua," happened to recognize "words which recalled the manner and the thought of Aristides" as he was reading portions of the Latin version of the story of Barlaam and Josaphat! That, of course, was a flash-like discovery that the speech of Nachor, in the Greek version of that story, was merely, though indeed, an embodiment, by the Greek redactor and Christianizer of this old Sanskrit story, of the Apology of Aristides into the fable; yet done so neatly, beautifully and masterfully, that the most diligent scrutinizer of the Greek story of Barlaam and Josaphat has never suspected any such embodiment, nor ever thought of anything more than a fresh or original Greek composition. And this, too, notwithstanding the fact that the tracing of the story from Sanskrit into a multitude of languages, and from a heathen fable to a Christian legend, has been taken up as a task by specialists, and the whole thing sifted with a freedom that Pentateuchal critics might envy, till it seemed that its kernel and accretions were most absolutely known and severally distinguished.

Naturally, again, the work of Professor Harris would not be complete without revising his translation in the light of the Greek, and Mr. Robinson's giving a tolerably critical edition of the Greek text in the shape recoverable from the fable of Barlaam and Josaphat, with prolegomena, notes, and a critical discussion of the question how far and wherein the Syriac, the Greek and the Armenian present the original Apology of Aristides. Into the detail of this we cannot go here. It seems plain, however, that the Greek has been compressed or excised somewhat, and equally plain that the Syriac has amplified a little. It is likewise plain that we possess the style, as well as the thought and the substance of the original apology, though it may not be possible to say just where a corner has been knocked off or a piece of stucco supplied.

Messrs. Harris and Robinson have each contributed to the special portion of the other, and beautifully exemplified the proverb that two are better than one, as well as the charm of brothers in concord and unity.

The multitude of minor points discussed and illumined and elucidated in this publication, though of exceeding interest, we must pass by. The University of Cambridge in England, and Haverford College in America, are to be most warmly congratulated upon such a brilliant and interesting work; and none the less so are the authors for the scholarship, acumen and patience everywhere exhibited. (8vo, paper, pp. 118, 28. English price, five shillings).

ISAAC H. HALL,
New York City.

AMIAUD AND SCHEIL'S LES INSCRIPTIONS DE SALMANASAR II.*

Arthur Amiaud did not live to see this work brought to completion. If he had, this notice would be different in many particulars. Scheil, a student of one year, whom Amiaud associated with him in the work, is responsible for all that

* LES INSCRIPTIONS DE SALMANASAR II. roi d'assyrle (860-824), transcrites, coordonnées, traduites et commentées par A. Amiaud et V. Scheil. Paris: H. Welter, 1890. Pp. xiv and 120.

is good and bad in this book, and I am forced to say that the good points are few in comparison with the bad.

In the preface, Scheil gives a genealogical table of Shalmaneser, a short history of the different inscriptions of this king, and his reasons for his method of transliteration.* The connected and accented transliteration is much preferable to the syllabic method, but only in the hands of a person who knows the lexicon and grammar. Scheil does not know either of these and, as a result, his accentuation is very faulty. It would have been much better if he had not attempted to make grammatical forms, for his attempt has been an utter failure. Making all due allowance for very careless proof-reading, there still remain hundreds of words either incorrectly accented or left unaccented. I have counted more than 400 typographical errors on the 120 pages.

In the preface, after noticing the work of his predecessors, Scheil states that the object of this edition of these texts is to bring them to the present status of Assyriological research. Instead of a step forward he has taken two steps backward. His transliterations are based on the printed texts as published in Rawlinson and Layard. In the Monolith Inscription he has made good use of Dr. Craig's emendations as published in his Leipzig dissertation. Why could he not have crossed over to London and collated these texts anew? It is unscientific and useless to put further transliterations and translations upon the market without a thorough collation of the originals. Such must be regarded as only approximately correct, and cannot, in any case, be cited as authoritative. Craig has done much for the Monolith and Throne Inscriptions. Why did not Scheil follow in his steps and fix the texts of these inscriptions for all time, as Lyon has done for some of the Sargon texts? As things stand, another edition of the Shalmaneser texts is needed at once, but an edition based on a thorough revision of the printed texts by a close comparison with the collations of others and a careful study of the originals.

I can notice only a few of his transliterations. We find *apil* and *abil*, and *abil* and *ablu* at the end of proper names, used indiscriminately; *bêlat* and *bêlit*; *tâhazu*, *taḥâzu* and *taḥazu*; *kibrât* and *kibrat*; *adi* and *adî*; *nîribu* and *nirîbu*; *diktu* and *dîktu*; *pan* and *pân*; *uše-ziz* and *ušêšiz*; *aḥâveš* and *aḥamiš*; *šuzub* and *šûzub*; *râmanu* and *ramânu*; *tanâti* and *tanati*; *ušâlik* and *ušalik*; *ûbla* and *ubla*; *napasi* and *napâsi*; *abiktu* and *apiktu*; *ûmê* and *umê*; *anaku* and *anâku*; *šadû* and *šâdû*; *elî* and *êlî*; *ubân* and *uban*; *šâbê* and *šabê*. I could multiply examples almost indefinitely. A certain writing is often used consistently in the first part of the book—cf. *aḥamiš*, *adî*, etc. There are no rules for accenting verbal forms. At one time it is *iṭibu* and then *iṭîbu*; *inîru* and *inirû*; *ušâlik* and *ušalik*; *uše-ziz* and *uše-ziz*; *alik* and *âlik* for *allik* (*al(l)ik*), etc., etc. In some cases the participles are correctly and consistently accented, and in others the accents are just as consistently omitted. The endings *ûtu* and *ânu* are accented or left unaccented at pleasure. The final *i* in the majority of all genitive forms is accented. Scheil has incorporated the 1st per. sg. pronominal suffix into the genitive ending too

* Nous avons cru devoir continuer la méthode de transcription liée et accentuée. Les voyelles, longues de leur nature, où l'accent est suppléé par deux consonnes qui suivent, le portent ou l'omettent indifféremment, par exemple *dikta*, *dîkta*, *ubla*, *ûbla*, etc.

often, but making allowance for such cases, why should *šinni*—and in the construct state—*tukulti*, *karani*, etc., have their final *i* accented? Little attention is paid to the case endings. Where the scribe has designated a given case, it is well to follow him. In the case of ideograms, one should follow the usage as determined by a thorough study of all the inscriptions. As in his edition of the *Šamši-Rammân* text, so here, no clear distinction is made between *𐎶* and *𐎶*, *𐎶*, *𐎶* and *𐎶*, and *𐎶* and *𐎶*. Again such forms as *rimu* and *rêmu*, *šîru* and *šêru* are not distinguished. The construct state of a noun is seldom indicated, and in the few cases where there is such indication, there is no consistency in usage, e. g., *šulum* and *šulmu Šamši*, *šamaš* and *šamšu*, etc. In *Šamši-Rammân* it was *pad*, here it is *pat*; but why not *pât*, the only other possible reading and the one generally accepted? Scheil also reads *bût*, *abil* which is Babylonian for the Assyrian *apil*, *šut*, etc.—But nothing more need be said about the transliteration.

The translation is much better than the transliteration. It is, in fact, a comparatively easy task to make a translation of an historical text. Most of the words are well known and the meanings of those which are difficult can be guessed from the context. It is an altogether different thing to transliterate correctly and to explain philologically these difficult words. Scheil has made good use of the context. The notes are of little value. The author has omitted almost all difficult words and constructions. In the case of doubtful words, which are of very rare occurrence, it is always well to cite all the passages in which these words are found and the literature on the subject. Scheil does neither of these. In many cases he leads one to think that he is not acquainted with the literature. The comments given are often too simple and elementary for beginners even. A list of the geographical terms occurring in the inscription is added and it is of great value. The author promises a special work on the geography in the very near future. No glossary is added, but this is just as well, for the author's attempt in his *Šamši-Rammân* was not a success.

In conclusion, I would say that Scheil has not been successful in his object to present an edition of these inscriptions containing all the results of the latest Assyrian scholarship. The preface announces this as his aim. A study of the book will show any one how poorly he has succeeded.

ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER,
London.

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WILLIAM R. HARPER, PH. D.,

PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO; PRINCIPAL OF SCHOOLS OF THE
AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS:

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PROFESSOR OF THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES IN JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE.

HERMANN L. STRACK, PH. D., D. D.,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN.

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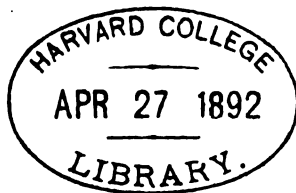
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THE ORDER OF THE SENTENCE IN THE ASSYRIAN HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS.

BY LESTER BRADNER, JR., PH. D.,

New Haven, Conn.

I. INTRODUCTORY.

A. The object of the investigation.

The following discussion is among the first attempts at building up, on the basis of careful and extended observation, not only an accurate and scientific but a historical syntax of the Assyrian language. So little progress has hitherto been made in this department, that the work, if properly carried out, need be done but once in order to establish both the syntax itself, and historical development.

The present investigation has been confined to a small department of the syntactical field. The aim has been (1) to determine accurately the usual order of the sentence, and to trace any development of it that should arise during the growth of the language; (2) to account as far as possible for any changes from the usual order thus determined; and (3) to show the relative frequency of such variations at different periods.

B. The progress already made.

Probably the best formulated statement of the results already obtained in this line is to be found in various paragraphs of Delitzsch's *Assyrian Grammar*, although these are meagre, ill-arranged, and not intended to be historical. His deductions are in the main as follows :

The Object precedes its Verb, § 142; the Adjective follows its Noun, § 121; (Numerals follow rules for Adjective, § 129). Appositional words or phrases follow the substantive to which they belong, § 125. (In any of the above cases the opposite arrangement indicates emphasis.) Infinitives used as Constructs precede

their Objects but as finite forms they follow, § 132. Participles precede their Objects or Adverbial Modifiers, except in rare cases, § 131. Attributive Relative clauses may occasionally precede their Antecedent, § 147. Other brief details are noted on pages 350, 358.

Whether or not these statements are to be added to, or modified, will be better, judged at the close of the present discussion.

C. The method of investigation.

In a complete discussion, not only the order of Subject, Object, and Predicate, should be considered but also that of their Modifiers, as well as Numerals, Infinitives, Participles, and Relative clauses; but as a number of these topics are being examined by other investigators at the present time, I have confined my discussion to the first three.

In order to obtain complete results it has been necessary to separate compound sentences into their component clauses, and to regard these as complete sentences, although they may be closely connected with some preceding clause, and therefore even lack perhaps a separate Subject or Object. Many cases also where the Assyrian is enabled by a verb with a pronominal suffix to condense a sentence into a single word, it has been necessary from the nature of the case to leave out of consideration. The order of each sentence, as regards the position of Subject, Object, and Predicate has thus been examined, and the results tabulated under the main heads of Declarative, or Principal, and Relative, or Subordinate sentences. Having ascertained that a certain order everywhere prevailed more or less extensively, this has been adopted as the Normal Order, and an attempt made to explain the causes of variation from it.

This method has been carried through the range of historical inscriptions, from Tiglath-Pileser I. to Ašurbanipal, covering some 500 years,* and a careful

* The material examined begins with several short inscriptions previous to Tiglath-Pileser I. namely:

1. Pudi-llu (about 1350 B. C.), *Z.A.* II. 3, p. 313.
 2. Ramman-nirari I. (about 1325 B. C.), IV R. 44, 45.
 3. Tuklat-Adar I. (about 1275 B. C.), III R. 4, No. 2.
 4. Ašār-rîš-išî (about 1150 B. C.), III R. 3, No. 6.
- Then follow in order,
5. Tiglath-Pileser I. (about 1100 B. C.), I R. 9-16.
 6. Ašurnāṣirpal (885-860) Annals, I R. 17-26; I R. 27, No. 2; I R. 28.
 7. Shalmaneser II. (860-825) Obelisk, Lay. 87-98. Monolith, III R. 7-8.
 8. Šamši-Ramman (825-812) I R. 29-31, 32-34.
 9. Ramman-nirari III. (812-783) I R. 35, Nos. 3, 1, 2.
 10. Tiglath-Pileser III. (745-727) Lay. 17-18; II R. 67.
 11. Sargon (722-706) Annals, Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte Sargons.*; Khorsabad Annals, Room XIV.; "Pavé des Ports," *ibid.*; Cylinder I R. 85; Bull Inscriptions, Lyon, *Sargontexte*; Stele Inscription, Winckler, *Keil. Sarg.*; Nimrud Inscription, Lay. 33-34; Bronze, Silver Inscriptions, Lyon, *Sarg.*; "Revers des Plaques," Winckler, *Keil. Sarg.*; Harem Inscription, *ibid.*; Gold, Antimony Inscriptions, Lyon, *Sarg.*
 12. Sennacherib (705-681) Taylor Cyl., I R. 37-42.
 13. Esarhaddon (681-660) Cyl. A, I R. 45-47; Cyl. B, Robert Francis Harper *AEI.*; Black Stone I R. 49-50.
 14. Ašurbanipal (668-626) Rassam Cyl., V R. 1-10.

comparison made of the tabulated results, with the purpose of exhibiting whatever development may have taken place in the usage of the language in this respect. An endeavor has been made to perform the work carefully, and although one is always liable to error, it is believed that the tables will be found sufficiently accurate for purposes of comparison and general calculation.

II. THE HISTORICAL INVESTIGATION.

A. Tiglath-Pileser I.*

The following table presents in brief the results of the examination of this inscription.

TABLE I.†

TIG.-PIL. I. (ABOUT 1100).

Number of Declarative sentences.....	322
“ “ Relative “	86
Total	408

Cases of Nominal Order.	Declarative.	Relative.	Total.
Subject, Object, Predicate.....	18	18	34
Object, Object, Predicate.....	6	3	9
Object, Subject, Predicate.....	..	9	9
Subject, Predicate	36	54	90
Object, Predicate.....	264	47	311
Cases of Inverted Order.	Declarative.	Relative.	Total.
Object, Subject, Predicate.....	4	..	4
Predicate, Object.....	1	2	3

* The investigation has been begun with Tiglath-Pileser I., as offering the most extended basis for deduction among the older inscriptions. A comparison has then been instituted between this and earlier fragments, after which the other inscriptions have been examined in their historical order.

† In explanation of the table several remarks may be made, which will apply also to later tables.

(a) The head Declarative has been made to include also Cohortative, Imperative, etc., all which would probably come under the head of principal sentences. A separate table of such will be given later.

(b) The order Object, Subject, Predicate, would not be an inverted order in an Attributive Relative sentence, owing to the fact that the Relative Pronoun, whether Subject or Object, must stand at the head of the sentence. In a Declarative sentence, on the other hand, this order would be inverted, and has been so noted in the tables.

(c) The orders Subject, Predicate; Object, Predicate; and Predicate, Subject, or Object are in the table made to include cases where the third member of the complete sentence is also present, as well as sentences where only the two members noted are found. So that to find the actual number of the latter, we must subtract the number of complete sentences found above in any particular case, viz., the actual number of sentences of the order Object, Predicate, and containing only two members, in Tiglath-Pileser is 264 minus 14 and 6, the number of complete sentences found where the Object also comes before the Predicate.

(d) The sentences tabulated are all verbal unless otherwise noted. For a discussion of the nominal sentence, see a later note.

The above table proves conclusively that by the usual order, during the early period at least, the Predicate closes the sentence, and that the normal arrangement of the parts is Subject, Object, Predicate, if all of them are fully expressed. Inasmuch as the examination of the other inscriptions has shown that this rule will hold good through all, I have called any departure from this order an Inverted Sentence. A farther study of the table shows that the Relative sentences follow the same general rule as Declarative, and again, that where a verb governs two objects, as is quite frequent, they both ordinarily precede the verb. The unusually large predominance of the order Object, Predicate, is found in all the historical material, and is mostly due to its narrative style, where the subject is rarely expressed unless emphatic.

As against 401 cases of normal order, therefore, we find only seven cases of inversion, giving a ratio of .017 together, or separately Declarative, .018; Relative, .023.

Examining in detail these seven cases, in order to account if possible for so unusual a phenomenon at this period, we may divide them into four groups. (1) In three cases (II 25-28; V 8-10; VI 39-45) we find the order Object, Subject, Predicate, where normally the Subject should stand first. They all contain the phrase *ḳâti ikšud*, where *ḳâti* is the Subject, and it is probable that the phrase has so far become a stereotyped expression (equivalent practically to *anâku akšud* or simply *akšud*) that *ḳâti* having merely a pronominal force is placed near the verb, at least we shall find such to be its usage in the subsequent inscriptions. (2) Two other cases may be classed together (I 45 *ušamḳitu gir Ašûr*; VII 41, *ušamḳitu ḳališ multarḥi*). These are Relative sentences of the form Predicate, Object, where we should have normally the reverse order. In explanation of the inversion the following points are to be noted. (a) That these examples form the *third clause* in a Relative sentence, where we ordinarily find *ša* repeated;* (b) that the order is chiasitic with the preceding clause, a favorite variation in the later inscriptions, and (c) that they stand at the end of a paragraph. We may perhaps consider that the chiasitic order results from an effort to bring these clauses into closer connection with the preceding. (3) In VI 49 we find *ezib ḥarranât nakri mâdâtu*. This Declarative clause (order, Predicate, Object) with those closely following introduces a break in the narrative, and the prowess of the monarch as a conqueror is summed up briefly before the scribe passes on to narrate his successes in hunting and building. Hence we are justified in regarding this inversion as due to emphasis, by way of contrast with the preceding narrative.† (4) The rea-

* It is a principle enunciated by Kraetzschmar, and which holds good throughout the historical inscriptions, that Relative clauses, when more than one follow the same antecedent, generally occur in pairs, with one *ša* sufficing for each pair, but repeated with the odd clause.

† An interesting parallel in almost the same words is found in the so-called Hunting Inscription of Ašurnasirpal (I 34sq.) which belongs perhaps more properly to Tiglath-Pileser, a view with which the parallel accords.

son for the inverted order in II 23 sq. Šalmât kurâdišunu (nâru) dame ana Diglat ušêši is not plain, unless the writer desired to bring into conjunction the names of the two rivers. That a change of order should be made for a logical or rhetorical convenience of this sort seems quite as likely as the vowel changes that are often made for the sake of euphony. But an interchange of place between Subject and Object is not of so much importance as between either of these and the Predicate.*

We have therefore suggested certain principles governing inversion, such as chiastic order, use of *ka-tu* near the Verb, desire for close connection or euphonic structure, occurrence at the end of a paragraph, and emphasis, all of which will be found holding good in later inscriptions. In this respect the rule laid down by Delitzsch (§ 142) that the Object may be placed either before or after the Verb, according as greater emphasis is to be laid on the Object or on the Verb, is not adequate to cover the majority of cases. In fact I am able to show that the desire for emphasis will account for only a very few cases of inversion, as compared with the whole number.

I have also made some examination to determine whether an inverted order gives evidence of any subordination of the inverted clause, as in the case of Circumstantial Clauses in Hebrew and Arabic, but have reached the conclusion that such object was not distinctly sought. In only a few cases would a similar idea of subordination be found fitting to the idea expressed by the clause. And one cannot fail to note that the spirit of Assyrian cares little for subordinate ideas. Coördination is the rule, to an extent which grows rather tiresome to modern ears.

B. Before Tiglath-Pileser.

Returning now to examine the material offered us by inscriptions earlier than Tiglath-Pileser, we find it very meagre, the only ones important for our purposes being those of Ramman-nirari I., Pudi-ilu, Tuklat-Adar I., and Ašur-rîš-iši, and these contain but four complete sentences. These inscriptions cover some 250 years before Tiglath-Pileser I. and as 215 years more elapse before the next inscription of any size occurs, it is to be regretted that we have not more early material to compare with Tiglath-Pileser, but the little we have accords well with the results already obtained. The following is the tabular statement of these four earlier records.

* There are two cases in which it might appear that inversion had taken place, but which may be better explained otherwise. One is II 43 sq. Narkabātiya....akl Diglat. A comparison with III 97-99 will show that *ebir* is to be supplied after Diglat. The other case is III. 41 sq., where the words *šadāni šakūti* might be construed (as Lotz seems to have taken them) as the object of *lu ašbat*, but it is better to regard them as Accusative of place with the following principal clause: "*In high mountains which....narkabāti ina lā bani lu emid.*" With *lu ašbat* there is then to be supplied as object the word *ḥarranu* as also in V 45 sq., 68 sq.

TABLE II.

FRAGMENTS BEFORE TIG.-PIL.

Number of Declarative sentences.....	25
“ “ Relative “	21
Total	46

Cases of Normal Order.	Declarative.	Relative.	Total.
Subject, Object, Predicate.....	6	4	10
Subject, Predicate.....	7	13	20
Object, Predicate.....	19	12	31
Cases of Inverted Order.	Declarative.	Relative.	Total.
Object, Subject, Predicate.....	..	2	2
Subject, Object, Predicate.....	..	1	1

This table presents in the main the same features as that of Tiglath-Pileser I. We note the same predominance of the general order, Subject, Object, Predicate. The only exceptions to this normal order are found in Relative clauses, only one of which however affects the position of the verb. The small amount of material would scarcely yield a fair comparison on the basis of a percentage, but we may examine the cases of inversion in detail. The earliest are those in Ramman-nir-ari I. (a) Obv. 10-12: *ša napḥar malki u rubûti Anu Ašûr Šamaš Ramman u Ištara ana šepišu ušêknišu*.

Here the inversion consists in placing the Object before the Subject. It is probable in order to emphasize the Object, and it also brings *napḥar...rubûti* into closer relation with a similar idea of totality expressed in the preceding clauses. (b) Obv. 25sq.: *u nagab za'erišu kâsu ikšudu*. This is the same use of *kâtu* near the verb of which we have already found two cases in Tiglath-Pileser. The third instance of inversion is in *Asûr-rîš-iši* l. 3sq.: *u.... ili ša šame u iršiti (ira)muma ikriba šangûtsu*. The order is Subject, Predicate, Object, and it is again the third clause in a Relative sentence, although not chiastically arranged, as in the similar cases in Tiglath-Pileser. But no particular emphasis seems to be intended, and therefore I think it best to consider it merely an artistic device for rounding up with effect a short period, instead of repeating the relative particle with a single clause.

The style and usage then in these earlier inscriptions seems to correspond to that of Tiglath-Pileser, and we may consider them all, for our purposes, as a unit, in spite of the fact that they cover some two hundred years or more.

C. Ašurnasirpal.

During more than two centuries from the time of Tiglath-Pileser we have no records which will allow us to examine the syntactical growth of the language. Then we meet with the long annals of Ašurnasirpal, who reigned from 885 to

860 B. C. Here we find less of the rigidity which is so marked in Tiglath-Pileser. The sentences are longer, there is more freedom in the use of Relative clauses, especially the temporal, but even yet the style is stereotyped, and in places exceedingly repetitious. It lacks the narrative interest of Sargon or Sennacherib, and the varied diction of Ašurbanipal. It still belongs, as far as we may judge from the historical inscriptions, to the primary period of the literature. The inscription has marked peculiarities in many respects, and especially in orthography, but in the structure of the sentence, it does not depart so widely from the older standards, as the table* will show. Several points in it are worthy of note. (a) The great preponderance of Declarative sentences (greater than in Tiglath-Pileser), and among these of the order Object, Predicate. This is, of course, due to the narrative style, so that in the introduction before the narrative begins, the number of Relative clauses is much greater in proportion, and at the same time inversions are more frequent. (This is always true in the introductory descriptions of the kings). (b) The number of cases of inversion is as yet small in comparison with the total of sentences. The figures given in the table, taken as they stand yield the following results :

Ratio of inversions in Declarative sentences.....	.041
“ “ “ “ Relative “ .....	.16
“ “ “ “ Total “ .....	.055

(with these compare the corresponding results in Tiglath-Pileser: Declarative, .015; Relative, .023; total, .017).

But in fact among the cases in Declarative sentences, twenty consist of the same phrase *asakan mittak*, five of the phrase *akušu mašakšu*, and three of the phrase *utera mittak*. Therefore in a more just estimate we should take the number of inversions in Declarative clauses at five, which would reduce the ratio in these to .006 and on the total to .027. (c) It is also noticeable that by far the larger ratio of inversions is found in Relative clauses, and of these 18 out of 19 are met in the first fifty lines of the inscription. This is probably due to the more poetic coloring and style of the introductory portion, but it seems true that inversions take place more easily in a Relative clause than in any other. (d) By the term adverbial inversions, used in reference to this and the following inscriptions is meant the inverted order produced when any word or words not forming one of the three principal parts of the sentence is found after the Predicate. These are most frequently some adverbial expression, or the indirect object of the verb, or appositional phrase.

~ In accounting for each of the fifty cases of inversion occurring in this inscrip-

* For the tables of this and the following inscriptions see the general table at the end of the historical survey

tion, I have grouped the various usages under several different heads. Sometimes the division may seem to rest on externals, and be unscientific, but with such a delicate subject as style, we can hardly expect to bring every instance of variation under a definite principle.

(a) Cases of inversion of Subject and Object only, not involving the verb. Of these there are seven (I 8sq., II 39, I 24sq., I 39, I 10, III 117, III 122) of which two will serve as examples; II 39 *ša ašaršunu mamma lâ êmu-ru*; III 117 *mâtâti kališina kâtu iksud*. These are all Relative sentences, and with them should be contrasted the 23 cases of the normal order: Subject, Object, Predicate. There is no reason to explain any of the above cases by emphasis, but other explanations may be suggested for several. In three cases the principle observed above in regard to the use of *kâtu* appears to hold, and possibly the indefinite *mamma* seeks the same position. But the more likely explanation of the first four cases (see first example) is that the anticipatory *ša* attracts towards itself the word whose relative nature it denotes, hence causing the inversion. (b) Passing now to cases where the verb also suffers inversion, we have illustrations of the principle of chiasitic order in I 12, *tušaršidu palâšu*; I 30, *ipilu gimra*; I 31, *ukinnu išreti*; I 51, *iḥpi kinna-šunu*.

The first three are Relative clauses, chiasitic with the preceding sentence; the last is a Declarative clause chiasitic perhaps with the following sentence (i. e., a chiasm of nouns, rather than of verbs as usual). In these cases the artistic arrangement seems to be the only principle inducing the inversion; there is no special emphasis discoverable.

(c) We may, I think, allow this chiasitic principle to account for the inversion of clauses which I have termed "indirectly chiasitic," that is, where the inverted order occurs in the second clause, but without the verb standing at its head, (in direct conjunction with the verb of the preceding clause). Examples would be, I 29, *ina gašiši uritu pagri girišu*; I 39, *napḥar malki lâ magirišu iksuda rabitu kâtsu*.

Both these clauses are second members of a Relative sentence. In the first there is certainly no emphasis to be looked for as causing the inversion, and probably not in the second, although the inverted adjective *rabitu* might lead one to emphasize also its noun. But just as we found in the earlier inscriptions a similar inversion of the third member, so here the usage is applied to the second, and grows more frequent as we proceed in the historical inscriptions.

(d) Our attention is now called to a phenomenon in the realm of inversion which illustrates that stereotyped and crystalline nature of the language so often seen in other connections, namely the unvarying use of a certain expression in the inverted order wherever it occurs. The most noticeable phrase in this inscription is *ina....asakan mittak*. It occurs no less than 20 times in various simila^r

connections.* I have been unable to find any reason for the constant inversion of this phrase, but the usage is very striking. The same word *mittak* is also found inverted in a phrase used three times in Col. II., *ana, or, ina ušmani-yama utera mittak*, the reason being no more apparent in this case than before. Another invariably inverted phrase is *akuš mašakšu* or *akuš maš-akšunu*, which occurs five times in the first column (I 67sq., 89sq., 91sq., 93, 110). In this case we note that the same phrase *dûra uḫallib* follows each time. Some explanation may perhaps be found therefore in the fact that *uḫallib* may be construed with two objects and so the position of *mašakšu* is changed in order to bring the two objects together. Still another example under this head is found in III. 57, *ana Gargameš ašabat urḫu. urḫu* like *ḫarranu* is often found inverted in this expression.

(e) The remaining eight instances of inversion in this inscription (I 1, 4, 5, 7, 40; II 26; III 26 (two)) are all Relative clauses. The first five occur in passages descriptive of the sovereign, and the inversion seems to give a kind of exalted, poetic coloring. As such a usage is marked enough to be readily distinguished I shall call it "ascriptive." It indicates a development from the rigid style of Tiglath-Pileser. The last two are quoted from an inscription on a monument that the king set up, and suggest that the inverted order is chosen where formality and a lofty style are desired. But an entirely satisfactory explanation of these eight cases is lacking.

On the whole, then, in point of frequency of inversion, the development since Tiglath-Pileser is not very great, considering the length of the inscription, and yet more marked in Relative sentence than in Declarative, because confined largely to a small section of the inscription. The new tendencies noted are in the case of stereotyped phrases, indirect chiasm in the second clause, ascriptive clauses in a lofty or formal style, and Relative clauses where *ša* is anticipatory.†

D. Shalmaneser II.

The date of the annals of Shalmaneser is some thirty years later than the Ašurnasirpal inscription, but they show no advance in style, rather do they retrograde to the rigidity of Tiglath-Pileser. Theirs is the true annalistic style, exceedingly dry and repetitious. This is evidenced by the table.‡ There is therefore little to be noted concerning the order of the sentence. There is only one inversion, and this adverbial (I. 21 *išpunu abubaniš*. Cf. Mon. I 12). It is the second clause in a Relative sentence, and at the end of a paragraph, besides being chiastic in arrangement. This being the sole exception to the normal order out of 260 sentences, the ratios of inversion are much reduced: Declarative, .000; Relative, .085; total, .004.

* II 88, 91sq., 93, 94, 97sq.; III 2, 3, 3sq., 5, 6 (twice), 8, 9, 10sq., 12, 14, 14sq., 15sq., 72, 79; and to these we ought to add three cases where it is evidently understood, III 80, 81, 102.

† The analysis of I R. 27, No. 2, and 28, not being important, is omitted.

‡ See general table, later on.

The Monolith Inscription of Shalmaneser presents us with a more varied style, and resembles in general structure, composition, and vocabulary the annals of Ašurnāširpal. Although there are not many inversions (the ratio being Declarative, .026; Relative, .10; total, .032) yet the cases that occur are interesting as shedding a clearer light upon principles already stated. The higher ratio among Relative sentences is still maintained, but we have also a greater variety of usages in the Declarative sentence, which indicate a growth in the flexibility of the language. The principle of chiasm in the second clause becomes more prominent and is illustrated by three examples in Relative and two in Declarative sentences (I 9, 10, 12, 43sq.; II 98). One case of inversion owing to the use of *ḫātu* occurs (II 42). The remaining cases can be best brought out in their connection.

I 49. *ina ûmešuma adlul narbût ilâni rabûti ša Ašûr u Šamaš ḫurdišunu ušapa ana šati*, why the inverted order Object, Predicate, should have been used in the first clause is not clear; possibly it served to emphasize the object, or perhaps merely to preserve the symmetry of arrangement which will be noted in a moment. The adverbial inversion in the second clause however may come under the head of indirect chiasm. But looking more closely at the structure we can discover a beautiful balance of parts between the two clauses in chiasmic order, which seems hardly a matter of chance. In the first we have Adverb, Verb, Object, Genitive. In the second just the reverse: Genitive, Object, Verb, Adverb. Because of this arrangement it is better to take *ša Ašûr u Šamaš* with the following clause, than as an appositive of *ilâni rabûti*, as might possibly be done.

In II 98sq. we have three cases of inversion in succession. The first has been cited under the head of chiasm, the other two are

*pân name ušamli rapsâte ummanâtišunu
ina kakki ušardi damišunu.*

of which the inversion in the first is to be assigned to emphasis. Then the second clause is again inverted in indirect chiasm. The whole passage is intended to be vivid and striking and for this purpose inversions are used.

But how are we to account for the difference, certainly noticeable, between the two contemporaneous inscriptions in the frequency of inverted orders? One seems to uphold the advance made in the Ašurnāširpal inscription, while the other clings to the stiff style of Tiglath-Pileser. Certainly the fact that they were discovered in different places and therefore may have had different authorship must be allowed some weight, and also different subject-matter requires different treatment. The Monolith enters into details where the Annals simply record the fact, and therefore greater variety is required in the former. We must regard it as evidence that too close rules cannot be laid down for the style of any one period, but that results should be dealt with in the large, as illustrating tendencies and general principles rather than definite rules.

E. Samši-Ramman.

There follows after an interval of only a dozen years the inscription of Šamši-Ramman IV., and yet in respect to the order of the sentence there is a marked change in style, shown by the greatly disproportionate number of inversions in Relative sentences as compared with Declarative. This will appear from a glance at the table. All but one of the cases of inversion occur in the first column. The ratios of Declarative, .01; Relative, .63; total, .105. This shows a very large increase over any previous inscription in the ratio of Relative inversions, and brings the total ratio to twice its former figure at any time. It is plain, on the other hand, that the inverted order has not as yet found its way to any extent into Declarative sentences. The only instance in this inscription where I have not been able to discover a reason for the inversion is IV 2sq.: *ina birit Zaddi Zaban attabalkat nadbak šade*. Among the Relative inversions there are three cases of the chiasitic order (I 33, 41sq., 43), and two of the indirect chiasitic (I 44; II 48sq.). Another case of inversion, I 39sq. *enuma Ašurdaninpal..epuša limnêti*, calls attention to the artistic structure of the Relative sentence which it introduces. It consists of four pairs of clauses, with a contrasted order in each pair, thus: *enuma Ašûr....epuša limnêti* (inverted); *si-ḥumaštu...uṣabšima* (normal); *mātu ušbalkitma* (normal); *ikšura taḥâzu* (inverted); *niši Aššur....ittišu ušiškinma* (normal); *udan-nina tametu* (inverted); *mahâzâni ušamgirma* (normal); *ana epiš kabli....iškuna pânišu* (inverted). This example illustrates the parallel structure of Relative clauses already referred to, and the usage is found with increasing regularity in the later inscriptions.* It is not clear what reason is to be given for the inversion of the first of the above clauses, whether it is due to the artistic order simply, or to a desire to emphasize *limnêti*. The remaining cases of inversion are to be found in I 6sq., 19sq., 21 (adverbial, chiasitic arrangement of nouns); I 11sq., 29sq., 32sq. These are all found in the introductory part of the inscription, and may be classed under the head of ascriptive inversions.

F. Ramman-nirari III.

When in thirty years more we come to the inscriptions of Ramman-nirari III., and attempt their analysis, it is evident from the character of the material that we cannot expect the results to correspond very closely with those already obtained, for the inscriptions are all very short; they contain but a small proportion of narrative, and are mostly couched in that higher style which we have found so prolific in inverted orders. The several short inscriptions have all been grouped together in the classification presented in the table. The figures yield the following ratios for inverted orders: Declarative, .085; Relative, 1.25; total,

* It is on account of this parallelism that I prefer, with Shell, to connect *tametu* with *udan-nina*, rather than make it a construct with the following *mahâzâni*.

GENERAL TABLE.

Declarative and Relative Sentences.	Before Tiglath-Pileser. Pudl-Il, 1350. Ramman-nirari I., 1325. Tuklat-Ashur I., 1276. Ashur-nirari, 1150.		Tiglath-Pileser I. (1100)		Ashurnasirpal (885-860) Annals.		Ashurnasirpal Monolith.		Hunting Inscrip. Annals.		Shalmaneser II. (825-825) Annals.		Shalmaneser II. Monolith.		Samʾi-Ramman (825-812).		Ramman-nirari III. (812-783).	
	Declar.	Rel.	Declar.	Rel.	Declar.	Rel.	Declar.	Rel.	Declar.	Rel.	Declar.	Rel.	Declar.	Rel.	Declar.	Rel.	Declar.	Rel.
Number of Declarative Sentences.....	6	4	16	18	8	23	5	2	1	1	3	1	11	4	.	3	.	1
“ “ Relative Sentences.....	.	.	.	.	.	3	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	1	.	.	.	.
Total.....	46	408	73	57	270	348	136	32	105	13	31	19	32	316	105	31	19	32
<i>Cases of Normal Order.</i>																		
Subject, Object, Predicate.....	6	4	16	18	8	23	5	2	1	1	3	1	11	4	.	3	.	1
Object, Subject, Object, Predicate.....	.	.	.	.	.	3	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	1	.	.	.	.
Object, Object, Predicate.....	.	.	6	3	10	.	1	.	2	.	1	.	8	.	4	.	.	.
Object, Subject, Predicate.....	.	.	.	9	.	4	.	1	.	4	.	.	.	4	.	.	.	2
Subject, Predicate.....	7	13	36	54	64	73	8	4	5	10	14	4	21	18	6	11	3	8
Object, Predicate.....	19	12	264	47	496	56	35	14	34	1	159	1	190	13	80	8	7	3

.555. While there is but one inversion in the Declarative sentences, in the Relative the inverted order actually predominates. But this is due to the peculiar character of the material, and therefore cannot rightly form a factor in a true estimate of the development, unless we compare it merely with the introductory portions of the previous inscriptions. With these it is quite in harmony but exhibits an increasing tendency toward inversions. The various instances of inverted order may be grouped as follows: (a) Examples of pure chiasmic order, (No. 3.* 1. 8 sq., 13, 18; No. 1. 1. 3); (b) examples of indirect chiasm, three (No. 3. 1. 3 sq.; No. 1. 1 sq., 4 sq.); (c) examples of ascriptive inversion, four (No. 3. 1. 26 sq.; No. 2. 1. 5, 6 (two cases)). The same pairing of Relative clauses with the second inverted, as remarked in Šamši-Ramman is noticeable here also. In other respects there is nothing of importance to be noted.†

* The numbers correspond to those in I R. 35.

† This closes the historical survey of the literature of the Old Assyrian kingdom. The New Assyrian, and the results obtained from the whole will be treated in a following paper.

THE PENTATEUCHAL QUESTION. IV. EX. 13-DEUT. 34.

BY PROFESSOR W. HENRY GREEN,

Princeton Theological Seminary.

A. Exodus—Chs. 13-34.

SECTION XV. EXODUS 13:1-18:27.

The further the examination proceeds the more convincing is the evidence that the critical division of the Pentateuch is based not on evidence afforded by the Pentateuch itself but on the subjective fancies of the critics. A continuous, self-consistent, well accredited narrative, with every indication of unity of authorship is rent asunder upon flimsy pretexts, which give no warrant for such a procedure. It is not merely severed into sections or paragraphs of considerable size, whose style and diction, it might with a show of reason be claimed, could be fairly compared with one another, but in order to effect a separation it is found necessary to reduce it to minute fragments, clause is torn from clause and each assigned with positiveness to its particular author. And passages so firmly bound together, that no artifice can sunder them, are nevertheless violently broken up, and supposititious passages, which might be imagined to have been blended together in their formation, are confidently paraded as their true original sources. The appearance of contrariety is created, where none exists, by attributing meanings to isolated fragments, which are simply the creation of the critics' own brain, and by the double process of ejecting from the text and importing into it in a purely arbitrary manner, and as may best serve the purpose of the critics. The methods employed evince a determination to force through a preconceived scheme of division at all hazards, and would be equally successful, if applied with like ingenuity to any other treatise secular or sacred, however compactly united.*

1. Chapter 13:1-16.

In the legal portion of this chapter the majority of critics assign to P, vs. 1,2, Jehovah's command to Moses to consecrate all the firstborn, and to J, vs. 3-16 Moses' directions to the people respecting the feast of Unleavened Bread, and respecting the firstborn. Against this, however, Kuenen, Wellhausen and Jülicher enter a decided protest. Kuenen (*Hex.*, p. 254,) maintains that vs. 1,2,

* A practical proof that the partition of any other work can be effected quite as readily as the Pentateuch and in precisely the same manner is furnished by *Romans Dissected*, a new critical analysis of the Epistle to the Romans, by E. D. McReisham. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1891.

3-10, 11-16 are mutually connected ordinances, which stand in no connection with J, E or P, and are inserted here by Rj though not written by him. And (Hex., p. 168) he says that Ex. 18:2 is a very short and general precept, which has been elaborated in vs. 11-16. Jülicher urges the fact that in 18:1 Jehovah speaks to Moses only, instead of to Moses and Aaron as in 12:1, 43, it being an alleged characteristic of P, that he is disposed to give prominence to Aaron and associate him with Moses on all occasions; also that such brevity in stating so important a law is at variance with P's usage, and that there is not a single word in it that is peculiar to P.

In the view of Kuenen, then, there is no discrepancy between vs. 1, 2 and vs. 11-16 in regard to the hallowing of the firstborn such as has sometimes been alleged to exist. One is briefer and more general, the other is more particular and detailed, but their provisions do not conflict, and there is no reason on this ground why they should be assigned to distinct authors as though they involved different conceptions. Kuenen himself attributes them to kindred sources.

Num. 8:11-13, referred by the critics to P, makes it plain that the law hallowing the firstborn was given at the time of the exodus, and by general critical consent the law in Ex. 18:2 is there alluded to. But it is obvious that this verse cannot contain the entire law which was then given, for its terms are so general and vague that they could not be practically applied. It announces the principle, but more explicit directions are needed to show how it is to be carried into effect in the various cases which must arise under it. These directions are supplied in vs. 11-16, which are manifestly supplementary to and explanatory of v. 2. The relation of these two passages is distinctly set forth in the narrative itself. The Lord gives the law to Moses, v. 2, and Moses reports this law to the people, vs. 11-16. Evidently in the intention of the narrator it is the same law which Moses first receives from God and then makes known to the children of Israel. It was not essential in recording it that he should repeat it twice in all its details and in identical phrase. When it is first introduced in the communication made to Moses it is merely described in general terms and its more detailed directions are reserved for insertion when he comes to speak of its communication by Moses to the people for whose guidance it was intended.

The critics have violated their own principles by assigning v. 2 to P and vs. 11-16 to J, and reverse their own hypothesis as to the relation of these imaginary documents. P is conceived to be the priestly writer, who dwells diffusely and at length on all matters of law and ritual. J traces the history but takes little account of legal matters. Dr. Driver (*Introduction to Old Test.*, p. 26) tells us in regard to Ex. 12 and 13 "a noticeable difference between P and JE is the greater specialization and strictness of the provisions contained in the former narrative." If P wrote v. 2 and J vs. 11-16, the specialization is altogether in J, and so in Kuenen's phrase the more fully "elaborated" law is attributed to what the critics

agree to consider the earlier document. It is obvious that 13:2 cannot be regarded and cannot have been intended as a complete statement of the law of the firstborn. The bare direction that all the firstborn of man and beast should be sanctified to the Lord leaves it uncertain what was to be done in the case of their own children and of the ass, which as appears from this passage as well as from the Mosaic legislation generally was the one unclean domestic animal then in common use. It only becomes practically intelligible when vs. 11-16 is connected with it as its indispensable complement and proper explication. There is no good reason why these should be sundered from one another in spite of their intimate relationship and imputed to distinct writers as the critics propose. Nor is there the slightest ground for Jülicher's conjecture that this law has been transposed from its original position and that it should properly stand along with the pass-over before the exodus. The passover in its first celebration was intended for the protection of Israel from the destroying angel, while the law of the firstborn was based upon that protection as an accomplished fact.

The attempt is here made to justify critical partition on the ground of dissimilarity both in matter and in diction. Num. 18:5; Lev. 27:27, which are traced to P the alleged author of Ex. 13:2, are said to be at variance with 13:13. The difference amounts simply to this. The original regulation was that the firstling of an ass should be redeemed by a lamb or else killed. But after the sanctuary was set up and a regular priesthood instituted, the law was in consequence so far modified that a price was to be put upon the firstling of any unclean beast according to the estimation of the priest. The owner might redeem the animal by paying this price with one fifth added, or else it was to be sold.

Dr. Dillmann adduces five expressions in vs. 11-16 as distinctive of the style of J in distinction from P; with how much propriety will appear from the following exhibition of their usage.

מִצְרַיִם without אֶרֶץ v. 14; but so too in P, Gen. 47:6,7; 48:5; Ex. 1:1,5; 12:40; while with אֶרֶץ it occurs repeatedly in both P and J.

בֵּית עֲבָדִים vs. 3,14, nowhere beside in J; in Hex. only Ex. 20:2; Josh. 24:17 E, and six times in Deuteronomy.

נִשְׁבַּע of God vs. 5,11; four times in Genesis only once referred to J; Gen. 42:7 J; 22:16; 26:3 R; 50:24 E; besides in Hex. Ex. 32:13;

33:1; Num. 11:12; 32:11 J; Num. 14:16,23 R; twenty-nine times in Deuteronomy, four times in Joshua where it is referred to D or Rd.

Land of the Canaanites, v. 11; besides in Hex. only Deut. 1:7; 11:30 and Josh. 13:4 Rd.

מִחָר hereafter v. 14; in Hex. besides Gen. 30:33 J; Deut. 6:20; Josh. 4:6 Dill. refers to J, but Well. to D; Josh. 4:21 D; 22:18,24,27,28 Rd.

Not a single word in the whole number is distinctive of J upon the critic's own showing. The partition, it should be remembered, is their work, in which the utmost latitude is taken and no pains spared in so adjusting it, that as far as possible the same word may in every case be referred to the same document. It may be safely said that no evidence has been given which can set aside the clear testimony of the narrative that v. 2 and vs. 11-16 are connected parts of the same divine communication, and that they were delivered at the same time, and why should they not have been recorded by the same pen?

In vs. 3-10 Moses tells the people of the institution of the feast of Unleavened Bread, which the Lord had announced to him, 12:14-20. The latter passage according to Dillmann is out of place and belongs after the exodus instead of before it. He infers this from his assumption that the feast was designed to commemorate their being thrust out of Egypt with such haste that they could not leaven their bread, 12:34,39; and the festival could not have been ordained before the circumstance which gave rise to it had occurred. Moreover he urges the preterite tense in 12:17: "In this selfsame day have I brought your armies out of the land of Egypt." But this is the preterite of certainty as in Judg. 4:14 and often elsewhere. All is here in its proper place. The feast of Unleavened Bread was not instituted to commemorate the trivial inconvenience resulting from their hasty departure, but to symbolize the purity and freedom from the leaven of corruption, which became a people freed by the Lord from Egyptian bondage to be thenceforth consecrated to himself. As it was not to be observed until they should reach Canaan, Moses while repeating to the people, 12:21-28, the directions given him concerning the passover, 12:3-13, made no mention of the feast which was in future years to be associated with it. It was not until the people, who were compelled to leave their homes suddenly, were subsisting on unleavened bread that Moses improved the occasion to explain to them the nature of the festival by which they were thereafter to celebrate their exodus. What the Lord had enjoined to be done year by year as a religious service in the land of Canaan, they had been providentially constrained to do at the time of their departure from Egypt.

It is manifest that in the intention of the narrator Moses informs the people, 13:3-10, of the institution whose observance is enjoined, 12:14-20. In recording his language to them it was not necessary to repeat all the details which had already been laid before the reader in the preceding passage, especially as these were not to go into immediate operation.

In chs. 12, 13 the Lord gives to Moses the laws respecting the passover, 12:3-13, the feast of unleavened bread, vs. 14-20, and the hallowing of the firstborn, 13:1,2; Moses in turn gives them to the people, 12:21-28; 13:3-10, vs. 11-16. In each case the historian instead of duplicating the record by repeating verbatim in one passage what had already been said in the other, makes the passages mutually supplementary, assuming that his readers will mentally connect with one paragraph what is contained in the other treating of the same subject. It was needless to insist again upon the preparation for the feast and the penalty for failing to observe it, 12:15, the holy convocation to be held and the prohibition of servile work, v. 16. It was enough to dwell upon the general requirement of a seven days' feast of unleavened bread, 13:6,7. And yet this relation between the passages, which really binds them together and was so intended by the writer, is made the pretext for sundering them as though they were unrelated, independ-

ently conceived and the productions of distinct writers, the words of the Lord to Moses being assigned to P and those of Moses to the people to J.

It is alleged that these passages are in conflict, that 12:16 the first and seventh days are to be kept holy, but 13:6 only the seventh. This is refuted, however, as Dillmann confesses, by 13:3, which enjoins the commemoration of the first day likewise.

Dillmann urges in evidence that vs. 3-10 belong to J the following expressions in addition to those which these verses have in common with vs. 11-16, and which have already been considered.

Abth, v. 4, the popular name used in addressing the people and in the laws designed for the people, Ex. 23:15; 34:18; Deut. 16:1, while in Ex. 12 it is numbered the *first* in conformity with the declaration v. 2 that thenceforth it should be the beginning of months; and so in the laws designed for priestly use, Lev. 23; Num. 28.

The enumeration of the Canaanitish tribes, v. 5: According to Dillmann, J Ex. 3:8,17; 23:23 (though both passages are cut out of an E context and referred to J simply on account of this enumeration); Ex. 23:2; 34:11; E Num.

13:29; D or Rd, Gen. 15:19 sqq.; Deut. 7:1; 20:17; Josh. 3:10; 9:1; 11:3; 12:8; 24:11. Dr. Driver (*Introduction to Old Test.*, p. 112, note) traces these lists mostly to the compiler of JE.

Land flowing with milk and honey, v. 5; J Ex. 3:8,17; 33:3; Num. 13:27; 14:8; 16:13,14; D Deut. 6:3; 11:9; 26:9,15; 27:3; 31:20; Josh 3:6. גבול is found in P Gen. 23:17; Num. 33:44 and repeatedly in the course of Num. 34 and 35.

בְּעֶבֶר does not chance to be found in a P section.

Wellhausen contends that 13:3-16 cannot belong to either J or E, but is a later appendage either by the Redactor, who combined those documents, or by a Deuteronomic reviser. He argues that, if this paragraph be omitted, the history will be continuous in the document JE, as 12:29-42 will then connect directly with 13:17 sqq., 12:43-13:2 being thrown out as belonging to P. This is of force only on the assumption that a historian can never pause in his narrative to insert statements, however important and appropriate, which do not directly continue the course of events. He further alleges that such an admonitory address to the people was utterly unsuitable in the confusion and haste of the exodus, which merely shows him to be out of sympathy with the religious demands of the situation and the purpose for which Israel was freed from the bondage of Egypt. He traces the characteristic expressions of this passage and its principal material to J, cf. 34:18-20, though with particulars borrowed from Deuteronomy. The spirit and tone of the passage is, he claims, a great advance on that of the patriarchal history, so much so that it cannot be imputed to the same writers; it indicates a far higher state of religious thought and feeling, and is akin with that of Deuteronomy.

Jülicher takes a similar view of this passage, points out numerous coincidences between its style and that of Deuteronomy and attributes it to the Deuteronomic Reviser, who touched up the history by introducing additions here and there to improve the theology and exalt the cultus.

It is obvious that this passage creates no small perplexity among the critics. The characteristic expressions gathered into this brief paragraph are of repeated occurrence. Egypt the house of bondmen; brought out by Jehovah by a strong hand; the Canaanites, Hittites, Amorites, Hivites, Jebusites; the land which Jehovah swore unto thy fathers to give thee; a land flowing with milk and honey; when thy son asketh thee in time to come, What is this? thou shalt say unto him; it shall be a sign upon thine hand and frontlets between thine eyes. These marked and peculiar phrases naturally suggest the common authorship of the passages in which they are severally found or at least their dependence upon a common source. And yet the critics find themselves obliged to parcel them between J, E, the compiler of JE, D and Rd, five distinct writers making use of the same remarkable forms of speech. The traditional view attributes them all to a single writer throughout the Pentateuch, who gave them a currency which accounts for their subsequent employment in the book of Joshua. Unless the testimony of these passages is overborne by considerations drawn from other quarters, the complicated solution offered by the critics will scarcely commend itself to candid minds.

2. Chapter 13:17-22, Chapter 14.

It is said that 13:17-19 E cannot be by the same writer as 14:1-4 P, because they assign different reasons for the route taken by the people. But these paragraphs relate to quite distinct matters. The former is a general explanation of the course adopted in leading Israel to Canaan. It gives as the reason why they did not march directly thither by the shortest route, but were conducted instead by a long and circuitous way through the wilderness, lest their encounter with the Philistines should incline them to return to Egypt. Another reason is suggested, 3:12, viz., God's intention to bring them to Mt. Sinai with a view to all that was subsequently transacted there. A much more plausible plea might be entered here of a diversity of conception and consequent diversity of authorship, but the critics are precluded from urging it, because this is assigned by them to the same document E. They abide by their own arguments when it is convenient to do so; otherwise they are quietly ignored. Ch. 14:1-4 relates, as has already been stated, to a different matter. It explains the particular line of march pursued in leaving Egypt. It gives the reason why after reaching the edge of the wilderness they were directed to turn back into Egyptian territory and encamp in the defiles on the western shore of the Red Sea. This is quite independent of the subject treated in 13:17-19, so that it involves neither repetition nor conflict and consequently affords no indication of a change of writers. Nor can this be inferred from Elohim four times in these verses, which is quite appropriate as emphasizing divine in distinction from human guidance. The peculiar term חֲמֹשִׁים *harnessed* is claimed as an E word, though it occurs nowhere else in the Pentateuch and both

times that it is found in Joshua (1:14; 4:12) it is ascribed to Rd. The allusion in v. 19 to Gen. 50:25 suggests a relation between the two passages, which we likewise affirm to be by the same author, but implies no partition of the narrative into distinct documents.

The critics commonly refer 13:20 to P because of its correspondence with Num. 33:6 and their assumption that the exact mention of localities must necessarily belong to him. But this assumption is so arbitrary and creates such needless difficulties for the hypothesis itself in other places, that Kayser and Vatke refuse their assent to it both here and in 12:37, the former ascribing both passages to J and the latter to E. Kuenen also hesitates. He says (Hex., p. 72) "the stations of the Israelites in their journey from Rameses to Sinai were unquestionably mentioned in P. But whether the data in 13:20; 15:22,27; 17:1; 19:1,2a came from thence must remain uncertain since they are now worked into narratives taken from elsewhere." The propriety of isolating this verse from the connection in which it stands and where it fitly belongs, is surely very dubious.

Ch. 13:21,22 are naturally linked with what precedes, and Kayser, Vatke, Kuenen account vs. 17-22 a continuous paragraph, as does Knobel (v. 20 excepted). But the disposition made of these verses is dependent upon the view taken of 14:19 in which Wellhausen discovered a doublet and other critics have since followed in his track; 19a with its Elohim is given to E and 19b to J, and the reference there made to "the pillar of the cloud" is deemed a sufficient reason for imputing 13:21,22 to J likewise. But against this Kuenen protests (Hex., p. 151) on the ground that "the column of cloud and fire, 19b, is the indispensable explanation of the statement about the angel of Elohim, 19a," inasmuch as "the angel must be identified with the column." If he had said that the pillar of cloud was the visible symbol of the presence of this divine angel and the outer covering that veiled his glory and that hence the two clauses of 14:19 belonged indissolubly together, see v. 24, his language would have been more exact. The hesitation of the critics in regard to the assignment of this passage, which some give to J and some to E, arises from the fact that it really belongs to both, since both make mention of it elsewhere, E in Ex. 33:9,10; Num. 12:5; Deut. 31:15, and J, Num. 14:14. Dillmann sees no way out of the embarrassment but to assume that vs. 21,22 were original with E, but borrowed from him by J, who changed Elohim to Jehovah, this complicated hypothesis being rendered necessary solely by the critical partition of that which properly belongs together. The use of "Jehovah" requires no explanation; it is the right word. It is the name of the God of Israel who led his people in their way.

The alleged discrepancy between JE and P in respect to the cloud is purely factitious. It is said that P simply says "cloud" while J and E say "pillar of cloud;" and that in P its first appearance was at the setting up of the tabernacle while in J and E it had guided the people from the time they left Egypt. But as

every passage in which "pillar of cloud" is found is for that reason referred to J or E, there is none left for P. And as J and E likewise say "cloud," Ex. 14:20; 19:9,16; 34:5; Num. 10:34; 11:25; 12:10; 14:14,* it is no difference of usage if P does the same. Nor is there any implication in Ex. 40:34 that this visible token of the divine presence appeared then for the first time, but the reverse, inasmuch as the tent of meeting was covered not by a "cloud," but by "the cloud" הענן, showing that it had been mentioned before.

Most critics give 14:1-4 to P, but inasmuch as the last words of v. 4 "and they did so," connect directly with v. 2, Wellhausen contends that the intervening v. 3 and part of v. 4 are not from P but from E; and so are vs. 8a,16-18 which repeat the language of v. 4. He admits nothing to be from P in the entire chapter but vs. 1,2, the last clause of 4,8 (except the last clause), 9 (except the parenthesis), the last clause of 10 and 15 (except the question). All else that other critics assign to P he gives unhesitatingly to E; and Jülicher affirms that it is very difficult here to decide between them. It is commonly said by those who advocate the partition of the Pentateuch, that while J and E cannot always be separated with certainty, there is a clear line of demarcation between P and JE. We find here, as we have found before, see particularly Gen. 34, that this is not always the case. So long as they limit P to genealogies and legal sections and migrations and bits and scraps on the edge of narratives, they can manage fairly well; but whenever they concede to him a share in what they deem a composite narrative, they find the same perplexity in distinguishing P as either of the other documents.

Verses 5-7 are referred to E in distinction from vs. 1-4,8,9 P, because the motive of the pursuit is different. Nothing is said of the king's being induced to follow them because they were so shut in that they could not escape, as in v. 3; but only that he and his servants regretted that they had let Israel go. But these are not incompatible, and there is no reason why the same writer should not mention both, nor why he should repeat again what he had already said. It is further urged that according to v. 5 Pharaoh then first became aware from the conduct of Israel that their departure was final instead of merely a temporary sojourn in the wilderness to hold a festival; and that this corresponds to the representation in JE, in which this was all that Moses asked or Pharaoh conceded, whereas in P Moses demanded from the first that the people should be unconditionally released. But there is no such diversity as is here pretended. In order that Pharaoh's unreasonable obstinacy might be set in the strongest light, the only demand made upon him was that he should let the people go three

* It is a sheer evasion to allege that in these passages R has substituted, no one knows why, "cloud" for "pillar of cloud," or to slice out the offending clause from a JE context and assign it to P. Notwithstanding his usual caution Dillmann so far forgets himself, which in so perplexed a muddle is not strange, as to assign a clause of Num. 14:14 first to R (p. 53) and then to P (p. 76) within the compass of a few pages.

days' journey into the wilderness that they might sacrifice to the Lord. There is not a single passage in which the request is put in any different form. The phrase "let my people go," 7:14; 8:2; 9:2, etc., alternates in JE passages with the fuller phrase "let my people go that they may serve me." And there is no reason for understanding it differently in the only two passages, in which the critics assign it to P, 7:2; 11:10. The reason for this course and its justification have been already set forth, *HEBRAICA*, VII., p. 141. And there is no discrepancy between the statement, v. 5, that "the people fled," and v. 8 that they "went out with a high hand," whether this latter expression be understood of the accompanying power of God, Ps. 89:14; Isa. 26:11, or their own bold and confident demeanor. "Fled" בָּרַח denotes the speed and completeness of their departure without implying timidity or cowardice as is evident from its use, Isa. 48:20; cf. 52:12 to describe the exultant exodus of the redeemed of the Lord from Babylon.

That vs. 3,4 cannot properly be severed from v. 2 is plain, because, as Dillmann argues, vs. 3,4 presuppose the command v. 2, to return again into Egyptian territory and would be unmeaning without it; and the command requires such a reason as vs. 3,4 supplies for its explanation. The expressions "harden Pharaoh's heart" (קָיַח פִּי. Ex. 4:2; 10:20,27 E; 9:12; 11:10 P), "be honored" (כָּבֵד) Gen. 34:19; Num. 22:17; 24:11 J; Ex. 20:12; Num. 22:15,37 E; Lev. 10:3 P) "know that I am Jehovah" (Ex. 5:2; 9:29 E; Well., J; 7:5,17; 8:10,22; 10:2 J; 6:7; 7:5; 16:12; 29:46 P; 9:14 R; Well. J), to which Dillmann appeals in justification of his reference of v. 4 to P, speak quite as strongly for Wellhausen's claim that it belongs to E. Or rather instead of lending any support to the critical partition, they tend to annul it, since these striking and peculiar expressions are suggestive of the common authorship of the passages in which they are found. There is no divergence in the representation made of Pharaoh's army. It is said that P vs. 9,17,18,23,26,28 speaks of horsemen as well as chariots, while E vs. 6,7 makes no mention of the former. But in v. 6 we read of Pharaoh's chariots and *his people* which must have been an additional branch of the military that is not more exactly defined. And, according to Josh. 24:6, which the critics ascribe to E, the pursuit was conducted "with chariots and horsemen." Dillmann's suggestion that this passage has been worked over is only an artifice to rid himself of unwelcome testimony. And the song, Ex. 15, which though not composed by E was in the judgment of the critics incorporated in his document, recites the overthrow of the horse and his rider, v. 1, as well as the chariots, v. 4. That the same host is called חֵיל vs. 4,9,28 P, and כְּחוֹנָה v. 24 JE, is not surprising. The allegation that P says "children of Israel," vs. 2,8,15,16,22,29, while E says "the people," v. 5 overlooks the fact that E uses both expressions 18:17,19 and J also says "children of Israel," 14:10. Pharaoh pursued, v. 8, and the Egyptians pursued, v. 9, is not a doublet suggesting two different writers but simply a resumption after a parenthetical clause, as Judg. 17:3,4; 1 Sam. 4:12,13; 6:19. "Wherefore criest thou unto me?" v. 15 neither implies any want of congruity with v. 10 "the children of Israel cried unto Jehovah," nor any omission from the text. What is so obviously involved in the question and was so natural under the circumstances required no separate statement.

According to Dr. Dillmann, there are including the song in Ex. 15, four distinct and divergent accounts of the passage of the Red Sea, all of which nevertheless agree in the statement that Israel was in great peril from the Egyptian army, which had overtaken them by the sea, but escaped unharmed while the Egyptians were drowned. All of them are tinged with the miraculous but in different

degrees. The simplest story is that of the song, if its poetical description be not understood in a grossly literal sense. It records the destruction of the Egyptian host, but not a dry passage of Israel. The water was driven back by the wind, then the wind changed and the water returned submerging the host of Pharaoh. There were simply natural causes under divine direction. The miracle consisted in the rescue of the people from extreme danger without any agency of their own. In J, as in the song, a strong east wind divided the sea. But in E it was divided by the lifting of Moses' rod, and in P by the stretching out of Moses' hand, so that the waters stood like perpendicular walls on either side, until by the same instrumentality they were closed again. In E the angel of God and in J the pillar of cloud and fire keep the Egyptians from approaching the children of Israel, retarding their advance and throwing them into confusion, till overcome by terror they flee but are met by the reflux flood and not one of them escapes. A remarkable providence, in which there was nothing strictly supernatural, is thus gradually overlaid with legendary features.

But this series of graded narratives, which the critics affect to discover, is a chimera of their own imagination. They have simply obtruded their own ideas upon a text to which they are entirely foreign. The narrative is one and indivisible and is strictly self-consistent from beginning to end.

In v. 16 the Lord bids Moses "Lift up thy rod and stretch out thine hand over the sea," plainly meaning that he was to hold the rod in his hand when he stretched it forth. Yet the critics insist on sundering these closely related clauses and assigning "lift up thy rod" to E and "stretch out thine hand" to P, as though they were independent and varying statements. The various references to the rod in connection with the plagues of Egypt are made a pretext for parcelling them among different and conflicting documents; but it is as arbitrary and as baseless there as here. Wellhausen confesses that the rod cannot be separated from the hand of Moses and establishes the point by an abundance of parallels. In numerous passages where Aaron is mentioned and which the critics are constrained to refer to P, the hand and rod are combined or else the presence of the rod in the hand is plainly implied. Thus 7:19, Take thy rod and stretch out thine hand. 8:1,2 (5,6), Stretch forth thy hand with thy rod....and Aaron stretched out his hand. 8:12,13 (16,17), Stretch out thy rod....Aaron stretched out his hand with his rod. Similarly in the case of Moses, 9:22,23, Stretch forth thine hand....and Moses stretched forth his rod; so again 10:12,13. In 17:9,11, When Moses held up his hand and Israel prevailed, the rod of God was in his hand, cf. Josh. 8:18. The general direction given to Moses at the outset was, Ex. 4:17, Take this rod in thine hand wherewith thou shalt do signs. It is absolutely in the face of their own admissions elsewhere, as well as directly counter to the clear testimony of numerous passages to draw a distinction between the lifting of Moses' rod and stretching out his hand, and make this a basis for the critical

division of the narrative into different documents.* It is further obvious that in vs. 21, 26, 27, where the hand alone is mentioned, the rod is implied.

The attempt to establish a diversity in the narrative in respect to the agency by which the sea was divided is equally arbitrary and destitute of any foundation. It is foisting a distinction upon the passage, which it neither makes nor suggests, but which is purely a creation of the critics' own fancy, when the first clause of v. 21 is made to mean that the simple stretching out of Moses' hand unaccompanied by any external agency was followed by the parting of the waters; and the second clause that a violent wind accomplished the result without any action on the part of Moses. And these are affirmed to be the different conceptions of distinct writers, between whom the clauses are accordingly parcelled. This is without a particle of justification in the passage. Moses lifts his hand with the rod, whereupon Jehovah sends the wind, which not by mere natural force but as the palpable embodiment of divine power drives back the sea and opens the passage way for Israel. All belongs together as one consistent conception. It is here precisely as in the plague of the locusts, to which there is a verbal allusion, v. 28b, cf. 10:19b, wherein upon the stretching forth of Moses' rod Jehovah sent a wind, which brought the locusts. The critics attempt the same partition there as here and with as little reason. There is no suggestion in either case of an event brought about by purely natural causes as opposed to a supernatural event produced by the immediate power of God; and no partition is possible on that basis. The wind came from Jehovah and was clothed with power to do his bidding.

And as to the result effected there is no difference of statement, nothing whatever on which to base the allegation that legendary additions have been subsequently attached to the original narrative. The prose narrative does not exaggerate the language of the song. It is more difficult to interpret 15:8 consistently with the laws of fluids than to put a figurative sense on vs. 22, 29, cf. Nah. 3:8.

The part assigned to E in this chapter is of the most fragmentary sort, a mere jumble of disconnected paragraphs and clauses. Pharaoh makes ready his chariots, vs. 5-7, but nothing is said of his pursuing Israel. The next that we hear is v. 15, "Why criest thou to me?" with no intimation who is crying or what for. Then follows the command, v. 16, "Lift up thy rod," but no indication of the purpose for which this is done or of the effect that follows. There is no mention of the dividing of the sea, the deliverance of Israel or the destruction of the Egyptians. And yet E is supposed to have contained the song, which makes allusion to all these events. So that what has been severed from E and assigned to the other documents must after all have been a part of the same original narrative. It is to be observed further that the analysis is not based on the alleged

* Dillmann, while separating the hand from the rod in this place, admits in his comment on 17:11 that frequently only the hand is mentioned, when the rod is likewise intended.

diction and literary characteristics of the so-called documents ; but leaving these almost entirely out of view it is simply an ingenious attempt at slicing apart verses and clauses and recombining them in parallel narratives with some show of continuity.

The grounds of partition, so far as any are offered, have already been examined in detail and found to be invalid. The narrative is continuous and consistent as it stands and requires no reconstruction. The record is miraculous and discredited on that account by a certain class of critics. But their partition does not mend the matter, for it is impossible to eliminate the miraculous by any critical method that has yet been devised.

3. Chapter 15.

The antique character of this song is generally confessed. Knobel and Dillmann point out many interesting indications of its early date in its language and in its general resemblance in rhythm and structure to other pieces of acknowledged antiquity. Such facts as these, together with the habit of the people to celebrate signal deliverances in song, lead even the most advanced critics to believe that one was sung on this occasion, which, if not identical with that which is here preserved, was the germ from which it sprang. Jülicher and Kittell find the original in Miriam's refrain, v. 21. Dillmann concedes the genuineness of vs. 1-3 and perhaps more. Knobel objects that vs. 8,10 could not have been composed at the time, for they introduce a miraculous feature that does not correspond with the actual fact ; which Dillmann sets aside on the ground that these verses are poetical and figurative. But if there was a real miracle, and of this the song is a fresh corroboration, the objection is converted into an argument of genuineness.

The chief stumbling block of the critics, however, is in vs. 13,17, which it is urged imply settlement in Canaan and the erection of a sanctuary there ; whence they conclude that in its present form it is a psalm sung at the passover feast in commemoration of this ancient deliverance. But instead of presupposing that the people were resident in Canaan, it declares precisely the reverse. They were on their way thither in the confident hope of a future possession which they had not yet attained. When God is said, v. 13, to have led the people which he had redeemed and to have guided them to his habitation, the preposition is לָאֵלֶּיךָ *to*, denoting direction, Gen. 31:5 ; Ex. 25:20 ; Num. 24:1 ; Isa. 38:2 ; Ezek. 4:3 ; Dan. 12:7, but not necessarily suggesting that the point aimed at had been reached. God had led his people through the sea by his mighty power on their way to Canaan, and the fame of this marvellous deed would spread terror and dread among all the inhabitants of the land and the populations by which Israel must pass on their way thither. It gave assurance that the Lord would bring them in and plant them in the mountain of his inheritance, that is, as Wellhausen correctly explains it, Proleg. p. 23 note, the mountain-land which he had designed to

be the heritage of his people. "The place, O Jehovah, which thou hast made for thee to dwell in, the Sanctuary, O Lord, which thy hands have established" (or according to the strict meaning of the Hebrew verb, shall have established). This looks forward to a future introduction into and establishment in the land of promise, the land for which they had left Egypt, and where the Lord would locate his sanctuary among them. There is in this no specific reference to Jerusalem, as Dillmann admits, and no indication where or what this sanctuary would be. It simply anticipates Jehovah's permanent abode in the land which he had destined for his people. Instead of departing in any respect from the situation, in which the song is represented to have been composed and sung, it is in perfect accord with it and reproduces exactly the feelings which may be supposed to have been uppermost in the hearts of all.

The critics are not agreed whether vs. 22-27 are composite or from a single source. Kayser, Wellhausen, Vatke refer all to the same writer, either J or E. Jülicher is alone in giving vs. 25b, 26 to Rd. Schrader and Dillmann give v. 27 to P, while Nöldeke and Knobel give him in addition vs. 22, 23, principally on account of the close verbal correspondence with Num. 33:8, 9 P. But vs. 22, 23 are evidently preliminary to vs. 24 sqq. The critics have to assume that the stations mentioned in this passage belong alike to P and JE, and the only question is which document is to be made continuous at the expense of the other? Shall the critical rule prevail that all marches are to be imputed to P or must these verses not be torn out of their connection?

The critical argument from language is here of the feeblest sort, and such as it is is confined to vs. 22, 23. It is alleged that the following words in v. 22 do not occur in P.

וְיָסַד Hiph. nowhere else in Hex.
יִשְׂרָאֵל (standing alone as the name of the people) is found repeatedly in P, Ex. 12:15; Lev. 9:1; 20:2; 22:18; 23:42; Num. 1:3, 16, 44; 3:13; 4:46; 7:2, 84; 10:4; 18:14; 25:8b, 14; 26:2; 32:22.

וְיָסַד in P Num. 33:10, 11.

שׁוּר (for which P is said to have אָמַר Ex.

18:20; Num. 33:8) is found in a P connection Gen. 25:18, but is sliced off and given to J.

The etymology in v. 23 has its parallel in P, Gen. 17:5, 17, 19, 20.

וְיָסַד v. 25 recurs Josh. 24:25 E, which is urged as proof that it belongs to that document and yet Jehovah occurs four times in vs. 25, 26.

4. Chapter 16.

The critics make of this chapter a most extraordinary piece of patchwork, each after his own fashion. They generally complain loudly of the inconsistency and confusion which reigns in the existing text, which they undertake to remedy by critical partition, but without being able to arrive at anything like harmony in their conclusions. Vatke apparently has no difficulty in admitting the unity and consistency of the entire chapter. Nöldeke does the same, only assuming that a few expressions have been inserted in vs. 4, 15, 31,* which occur elsewhere in what

he considers a different document. Other critics insist on measuring the chapter by standards of their own, and eliminating what is not conformed to their own ideas instead of judging of the relevancy of each part and the coherence of the whole from its correspondence with the writer's point of view and the plan upon which he conducts his narrative. Impressed with the notion that a composite structure must be made out wherever it is practicable to do so, every superficial diversity is pressed into the service without pausing to inquire into its real explanation.

Thus as v. 12 speaks of the Lord supplying the people with bread and flesh of the lack of which they had complained, v. 2, while vs. 4,5 make no mention of flesh, but only engage to give them bread from heaven, it is proposed to divide vs. 1-15 on the assumption that two narratives have here been combined, one of which J simply recorded the gift of manna, while the other P joined with this the gift of quails. This occurrence is moreover identified with that related in Num. ch. 11, where manna and quails are again in combination; and it is said that inasmuch as J's account of the sending of the quails is given in that passage, it of course does not appear here.

The entire basis, on which the proposed analysis reposes, falls away, however, as soon as the reason is disclosed why exclusive prominence is given to the manna in vs. 4,5. The Lord is not there making a direct response to the murmurings of the people. He makes a disclosure to Moses, which is not to be at once communicated to the people but is for Moses' own information. The Lord simply informs him that he will take this occasion to test their obedience to his law in a manner which he intimates. As this was to be done by means of the manna and not by the quails, the manna only could be properly spoken of in this connection. There is no warrant in this circumstance, therefore, for the assumption of a double narrative, especially as it is obvious that in the intention of the writer the manna is the principal thing, to which the quails are subordinate. He devotes but a single clause, v. 13a, to the bestowment of the quails, while the manna and the test of obedience which it afforded occupy the great body of the chapter.

The critics, however, build their structure upon this sandy foundation. In assigning the introductory vs. 1-3 to P and vs. 4,5 to J, they at once involve themselves in the difficulty that these latter must have been preceded by just such a preface as has been stricken from them. There must have been a mention at least of the place, if not also of the time at which this event occurred, as in v. 1. And while the Lord does not in vs. 4,5 rebuke the murmurings of the people as in v. 12, which is a message to be delivered to them, nor even make any direct men-

* In v. 4 בִּיּוֹמוֹ יִכְרֶה *a day's portion per day*, as 5:18,19 E, but also Lev. 23:37 P; all in Hex. נִסָּה *prove* Gen. 22:1; Ex. 15:25; 20:20; Num. 14:22 E; Ex. 17:2,7 J. Verse 15 an Aramaeic etymology like Gen. 31:47 E. Verse 31 כּוֹרֶעַן *like coriander seed*, from Num. 11:7 E.

tion of their complaints, these furnished the occasion and are implied in what he says and proposes to do. There must accordingly have been a previous statement of the emergency which called for this action, the destitution of the people and their refractory conduct which led to the application of a test whether they would be obedient when the destitution was relieved. So strongly is this need felt that Knobel assigns v. 3 to J and Dillmann seeks to find a suitable heading for both the narratives in v. 3, but apparently without being able to satisfy himself how to accomplish it. In his commentary *in loc.* he gives 3b to P as קהל *assembly* is a P word and 3a to J, but this has flesh pots as well as bread in it, which wrecks the fundamental assumption. To remedy this in his concluding dissertation, pp. 624, 634, he allots v. 3 to both documents, taking refuge in the manipulation of R who has here tied a knot which cannot be disentangled. Most critics acquiesce in a headless narrative for J, notwithstanding the fact that complaints of this sort are elsewhere held to be attributable to JE, e. g., 14:11; Num. 20:4,5, and that the necessity laid upon them to concede v. 3 to P annuls their claim that such passages are from a different document.

The critics take offence that Moses anticipates the Lord's direction by making the precise announcement to the people in v. 8, which he is first told to declare to them in v. 12. Jülicher is displeased that first Moses and Aaron v. 7, then Moses v. 8, then Aaron vs. 9,10, then the Lord v. 12 make the same statement in identical language that Jehovah had heard the murmurings of the children of Israel. And he adds that if one author could write thus in the first instance and free from the constraint of older documents, it is silly to engage in Hexateuch criticism. We are inclined to agree with him so far as concerns that carping style of criticism, which makes mountains of molehills.

The critics struggle each in his own way with the incongruity, which they seem to themselves to have detected, and bring the varied expedients of their art to bear upon it. Wellhausen throws vs. 6-8 out of the text as a gratuitous interpolation by R. But Dillmann points out that vs. 6,7 contain the answer of Moses and Aaron to the murmurings of Israel in vs. 2,3. "It is the Lord, not we, who has brought you out of Egypt, and he will display to you his glory. It is against him not us that your murmurings are directed." He urges, therefore, that vs. 6,7 are in their proper place, only v. 8 is a gloss introduced by R to give his interpretation of their meaning.* Others attain the same end by transposition. Jülicher expunges vs. 6,7 and transposes v. 8 after v. 12. Driver makes vs. 6-8 follow vs. 9-12. Kuenen adopts the order vs. 11,12,9,10,6,7 and rejects v. 8 as a later insertion.

This free variety certainly suggests that there is a large subjective element in these conclusions. And it may be well to inquire whether the perplexity which

* In the Dissertation at the end of his Commentary, p. 634, Dr. Dillmann appears to recede from this position and to rank v. 8 as an original constituent of the context in which it stands.

so embarrasses the critics is as serious as they imagine. It is no unusual thing for Moses to expound the divine purposes or requirements, when it is to be assumed that he has been instructed to do so, even though this fact has not been formally stated, cf. vs. 19,23,25,32; Num. 16:5,28. It is not strange, therefore, for Moses to speak as he does, v. 8. Nor is it strange that what he had said to the people, should be freshly confirmed in solemn majesty from the mouth of Jehovah appearing in glory in the cloud, v. 12; nor that the people should be so repeatedly and emphatically admonished that Jehovah had heard their murmurings. The confusion, of which the critics complain, does not exist and their proposed remedies are uncalled for.

It is further said that v. 5 cannot be from the same pen as v. 22. The double supply of manna on the sixth day would not have excited surprise, if Jehovah had before declared that this should be the case. But though this had been made known to Moses, he did not tell the people till the occasion arose, v. 23.

A criterion for the division of the latter half of the chapter is sought in the last clause of v. 4, J. Those verses, in which the manna is made to test the people's obedience to God's law, belong to J. Hence Knobel gives him vs. 27-30; to which Dillmann adds vs. 25,26 as an essential part of the same paragraph, and vs. 19,20 as an additional trial. In these verses no mention is made of the quantity collected by each person, while the fact is emphasized in other verses that each one gathered precisely the same amount. These latter are accordingly given to P, vs. 16-18,22-24, Dillmann. Wellhausen draws the line more sharply by sundering the clauses 16a and 18b "gather every man according to his eating," as though this were inconsistent with an omer to each; a nicety, which other critics, Kittell excepted, think fit to disregard. The variation in details between different critics need not be here recited, though they are considerable and fluctuate between the idea of two separate narratives and one narrative supplemented by disconnected additions. It is of consequence to our purpose chiefly as showing the indefiniteness of the reasons which guide in the decisions. But the whole basis of the partition is itself a fallacy. There is no incompatibility between making the manna a test of obedience and each person gathering an equal quantity. Both facts are stated in a closely connected narrative; but this affords no imaginable justification for rending it asunder.

The diversities alleged are too trivial for serious consideration. "Worms," v. 20, are תולעים and v. 24, רמה. Manna melted in the sun, v. 21, yet was baked, v. 23. It is charged that vs. 15 and 31 are doublets, because the former notes the exclamation of surprise or curiosity, with which the manna was greeted on its first appearance, and the latter states that this became its permanent name. Driver, like Nöldeke, Kayser and Vatke disregards them entirely.

The result of the analysis, which we have been considering, is strikingly at variance with current critical views. It is commonly represented that P relates

history for the sake of the ritual or of legal institutions, to which it leads or which are based upon it, while J records facts for their own sake. Here these parts are precisely reversed. P deals with the facts without any ulterior aim, and in J the manna is but a stepping stone to the observance of the Sabbath. This is so opposite to the accepted characteristics of these hypothetical documents that Kuenen and Jülicher reject the above analysis and adopt another based on a wholly different principle. They agree with the critics already considered in making P the groundwork of the chapter; but they deny that any part of it belongs to JE. The additions were made by later diaskeuasts in the interest of a stricter observance of the Sabbath, vs. 4,5,22-27,28-30, and of magnifying and handing down the memory of Jehovah's goodness in giving the manna, vs. 31-34. So Kuenen. Jülicher differs in details, but is at one with him in the principle.* This obliterates the distinction insisted upon by the rest, and substitutes new lines of division based on a different conception.

But the partition is as unwarranted and as arbitrary as before. It assumes in advance a given course of religious development, and makes that the standard by which questions of date and authorship are to be decided. Why the narrative of the manna, the inculcation of the observance of the Sabbath, and the charge to preserve a memorial to future generations may not have been recorded by the same writer, it is difficult to see. At least some further proof must be demanded than an oracular dictum that thus it must be, or an *a priori* hypothesis unconfirmed by facts.

It is at least clear here again that the dividing line between P and JE is not so clearly marked as the critics would have us believe. It is in controversy whether this whole chapter belongs to P or only a part, and if so whether the rest is J and if so how much, or whether the additions are from an entirely different source.

The further question is raised whether this chapter is in its proper place or has been transferred from another position. The latter has been argued partly from a comparison of this chapter with Num. 11, and partly from the contents of the chapter itself. On the assumption that the same event is related in these two chapters it is asked whether it belongs where Ex. 16 now stands prior to the arri-

* Jülicher's conception of the documents, which determines his analysis, is thus stated by himself (*Jahrb. f. prot. Theol.* for 1882, p. 288): J and E relate history for its own sake, P and D (Rd) from tendencies exterior to itself; D to make use of it as a text for preaching and to add reflections of no very varied type, P to attach to it institutions of the cultus and laws of a religious and hierocratic character. In his view vs. 21-28 which connect the law of the Sabbath with the manna belong to P, but vs. 28-30,32-34 to Rd. And he is particular to explain how it came to pass that while P was subsequent to D and Rd (by whom Deuteronomy was attached to JE) his work nevertheless passed through deuteronomic hands. The deuteronomic ideas attached to P sections here and especially in the book of Joshua, in his opinion require the assumption that the work of revising in a deuteronomic interest continued to a very late period. And thus hypothesis must be built on hypothesis in order to relieve the difficulties which the critical partition itself creates.

val of Israel at Sinai, or with Num. 11 subsequent to their departure from it. Again it is said that the Sabbath law is here presupposed, vs. 23 sqq., and that vs. 33, 34 imply the existence of the tables of the law, the ark and the tabernacle, all which belong to a later time. But on the other hand the occurrences in Ex. 16 and Num. 11 are not to be identified. Num. 11:6 plainly does not record the first appearance of the manna. The forty years, Ex. 16:35, during which they ate manna must cover the entire sojourn in the wilderness. The precision in the statement of the time and locality, 16:1, implies that something of importance occurred then and there. This would be superfluous, if vs. 2-36 were not here originally, but 16:1 connected immediately with 17:1. The Sabbath law may have been given prior to the proclamation of the ten commandments at Sinai. The preservation of the pot of manna may be proleptically introduced here to complete the statements on this subject, although the command was given at a later time. There is nothing in v. 35 that Moses could not have written, at any rate, in the plains of Moab. Its two clauses surely need not have been extracted from different documents. Nor is it necessary to assume that v. 36 is a gloss of later date, when the measures of an earlier period had become unfamiliar. There is no evidence that the omer ever was in use as a measure. The probability is that it was not, as it occurs nowhere in that sense outside of this chapter. It likely was a small vessel in common use in every family, which it was therefore natural to employ in gathering the manna; hence the occasion for defining its size.

5. Chapter 17.

Here v. 1 is given to P and the following narratives are divided between J and E. The effect of this is that P mentions for no reason, so far as appears, that there was no water at Rephidim, for it was attended with no further consequence. This cannot be relieved, as has been proposed, by assigning the last clause of v. 1 to J, for it is assured to P by Num. 33:14, with its allusion to the circumstance here narrated. Still further vs. 2 sqq. are then left with no hint of the place, where this event occurred, although "there," v. 3, implies that it had been mentioned just as we find it in v. 1. In v. 8 the people are still at Rephidim, at which in v. 1 they arrived. This chapter cannot, therefore, be torn asunder, if references from one part to another are an indication of unity. Kayser and Vatke accordingly both feel constrained to link v. 1 to what follows, the former giving the whole chapter to J,* and the latter ascribing vs. 1, 2, 7 to P.

Schrader sees no ground for sundering vs. 2-7, though most critics find a doublet in vs. 2 and 3.

* The critics commonly make "the congregation of the children of Israel" a criterion of P and refer every verse or clause which contains it to him: but that this should alternate with "people" in v. 1 is no more strange than that the latter alternates with "children of Israel" in vs. 2, 7.

And as "chide" רִיב and "tempt" נָסָה in v. 2 are evidently introduced as explanatory of the names Massah and Meribah v. 7, vs. 2, 7 are ascribed to J and vs. 3-6 to E. But while its relation to v. 7 accounts for the form of v. 2 and makes it a necessary part of the narrative, v. 3 is equally essential if the writer wished to insert the language of the people's murmurs. Instead of these verses being mutually exclusive and suggestive of different writers, they belong together and supplement each other.

Jülicher followed by Kittell partitions the clauses of vs. 5,6 between J and E, as though "go on before the people" represented a different conception of the spectators of the scene from "take with thee of the elders of Israel;" and "I will stand before thee there upon the rock," was suggestive of an exercise of divine power without human instrumentality, and so to be discriminated from "thou shalt smite the rock." Such a rending apart of what belongs together and injecting a discordance where none exists, are customary methods of effecting critical dissection. This instance, glaring as it is, is not really more so than others which have found more acceptance.

The name Meribah *chiding* or *strife* given to this place because of the chiding of the children of Israel was likewise given to Kadesh subsequently where a somewhat similar scene occurred. This has been made a pretext for alleging that these are but variant accounts of the same transaction, in spite of the explicit testimony of the sacred historian to the contrary, and of the manifest difference of time and place and attendant circumstances, as well as of subsequent allusions which clearly distinguish them, one being called by its alternate designation Massah, Deut. 6:16; 9:22, and the other Meribah-Kadesh, Num. 27:14; Deut. 32:51; Ezek. 47:19; 48:28. It has been claimed that still another divergent story is implied, Deut. 38:8. In the narratives the people are said to have tempted or proved Jehovah, and to have striven with Jehovah. In this passage Jehovah is said to have proved his godly one, i. e. Aaron at Massah, and striven with him at the waters of Meribah. This is simply another aspect of the same transactions. While the people were chiding with their leaders Moses and Aaron and murmuring against God, Moses and Aaron were themselves put to the test and their constancy and fidelity severely tried by these occurrences, and at Meribah Kadesh the Lord's controversy with them was such as to exclude them from Canaan. Dillmann discredits the miracle altogether and declares the digging of the well described, Num. 21:16-18, is another and simpler view of the way in which a supply of water was procured for the people. If a critic's unsupported conjecture outweighs the statement of a trustworthy historical record, so it must be. Horeb is the name not of a peak but of a range of mountains; and the rock which was the scene of this miracle was doubtless in the immediate vicinity of Rephidim.

Joshua, v. 9, receives by anticipation this name which was given him at a later time, Num. 13:8,16. The unity of vs. 8-16 is commonly conceded, and its continuity with the preceding is vouched for by its occurrence at Rephidim, cf. v. 1. Schrader stands alone in sundering vs. 14-16 from the verses which precede and to which it is intimately related. Wellhausen remarks that there is no mention that the command, v. 14, was obeyed and Jülicher that the language attributed to the children of Israel, v. 7, had not been used in the preceding narrative; which shows not that the record is incomplete, or that anything has been dropped from the text, but that the author left some things which were sufficiently obvious of themselves to the intelligence of his readers.

The language of this chapter affords no justification of the critical partition which is here proposed. The wording of the complaint, v. 3b E, resembles that in 16:3b P too closely to be from different pens. The "elders of Israel," the "rod" with the allusion to 7:20, and Horeb are claimed as marks of E; but they are not so in any distinctive sense. On the critics' own division "elders of Israel" is found in J, 12:21; 24:1,9; Num. 11:16,24,25; Josh. 7:6, also in P, Lev. 9:1, where it is combined in the same context with "children of Israel," v. 3, and "congregation" כל העדה v. 5 as here vs. 1,7; and in Lev. 4:15 וקני העדה "elders of the congregation" are united in the same expression. The rod of Moses is only assigned to E by an arbitrary allotment, and this can only be carried through by repeatedly sundering clauses that contain it from their proper connection. Nevertheless Moses' rod is in J, 4:2,4 and this is expressly identified with the one by which miracles were wrought, 7:15. The rod, which Moses directs Aaron to use and which in the intention of the narrator, or, if the critics please, the redactor, is identical with that of Moses, cf. 7:15-20, is repeatedly given to P, 7:9-12,19; 8:1,12,13. In 14:16 it is sliced out of a P context and given to E, though there is nothing in E with which to connect it. In Num. 20:9 Dillmann concedes it to P; and in v. 11 it occurs with עדה congregation, which creates the quandary that the rod must be given to P, or עדה which is alleged to be uniformly characteristic of P must be given to E, or R must be invoked to relieve the difficulty. Horeb occurs but twice beside in the Hexateuch, apart from Deuteronomy viz. Ex. 3:1; 33:6. Its use here is plainly required by the situation. Israel had not yet reached Sinai, 19:1, but was in the vicinity of another point in the range, which collectively bore the name of Horeb. If גבר, v. 11 and חלש, v. 13, are claimed for E, because גבורה and חלושה occur 32:18, it is to be said that except in one poetic passage, Gen. 49:26, גבר only occurs beside in the Hex., Gen. 7:18,19,20,24 P. Hur is mentioned again, Ex. 24:14 E, but so he is 31:2; 35:30; 38:22 P. In v. 9 "the rod of God" is so called because of the divine power that accompanied it so that Elohim is entirely in place; but if this is held to be a mark of E, how is it with Jehovah, vs. 4,5,14-16? Schrader is alone in his attempt to relieve this in part by ascribing vs. 14-16 to J, and thus separating them from the verses which precede and give them all their meaning.

6. Chapter 18.

We are told that this chapter belongs to E, since Elohim occurs in it so frequently. But as Jehovah is found in the first twelve verses quite as often as Elohim, it is assumed that J had the same story and R has introduced clauses from it here and there. Thus v. 1b is pronounced superfluous, whereas it emphasizes the chief benefit included in the more general statement of v. 1a. There is no repetition in v. 8; the first clause relates to the plagues and the events of the exodus, the last clause to what had taken place since. And the partition of the

verse would not at any rate answer the purpose of the critics, for Jehovah occurs in both clauses. Verses 9,10 are not doublets, for the former describes Jethro's feelings, the latter tells how he gave expression to them. Neither is there any redundancy in v. 10 itself; for delivering out of the hand of the Egyptians, as was done at the Red Sea, is distinct from delivering from under their hand or from Egyptian bondage. Jülicher accordingly admits that there is nothing to justify the assumption of a parallel account from J, but only a rhetorical tendency to fulness and embellishment. The deliverances referred to are so grand that they are dwelt upon and emphasized.

But then there is no way of accounting for the repeated use of Jehovah except charging it upon R. This is the expedient constantly resorted to by the critics in similar dilemmas. It is, however, a dangerous venture, for it really unsettles their whole hypothesis. All the arguments and the criteria on which they base their partition rest on the primary assumption that the texts of the different documents have been accurately preserved, and especially that the names of God have been transmitted unaltered. If Elohim has been changed into Jehovah six times within the compass of twelve verses for no apparent reason, and as many times in the chapter immediately preceding, not to speak of numerous other instances which have been pointed out before and those which will come into view hereafter, what have they to anchor to? And the more complicated their scheme, the worse it is for them. The more minute the fragments which they undertake to select out and recognize on the one hand, and the more numerous the redactors and the more frequent and comprehensive the revisions and textual modifications which they are compelled to assume on the other, the more precarious all their reasoning becomes. Unsettling the text as they do by their arbitrary assumptions, they of necessity cut away the ground from beneath their own feet.

In actual fact there is no mystery whatever in the use of the divine names in this chapter. It is only necessary to bear in mind that Jethro was not an Israelite. It was natural, therefore, that Elohim should be used in what he says and in what is said of him and to him, so vs. 12 sqq., except where there is explicit reference to Israel's God, cf. v. 11, so vs. 8-10. In v. 1 both forms of speech are combined; the divine benefit conferred upon Moses and Israel, of which Jethro had heard, culminated in the God of Israel's having led them out of Egypt. "The God of my father," Abraham or Jacob, v. 4, is as specific as the God of Israel. "The mount of God," v. 5, is so called from the divine manifestations there made to Moses, 3:1, and to Israel, ch. 19 sqq.

That there is no discrepancy in the various passages relating to Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, was shown, *HEBRAICA*, VII., pp. 118-9. The mention of him here consequently affords no ground for critical partition. Nor does his bringing Moses' wife and sons to him, which is not in conflict with the statement, 4:20,24-28, that he took his wife with him when he left Midian, *HEBRAICA*,

VII., p. 122. It is expressly stated that he had sent her back, which was a most natural thing for him to do, when he discovered that difficulties were likely to arise from Pharaoh's refusal to let the people go. The critics refer this clause in 18:2 to R for no reason but that a seeming discrepancy can thus be created. The allegation that if she had been sent back, this would have been stated at the time of its occurrence, is without foundation. The mention of Zipporah is purely incidental. The historian was not tracing her life and fortunes. It is his habit thus to suggest when the occasion arises, what he had not thought it needful to mention before, cf. Gen. 18:1; 14:14; 15:7; 19:14; 20:12,13; 32:3. To explain the identity of 2:22 and 18:3 the critics have to assume that J has copied from E, whereas the simple fact is that the writer here repeats the mention already made of Moses' eldest son now that he has occasion to speak of both together.

A discrepancy has been charged between v. 5 and 19:2. It is stated, v. 5, that Jethro found Moses already encamped at the mount of God and yet it is not until 19:2 that the people leave Rephidim for Sinai. Some have thought that the mount of God here means not Sinai but that part of Horeb near Rephidim, where water had been miraculously brought from the rock, 17:6, or that Rephidim was so near to Sinai that the encampment might with propriety be said to be at either place. The true explanation doubtless is that there is a slight departure from chronological exactness for the sake of a better topical arrangement. Jethro's visit belongs in time after the arrival at Sinai, but is narrated before it, in order not to interrupt the continuity of the divine legislation, which occupied the entire term of Israel's abode at the mount, filling the rest of Exodus, the whole of Leviticus and some chapters in Numbers. The chronological order is subordinated to the topical by all historians, whenever they find it conducive to a better presentation of their subject to do so. Repeated instances occur in the Mosaic record. Thus the plagues are related in unbroken series until the day on which the smiting of the firstborn was to take place, ch. 11, cf. v. 4. Then in order to bring together all that relates to the institution of the passover by which Israel was set free from that infiction and the way was paved for the exodus, the writer reverts from the fourteenth day of the month to directions given some days before, 12:3. And the dedication offerings of the princes are not related until Numbers, ch. 7, although they were presented immediately after the setting up of the tabernacle, Ex. 40:17 sqq.; and the consecration of its vessels, Lev. 8:10,11; the legislation could thus be completed first without interruption.

There is another account in Deut. ch. 1 of the appointment of judges recorded in this chapter. Moses there begins his address to the people by referring to the divine command to leave Horeb and proceed to Canaan, v. 6. He then adds, v. 9, "And I spake to you at that time" of the need of judges to assume the burden of ordinary judicial decisions. And in v. 18, "I commanded you at that time all the things which ye should do." As this alludes to the entire body of statutes given

at Sinai, "at that time" cannot be limited to the moment of their departure from the mountain, but must be used in a general sense to cover the period of their abode there. It is here spoken of among the preliminaries of their march to Canaan that the organization was effected and the legal constitution was drawn up, provided with which they were prepared to move onward to the promised land. The account in Exodus and that in Deuteronomy supplement each other in certain particulars, but there is no inconsistency between them. There is nothing in Deuteronomy to conflict with the statement in Exodus that the appointment of judges was first suggested by Jethro; and nothing in Exodus to conflict with the statement in Deuteronomy that the men appointed by Moses were first selected by the people.

The allegation that Num. 11:11 sqq. is a variant version of this same transaction from a different document is a mistake. Seventy elders were there chosen to aid Moses in the general administration of national affairs. This was at a different time and was a distinct thing from the selection of judges to settle individual strifes.

1) LANGUAGE OF P.*

OLD WORDS.

(1) יהוה (2) קדש V., p. 151 d (also JE). (3) עשה Ex. 7:10,11,20,22; 8:3,13,14; 14:4; 16:17; Num. 5:4; 8:3 P. Gen. 29:28; 42:20,25; 45:21; 50:12; Ex. 8:20; 17:6 E. Josh. 4:8; 5:15; 9:26; 10:23 JE. (4) ואני הנני three times in Hex., V., p. 174. (5) ערת בני' Sect. 14, Lang. of P. (6) סככ Sect. 6, Lang. of P (also J and E). (7) אכלה V., p. 151 e. (8) משכרת Sect. 14, Lang. of P. (9) דלת V., p. 174. (10) נתן (= שים) V., p. 152, 12 (also J and E). (11) חוק את לב Ex. 9:12; 14:8,17 P; 4:21; 10:20,27; 11:10 E; Josh. 11:20 D. (12) הערבים בין Sect. 14, Lang. of P.

NEW WORDS.

(1) על הים Ex. 14:2,9,16,21,26,27 P (where JE uses על שפת הים v. 30, but with a somewhat different application); cf. a like diversity in phrases attributed to the same document, חול הים Gen. 32:13 J; 41:49 E, but חול אשר על שפת הים Josh. 11:4 JE.

(2) ככר (Niph.) Ex. 14:4,17,18; Lev. 10:3 P; Gen. 34:19 J; Num. 22:15 E; not "in later prophets" only but Isa. 3:5; 23:8,9; Nah. 3:10.

(3) נָכַח Ex. 26:35; 40:24; Num. 19:4; Josh. 15:7; 18:17 P; Gen. 25:21; 30:38 J; נָכַח Ex. 14:2 P.

(4) כבוד יהוה also JE Num. 14:21,23 (so Driver); J Ex. 33:18 (thy glory), 22 (my glory), both referring to Jehovah.

(5) גלגלת Ex. 16:16; 33:26; Num. 1:2,18,20,22; 3:47 P.

(6) עמר Ex. 16:16,18,22,32,33,36 P; nowhere else in O. T. in this sense.

(7) ערף Ex. 16:18,23; 26:12 bis, 13; Lev. 25:27; Num. 3:43,48,49 P.

(8) נשיא העדה is referred by rule to P, so that Num. 32:2 and Josh. 9:15b,17-21, though in a JE context, are assigned to P simply because of this expression; so is Num. 32:4 because of ערה. ערה occurs in Num. 16:26 J; 20:10,11 JE (so Driver; Dillmann gives 10a to P, 11 to E); and in Josh. 22:16-18 it is found in connection with various marks of JE. Dillmann assigns Josh. 22:12 to JE but tries to explain away the presence of ערה as an insertion by R. נשיא is also in Ex. 22:27 E.

(9) שבתון Ex. 16:23; Lev. 16:31 P. Ex. 31:15; 35:2 are alleged to belong to a later addition to P, and Lev. 23:3,24,32,39; 25:4,5 to the Holiness Laws.

(10) עריות also in E Ex. 32:15 and JE Josh. 4:16,

(11) מכע also in J according to Driver, who refers Gen. 18:3 to this document.

* The numbers are those of HEBRAICA, VI., p. 242sq. The references are to former articles in this series, where the proper explanations are given.

Ἀπαξ λεγόμενα.

These of course afford no indication of a writer's usage.

2) LANGUAGE OF J.*

OLD WORDS.

(1) יהוה (2) בעבור V., p. 155. (3) חזקה יר Sect. 13, Lang. of J. (4) למען also in E Gen. 37:22; 50:20; Ex. 1:11; 11:9; 20:12; and in P Ex. 16:32 and according to Driver Num. 15:40. (5) מה-ואת V., p. 155, also E Gen. 29:25; 42:28. (6) קשה (as verb) Sect. 9, Lang. of E, also P Ex. 7:3. (7) הרג Sect. 13, Lang. of J; also in E; in P Num. 31:7,17,19. (8) על-כן Sect. 5, Lang. of J; also in E; in P Ex. 20:11; Lev. 17:12; Num. 18:24. (9) לכב Sect. 6, Lang. of E. (10) הקריב (approach) Sect. 5, Lang. of J; intrans. only Gen. 12:11; Ex. 14:10. (11) נשא צעק Sect. 5, Lang. of J; also in E. (12) חרל Sect. 6, Lang. of J; also in E and P. (13) קרים Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (14) שקף Sect. 6, Lang. of J. (15) מטר V., p. 155. (16) באש Sect. 13, Lang. of E; also in P. (17) מאן Sect. 10, Lang. of E.

NEW WORDS.

(1) עברים בית Ex. 18:3,14 J; 20:2; Josh. 24:

OLD WORDS.

(1) מלהים (2) פן V., p. 155, also in J. (3) נחם (repent) Ex. 18:17 E; Gen. 6:6,7; Ex. 32:12, 14 J; all in Hex. (4) מטה (staff or rod) Ex. 4:17,20; 7:15,17,20; 9:23; 10:13; 14:16; 17:5,9; Num. 20:9,11 E; Gen. 38:18,25; Ex. 4:2,4 J; Ex. 7:9,10, 12b,19; 8:1,12,13; Num. 17:17sq.; 20:8 P; all in Hex. (5) נהל Sect. 8, Lang. of J. (6) רגז Sect. 11, Lang. of E; twice in Hex. besides once in Deut. (7) נבהל Sect. 11, Lang. of E; twice in Hex. (8) על-כן Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (9) צעק Sect. 2, Lang. of J. (10) שים V., p. 154; also in J and P. (11) שמע לקול V., p. 154; also in J. (12) מן (Hiph.) Gen. 4:23 J; Ex. 15:26; Num. 23:18 E; twice in Deut.; all in Hex. (13) למה זק Sect. 6, Lang. of J. (14) חרב Sect. 13, Lang. of E; apart from Deut. three times in Hex. (15) נצב על Sect. 8, Lang. of J. (16) מוכח V., p. 175; also in J. (17) דר דר Ex. 8:15; 17:16 E; all in O. T. (18) מזהל Sect. 2, Lang. of J; also in P Ex. 16:16; Lev. 14:8; Num. 19:14,18, besides its frequent use to denote the sacred Tabernacle. (19) לקראת Sect. 5, Lang. of J.

* The numbers are those of Heb., VI., p. 246sq.

(1) צנצנת Ex. 16:38 P.

(2) עפירות 16:31 P.

17 E; six times in Deut.; all in Hex.

(2) המיש Ex. 13:22 J (or E ?); 33:11 E; all in Hex.

(3) שלשים Ex. 14:7 J; 15:4 E; all in Hex.

(4) נסה Ex. 15:25; 16:4; 17:2,7 J; Gen. 22:1; Ex. 20:20 E; Num. 14:22 R or E; eight times in Deut.; all in Hex.

(5) ער-מנה Ex. 16:28 J; Josh. 18:3 E; Num. 14:11b R or E; all in Hex.

(6) נחה Gen. 24:27,48; Ex. 32:34; Deut. 32:12 J; Ex. 18:17; 15:13; Num. 23:7 E; Ex. 18:21 J or E; all in Hex.

RARE WORDS.

(1) חזק יר Ex. 18:3,14,16 J; all in O. T. (2) שנהר Ex. 18:10 J; all in Hex. (3) שנהר Ex. 18:12 J; four times in Deut.; all in Hex. (4) ערף (verb) Ex. 18:13; 34:20 J; Deut. 21:4,6; all in Hex. (5) מוטפות Ex. 18:16 J; twice in Deut.; all in O. T. (6) תולע Ex. 16:20 J; all in Hex.; (7) רקמה Ex. 16:24 J; all in Hex. (8) ארץ נשבת Ex. 16:35 J; all in O. T.

3) LANGUAGE OF E.†

הציל (20) מיש לרעהו Sect. 4, Lang. of J. (21) על Sect. 10, Lang. of E; also in J and P. (22) על אודות Sect. 6, Lang. of E; also in J. (23) נם-נם Sect. 12, Lang. of J; also in P.

NEW WORDS.

(1) חקשים Ex. 18:18 E; Josh. 1:14; 4:12 Rd; all in Hex.

(2) צמא (verb) Ex. 17:3; (noun) Ex. 17:3 E; Deut. 28:48; (adj.) Deut. 29:18; צמאון Deut. 8:15; the root and its derivatives, all in Hex.

(3) צור Ex. 17:6b; Num. 23:9; Josh. 5:2,3 E; Ex. 33:21,22; Deut. 32:4 sqq. J; Deut. 8:15; all in Hex.

(4) חזה Ex. 18:21; 24:11 E; Num. 24:4,16 J; all in Hex.

(5) מחלות Ex. 15:20 E; 32:19 J; all in Hex.

(6) נול Ex. 15:8 E; Num. 24:7; Deut. 32:2 J; all in Hex.

RARE WORDS.

(1) נכבדת Ex. 14:25 E; all in O. T. (2) מופן Ex. 14:25 E; all in Hex. (3) מתק Ex. 15:25 E; all in Hex.

† The numbers are those of Heb., VI., p. 249sq.

SECTION 16. EXODUS 19:1-34:35.

1. Chapter 19.

The critics are seriously puzzled in their attempt to effect a satisfactory partition of this chapter. They are generally agreed that P must be limited to the first two verses; but there their agreement ends. Most of them refer vs. 1, 2a to P, inasmuch as dates and stations are commonly assigned to him. Jülicher inverts the order, vs. 2a, 1, for the sake of a closer correspondence with 16:1. According to Kuenen (*Hex.*, p. 72) these verses are in P's style, though whether they come from him must remain uncertain since they are now worked into a narrative taken from elsewhere. The fact is that these verses are a necessary introduction to the chapter, and if they be sundered from the narrative that follows, it will contain no statement of the people's arrival at Sinai, the scene of the occurrences described is left in doubt until v. 11, and "the mount," v. 2b, presupposes some antecedent explanation which is missing. To relieve this difficulty some would share the opening verses between P and the body of the chapter. Knobel followed by Nöldeke and Kittell give 2a to P and attach v. 1 to what follows. Kayser attains the same end by reversing the process, giving v. 1 to P and attaching 2a to what follows.

It is in the rest of the chapter, however, that the critical confusion chiefly reigns. Kuenen after referring to the want of agreement among critics (*Hex.*, p. 157) passes this judgment upon the case: "Clearly all is uncertainty. The cause is not far to seek: the Sinai stories have passed through many phases before reaching their present form, and no small part of the original contents of the documents has been lost in the process." Of the reason here given there is not the slightest evidence; but the fact that the critics are widely divergent in their conclusions is obvious enough.

Commonly the bulk of the chapter is parcelled in one way or another between J and E; but Kuenen takes ground against this, and says, *Hex.*, p. 142: "It is doubtful whether J has contributed anything to the account of the Sinaitic legislation." He exposes the motive of the partition, *Hex.*, p. 157: "Wellhausen and Dillmann evidently start from the assumption that J described the events at Sinai, and that we must possess at any rate some remains of his account." This is the whole matter in a nutshell. The composite character, which they affirm, is not a conclusion reached after an impartial investigation. They have simply found what they were predetermined to find.

The greater part of the chapter is usually given to E, and reference made to the occurrence of Elohîm,* vs. 3, 17, 19, but Jehovah occurs much more frequently

* Elohîm points to the divine in these manifestations in contrast with mere natural phenomena. It was no ordinary cloud charged with thunder and lightning that descended upon the summit, but Moses went up unto God, v. 3, the people were brought out to meet with God, v. 17, Moses spake and God answered him in loud tones, v. 19. Jehovah is the personal name of the Being who thus manifested his presence.

(eighteen times), which can only be explained by attributing it to R. Sinai, vs. 11, 18, and other J words are also laid to his account. It is easy to see that any hypothesis whatever can be carried through by a free use of R. However the facts may conflict with critical assumptions, the infallibility of the assumptions is never suspected. R is to blame. Certain words are assigned to J as his peculiarity; certain others to E. When these are found inextricably mingled, the unsophisticated might imagine that the same writer was freely using both. But no; R has been mixing J and E. That the critics are unable to effect the partition of the chapter and their criteria cannot be made to tally with its contents is surely no very convincing proof that there must have been a parallel narrative to account for the divergence. The argument reduced to plain English amounts to this: Inasmuch as the facts are at variance with the hypothesis, therefore the hypothesis is true and the facts must be corrected accordingly.

Jülicher claims that 3b is by a different hand from 3a, because Jehovah's calling to him out of the mount implies that Moses had not ascended it but was below. It may be presumed that he had never read 24:15, 16. He further urges, and in this Dr. Driver follows him, that the natural sequel of, v. 3, *went up* would be not be, v. 7, *came*, but, v. 14, *went down*. This triviality Dr. Dillmann very properly disregards. In 24:3 according to the common analysis of critics (Jülicher (20:21) and Driver (19:24) included) *came* is the antithesis of a preceding *went up*. In numberless instances *came* alternates with *went down*, Gen. 42:2, 3, 5; 46:3, 6; 1 Sam. 10:8; 26:6, 7; and in the chapter before us cf. v. 9, *come*, v. 18, *descended*; v. 10, *go*, v. 14, *went down*. Dillmann affirms that vs. 3-8 belongs to the oldest of the documents; Kuenen, Hex., p. 246, that its strong assertion of Jehovah's unity and supremacy and its highly idealistic conception of Israel's relation to other peoples stamp it as a late insertion.

In proof of the composite character of this chapter, it is further urged:

"Verse 9a is incongruous after v. 8." It is hard to see why. The people's pledge of obedience is followed by the promise on the Lord's part that he will come in the thick cloud and speak in their hearing, thus affording them convincing evidence that the words are really his.

"Verse 9b is superfluous after 8b." But 8b is the general preliminary statement of what was actually done in 9b. Such prefatory statements are of constant occurrence in Hebrew narratives, e. g., Gen. 24:29b, cf. 30b; 28:5b summing up what follows to 29:13; 31:18b; 31:23b, cf. 26; 31:46b, cf. 54; Ex. 2:15b, cf. 21; 4:20a. These are eagerly seized upon by critics and converted into indications of a double narrative, when on the contrary these summary anticipations of particulars to be subsequently given are suggestive only of unity and a consistent plan. Dr. Driver seems inclined to suspect that 9b is only an accidental repetition of 8b. If so, it only raises a question of textual criticism and has no bearing on that of critical partition.

"Verse 20, Jehovah is said to have come down on Mount Sinai, though he had already descended upon it, v. 18." But, as Jülicher remarks, v. 20 may be regarded as a comprehensive summing up of what precedes. Or it may be said with Ranke, *Untersuchungen über d. Pentateuch*, II., p. 41. The actual descent takes place in v. 16, and v. 17 the people are brought out to meet with God; v. 18 paints the majestic scene for the eye, v. 19 for the ear. And after these grand features have been set forth, the detailed description of what took place begins, v. 20.

"Verse 21 repeats the command, v. 12." And it is very natural that such a charge should be repeated as the supreme moment was approaching. That it had been given before is expressly stated, v. 23, which the critics throw out of the text simply because it nullifies their objection.

"כֹּל *ram's horn*, v. 18, is quite distinct from שֹׁפָר *trumpet*, vs. 16, 19." How this can be said in the face of their explicit identification, Josh 6:4-9, 18, it is difficult to see.

"Verse 19 is continued 20:1 sqq., and vs. 20-25 interrupt the connection." But what the Lord said to Moses, cf. v. 20, must be distinguished from the words addressed to all the people, 20:1 sqq., 22. There is consequently no interruption; vs. 20-25 record the last preliminary to the proclamation of the decalogue.

"Vs. 22, 24, the priests and Aaron are introduced without preparation." But Aaron had been repeatedly associated with Moses before, and there is no reason why he should not be now. The mention of priests in this single passage acquaints us with a fact known from no other source, that such an order existed in Israel at this time. We know nothing further about them, and conjectures are of no avail. It is sufficient for our present purpose that this conflicts with no explicit statement made elsewhere. It can therefore supply no argument for a diversity of documents. The critics affirm what they have no means of knowing, when they allege that these verses belong to a document representing a different view of the origin of the priesthood from that embodied in other portions of the Pentateuch.

"Verse 25 וַיֹּאמֶר *and said unto them* (not *and told them*) should be followed by a statement of the words reported." Such an abrupt termination of the sentence as is here supposed, rendering it absolutely senseless, cannot be attributed to any intelligent redactor. He has not stupidly broken off this extract without completing the sense and begun to draw from another document, but the sentence is complete as it stands. וַיֹּאמֶר here can only mean "and he said so unto them," i. e., he repeated what the Lord had just charged him to say. Another example of the same description occurs Gen. 4:8, where it cannot possibly be twisted to favor a diversity of documents.

"Verses 21, 24 אֵל הָרֶם *break through unto*, and vs. 22, 24, בִּרְצֹן *break forth upon*, are new expressions not used before." These words occur here in a sense peculiar to this passage, and which is foreign to both J and E. And in the very same paragraph, in which he uses this argument, Dr. Dillmann insists that a few rare expressions like סָנְלָה v. 5, יָרָה v. 12, וְיָרָה v. 13, do not prove E's dependence on some other document.

"According to 19:13b [= E?] the horn-blast is the signal of God's departure, when the people may ascend to the mountain; but in v. 16 [= J] it announces Yahweh's arrival." HEBRAICA, VI., p. 261. In a foot-note reference is made to Dillmann "for a full discussion on this point." But Dillmann makes no such distinction between the documents as is here proposed by Dr. Harper. And it is impracticable whether upon the analysis in his comment on the passage, which gives vs. 13 and 17 to E, or that in his final dissertation, which gives 13b and 16 to J. The only question which can be raised is one not of criticism but of interpretation, viz., whether the protracted notes and coming up to the mount בָּהֶר 13b are to be understood differently from the sound of the trumpet, v. 16, and coming to the nether part of the mount בְּתוֹחֹתָיָהּ v. 17. A distinction is made by the LXX. and some modern interpreters, but has little probability in its favor.

Jülicher has the fantastic notion that in J Jehovah comes down from heaven upon the mountain, but in E he had his dwelling upon the mountain itself and no descent was necessary: and his partition is made upon this basis. Others divide it so that some of the particulars recorded in the chapter are assigned to one document and the rest to another, but with no guiding principle and in a purely arbitrary way. It is generally confessed that no clearly defined analysis

can be carried through. Dillmann gives it up so far vs. 3-6, 11, 16, 18 are concerned, which he refers to both J and E. Jülicher acknowledges that the two accounts are woven so intimately together that the attempt of criticism to find out the source of every clause and word deserves censure rather than approval.

2. Chapter 20.

The text of the decalogue in Deut. 5:6-18 differs in some particulars from that in Exodus. Wellhausen maintains that the Exodus text has been modified into conformity with that of Deuteronomy and that it is irrational to give preference to the former throughout, yet a careful comparison of the two texts demonstrates beyond intelligent contradiction the priority of that in Exodus. The difference is precisely what might be expected in a free reproduction in a popular address such as Deuteronomy professes to contain.

The classification of Dr. Dillmann exhibits this in the most satisfactory manner. The deviations of Deuteronomy consisting of back references, vs. 12, 15, 16 as Jehovah thy God hath commanded thee; insertions for rhetorical amplification, v. 14, thine ox nor thine ass nor any of, v. 18 his field, vs. 9, 17, 18 ו inserted, v. 18, *desire* רצוון alternating with *covet* חמד, v. 16 and that it may go well with thee; v. 14, regard for the oppressed which is characteristic of Deuteronomy, that thy manservant and thy maldservant may rest as well as thou; v. 15, motive drawn from the deliverance from Egypt, as often in Deuteronomy; v. 12 "keep" substituted for "remember" and the latter reserved for v. 15; v. 18 by an inversion of clauses "wife" is put before "house," whereas if this be taken in the sense of household the wife is included and the proper order is for the particular to follow the general term. His conclusion is that at the utmost there are only two instances in which preference might be accorded to the text of Deuteronomy, and even in these this is not necessary, viz., v. 17 שוא (for שקר) and v. 8 omitted before כל תמונה.

Dillmann's conclusion is irrefragable that the Exodus text is demonstrated by unmistakable internal evidence to be nearer the original form of the decalogue than that in Deuteronomy. The former, consequently, cannot have been derived from the latter: the derivation is the other way. What Wellhausen calls "the Deuteronomic tinge" of the decalogue in Exodus, the correspondence of its language with favorite expressions in Deuteronomy is not and cannot be due to its having been conformed to the text of Deuteronomy. And this manifest instance disposes of the like assumption in other cases, where expressions and ideas more or less resembling those of Deuteronomy, found in other books are confidently affirmed to be interpolated by a Deuteronomic reviser.

Jülicher points out in minute detail the coincidences between the decalogue in Exodus and the general style of Deuteronomy, יהוה אלהיך, vs. 2, 5 (with אנכי prefixed), 7, 10, 12; 2b is genuinely deuteronomic, so is עבדים; v. 3 is not only in form deuteronomic but the fundamental dogma of the book; v. 4, cf. Deut. 4:16-18, 23-25, 39; v. 5 seq., עשה חסד, אהב, and שונא of men to Yahweh; Deut. 7:9 seq.; Josh. 2:12-14 (Ex. 16:28); 7b, נקה, reference to punishment and reward as v. 12 is specifically deuteronomic. For ונכר v. 8, Deuteronomy has שמור but ונכר also frequently occurs Deut. 25:17 and stress is constantly laid on keeping God's commands in remembrance; v. 9, עבר, and עשה מלאכה are frequent in Deuteronomy; v. 10, the enumeration

of those affected by the observance of the Sabbath, especially אשר בשערך point to Deuteronomy; v. 12b למען ימיו, הארץ, הארץ, על הארץ or על הארץ. אשר יהיה אליה נחן לך. אשר יהיה אליה נחן לך. אשר יהיה אליה נחן לך. have numerous parallels in Deuteronomy.

The Exodus text can claim precedence over that of Deuteronomy. But is it after all the true original text of the decalogue? Dillmann says, no; and adduces three proofs, "out of the house of bondage," v. 2, "within thy gates," v. 10. and the whole of v. 11.

The first of these is a phrase which occurs frequently in Deuteronomy, but is also found, Ex. 18:3,4, which according to Dillmann's analysis belongs to J and so is predeuteronomic. He argues that these words are not necessary to the sentence in 20:2, and are therefore a later addition and borrowed from J. But in fact they are not a superfluous appendage. They are quite important where they stand, as suggesting why deliverance from Egypt was so great a benefit and laid the people under such obligation. There is no reason for suspecting their genuineness and originality: on the contrary there is every reason why they should be where they are.

He further questions the accuracy of the text in v. 10 "within thy gates." This expression, however, does not imply, as he seems to imagine, that the people were already occupying cities in Canaan, but only that they were looking forward to the speedy possession of them: which is plainly regarded as future, v. 12, "the land, which Jehovah thy God is giving thee."

But chief stress is laid upon v. 11, the reason annexed to the fourth commandment, which is replaced by a different reason, Deut. 5:15. Now, it is argued, while Deuteronomy makes additions, it nowhere omits anything from the text of the decalogue. The reason in Deuteronomy is drawn from the bondage of Egypt, which is similarly urged in this book in other connections, Deut. 15:15; 16:12; 24:8,22. Moreover it has not the form of the reasons to the preceding commandments as that in Exodus has. And while it gives a reason for observing a rest sacred to Jehovah, it does not account for its recurring on the seventh day, as is done in Exodus. If now the reason in Exodus had been based upon statements in J or E, it would have given the critics no special trouble. But instead of this it rests on the six days of creation and God's resting on the seventh, recorded by P, Gen. 1:1-2:3. The decalogue is then according to the critics a most extraordinary conglomerate, in which each of the documents has its share. It is found in E but has words and phrases of J, P, and D. The original material must have been successively worked over by Rj, Rd and Rp to bring it to its present shape. It has, however, already been shown that the D phrases, which are in much the largest number, could not have been borrowed from Deuteronomy. And there is not a particle more reason for deriving the P and J phrases from those documents. This ancient law of the ten commandments according to the combined testimony of all four of the documents, as the critics divide them,

were given to Moses on Mt. Sinai, graven on stone, and ever after kept in the sanctuary. This, then, is Mosaic, if anything was. And yet it combines in itself the characteristics of all the documents as the critics conceive them. The unity of the decalogue thus proclaims the unity and common authorship of all that the critics partition into so-called documents.

It is alleged, however, *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 259, note 3, that in their primitive form the ten commandments were "ten brief phrases" like the 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th, and that they have been amplified to their present dimensions by specifications and reasons subsequently added. Such brevity, it is said, was demanded by their being engraved on stone, and also by their symmetrical division into two tables, if as is commonly assumed one table contained duties to God and the other duties to man. But this reduction of the commandments to brief phrases is purely conjectural and is at variance with the explicit statement, 20:1, God spake all these words; and with the terms of the second commandment in which Jehovah speaks in the first person throughout, though this style of address is not continued in those that follow; 32:15 the tables "were written on both their sides, on the one side and on the other were they written," which implies commandments of considerable length. The correspondence between the two texts shows that there was a fixed and authorized form throughout, the deviations from which in Deuteronomy have been already accounted for. Had there been brief divine commands with explications from different sources, as the critics assume, there would have been a wide diversity in form and language in these additions instead of the existing agreement. But even if their assumption were well founded, the critical results would not follow which have been built upon it. The natural inference would be that the explications were added by Moses, and neither the reference to the six days of creation nor the phrases of Deuteronomy, which so embarrass the critics, would occasion surprise.

Accept the clear statement of Scripture that these commandments were given to Moses and recorded by him, and all is plain and just as it should be. Admit the partition of the critics and all is inharmonious and an immense amount of tinkering is necessary to adjust the decalogue to its present place. It is found by almost unanimous critical consent in the document E,* but in a form which has none of the alleged characteristics of E, while it has instead the characteristics of documents of much later date. It borrows from P and is throughout in the style of D, though D's own decalogue is not the copy from which it was taken but is itself a modified form of that which is contained in E. This complication created by the critics themselves requires a complicated hypothesis to account for it, a whole series of writers and redactors with their respective additions and alterations. And all because the decalogue, while entirely consistent with itself and its surroundings, runs athwart the speculations and preconceptions of the critics.

* Only Schrader gives the decalogue to J.

The objections which have been brought against the Mosaic origin of the second commandment are fully refuted by Dillmann, Exodus and Leviticus, p. 209.

The critics are as much at a loss what to do with vs. 18-23 as with ch. 19. Kuenen transposes vs. 18-21 before vs. 1-17, linking the former to 19:17 and the latter to 24:12 and obtains this account of the transaction. Terrified by the manifestations of Jehovah's presence on the summit of Sinai, the people beg that Moses would speak to them and not God [though why they should have imagined that God meant to speak to them does not appear]. Accordingly Moses drew near to the thick darkness and God spake the decalogue to him. This primitive account contained no reference to any book of the covenant [ch. 21-23], or formal ratification of it, 24:3-8, but proceeds at once to 24:12, where Moses is bidden to ascend the mountain [though he was on the summit already], and there receive both the tables of stone and additional laws and commandments which have not yet been but are to be communicated to him.

Jülicher makes a like transposition and infers that the decalogue was originally spoken to Moses and so was the book of the covenant. But Rj thought that the decalogue ought to have been delivered in a different manner from the laws that followed. Accordingly he placed vs. 18-21 after vs. 1-17 and inserted vs. 22, 23 as introductory to the following code. He thus divided the Sinai legislation into two parts, viz., the ten commandments proclaimed of God to the whole people and 20:24-23:33, the statutes given through Moses.

According to Wellhausen the book of the covenant belongs to J's version of the legislation on Sinai not to E's. In E (20:1-19; 24:12) God utters the decalogue in the audience of the people and this completes the Sinai legislation proper. The people ask that all further communications should be made to them through Moses. He is accordingly bidden to ascend the mountain and receive the two tables as well as further instructions which are not published but which qualify him on all future occasions to speak in God's stead to the people; the law is simply put within him as a living power.

J's account (19:20-25....20:23-23:33; 24:3-8) is altogether different. He knows of no decalogue spoken by God himself, but only of a book of the covenant given to Moses (who is supposed to have ascended the mountain agreeably to the direction given to him, 19:24) and by him imparted to the people, who solemnly promise obedience.

Wellhausen infers that the decalogue and the book of the covenant belong to two distinct versions of the transactions at Sinai from the language of the people to Moses, v. 19. They do not say to him "Let God speak with thee and not with us," as though they expected further divine communications to be made. Their words are "speak thou with us, but let not God speak with us;" which he understands to place in contrast not Ex. 20 and Ex. 21-23, but immediate legislation

by God himself at one time and the whole subsequent government of the people by Moses and his successors. R framed these two mutually inconsistent stories into one narrative by inserting vs. 21,22 as a transition from one to the other.

Dr. Driver's analysis is here identical with that of Wellhausen except that he does not avail himself of the services of R. The consequence is that he gives 20:22 to J, who thus refers to the Lord's having talked with the people from heaven, although there is no previous mention of his having done so. This is a confession that J did record the very thing which has been sundered from him and given to E.

Dillmann attributes both the decalogue and the book of the covenant to E;* vs. 18 sqq. which are introductory to the latter are mainly attributed to E, though R has blended with them some clauses from J, who also had recorded the decalogue and its promulgation from the mouth of God. His account of the book of the covenant is given 34:10 sqq.

This comparison of the views of different critics shows how easy it is by transpositions and rejections from the text to alter the course and contents of a narrative *ad libitum*, and to create any number of incongruities and inconsistencies. These are, however, purely products of the critics' own brain and are entitled to no further consideration than other arbitrary fancies, which are destitute of any rational or historical basis. There is no valid reason to dispute the fidelity and correctness of the record of these transactions at Sinai. In as far as it is departed from by critical conclusions resting on mere conjecture, they have no solid foundation and no historical value.

As in the description of the awful scene at Sinai v. 18 combines the קול שפר and קול of 19:16, 19a J and קול עשן of 19:18 E, and differs from both in substituting לפידים for בריקים of the one and שם of the other Dillmann is compelled to refer it to R, whereas the slight variations of expression merely show that the like variation in the verses above mentioned is traceable not to diversity of documents but to the freedom of a writer who is not rigorously bound to the use of the same identical terms.

Verse 21, "the people stood afar off" is not superfluous beside v. 18, and suggestive of an interpolation from another document. It is repeated in order to put in contrast with it the fact that "Moses drew near."

The two reasons in v. 20 for God's visible coming are, as Dillmann acknowledges, "not mutually exclusive but supplementary." There is consequently no reason for parcelling them between different writers, especially as in that case R must be called in to account for the verbal correspondence between the clauses.

That v. 23 belongs where it stands is plain from the reference in v. 22 to what had just taken place and its correspondence in form with 19:3,4.

The appropriateness of vs. 24-26 is also plain as preliminary to 24:4. There is no reason for the opinion that it ever formed a part of the code, chs. 21-23, which has its own separate title, 21:1, and from which there was no occasion to sunder it if it properly belonged there.

* Schrader gives both to J.

3. Chapters 21-23.

Dillmann insists that *דִּבְרֵי חֻשְׁפִּים judgments*, 21:1, is to be interpreted strictly of enactments regulating civil relations, such as the ordinances relating to freedom, life and property, 21:2-22:16, but that it does not embrace the regulations, 22:17-23:33, which belong to the moral and spiritual sphere. The absence of a distinct title for the latter, however, shows that in the intention of the author *mishpatim* is here to be taken in a wider sense as including the entire body of regulations here given. It is charged that while the form of address is almost uniformly the 2d pers. sing. throughout the entire code, the spuriousness of 22:20b, 21, 23, 24b is betrayed by the use of the 2d plur.; nevertheless Dillmann himself nullifies this argument by defending the genuineness of 22:30 in spite of the plural verb. Alternations of sing. and plur. occur repeatedly elsewhere without any critical conclusions being drawn, e. g., Ex. 18:4, 5, 15, 16; Deut. 4:1, 8, 9, 16, 19; Isa. 80:20-22. If absolute uniformity is to be made the test of genuineness, why not reject 21:15-17 on account of the participial construction; and 21:29 because of *וְכָתָה* instead of *וְכָתָה* as 21:12, 15-17; 22:18; and 22:4 because of *בְּעִירָהּ* (the suf. *הּ* nowhere else in the code); and 23:1, 7 because of *לֹא* (instead of *לָ* as always elsewhere); and 23:14 because of *רְגִלִּים* instead of the more usual *פְּעָמִים* as v. 17? 23:9 is suspected because it is a repetition of 22:20, but the connection shows that the former relates particularly to judicial proceedings. There is at first sight a show of plausibility in the suggestion that 23:4, 5 is a later insertion, interjected as it is between vs. 3 and 6, which enjoin strict impartiality in the administration of justice to the poor; and its clauses differing in length and construction from those that precede and follow. Nevertheless there is a propriety in introducing just here an illustration of the manner in which one should act even towards an adversary in distress, and this is in accord with the spirit of these laws elsewhere.

Other passages are alleged to have been worked over by R simply because in their present form they conflict with the presuppositions of the critical hypothesis. Thus 23:18, it is said, can not have been in this ancient law book because it alludes to the recent promulgation of the decalogue; whereas this very allusion proves that this code of laws was drawn up at the very time when and place where the ten commandments were given. It is proposed to expunge from 23:15 the words "Thou shalt eat unleavened bread seven days, as I commanded thee," because the prior document E could not thus refer to the contents of J, 13:8 (or rather P, 12:15, 17), which was written later; whereas this reference simply proves that the critics are astray in their conclusions. It is affirmed that 23:23-25, 31b-33 must have been altered by R into conformity with J's warnings against Canaanite idolatry, 24:11 sq.; but this is with the view of creating a seeming diversity between the passages by erasing from one of them what they have in common. The charge that the command to expel the Canaanites, vs. 31-33, is inconsistent with the preceding declaration, vs. 29, 30, that this should only be effected gradually, requires no refutation.

Other verses, in which Wellhausen fancies that he has detected interpolations, are defended by Dillmann. Only the objections professedly based on literary grounds have been considered. Those based on alleged disagreement with other laws must be postponed until the legislation in general shall be taken up.

4. Chapter 24.

The one thing, about which all the critics here agree, is the perplexity which they find in effecting a satisfactory division of this simple straightforward chapter. Jülicher pronounces it the most enigmatical in all Exodus. Nöldeke says that it is plainly composed of heterogeneous parts, but it is very difficult to determine the origin and composition of its several portions.

What to do with v. 1 is a puzzle. "The elders," are claimed as a mark of E; "Nadab and Abihu" are elsewhere found only in P. Jülicher gives this verse to

P; Schrader to E; Wellhausen followed by Driver makes it a later addition to E; Kuenen (*Hex.*, p. 333) gives it to JE; Vatke to E, but strikes out "Nadab and Abihu" as a gloss from P; Knobel to the *Kriegsbuch*, an invention of his own; Kayser thinks that R has mixed two separate narratives, but despairs of disentangling them; Nöldeke deems it probable that R has drawn from sources elsewhere unused, and Dillmann assigns the refractory verse to J, who had spoken of priests, 19:22,24.

An ado is made over the opening words "And to Moses he said," as though Moses were contrasted with others previously addressed, whence it is inferred that v. 1 cannot connect with chs. 21-23, which had been spoken to Moses, cf. 20:22. And he is directed to come up with Aaron and others, whence the conclusion is drawn that he must be at the foot of the mountain, not on its summit, where he received the commands of the preceding chapters, and therefore that it must connect with 20:19,20 just after the proclamation of the ten commandments to the people. But the readiness with which the critics create difficulties for themselves out of the simplest matters is surprising. The laws in chs. 21-23 were given to Moses to lay before the people, cf. 20:22; 21:1; in 24:1 the Lord directs him what to do himself. And when he is told to come up and bring others with him, it is of course implied that he is to go down and fetch them up, which he does, v. 9. This does not conflict with his being himself on the top of the mountain when the order was given him.

Again, it is queried whether vs. 1,2 stand in any relation to vs. 9-11. The persons are the same, they do precisely what they are bidden to do, but then they are not said to have worshiped afar off, v. 1b, and why should vs. 3-8 be interposed between the order and its execution? But to ratify the covenant with Jehovah by partaking of the sacrificial feast in his visible presence, v. 11, was surely an act of worship. And the order of the narrative is the correct order. Moses was charged first to lay God's statutes before the people, 21:1, and then to reascend the mountain with their representatives, 24:1. He does precisely as he is told, first making known the laws entrusted to him and engaging the people to obedience, vs. 3-8, then ratifying the covenant on their behalf with the elders and others acting in their name, vs. 9-11.

There is no need of displacing vs. 1,2, therefore, in order to connect v. 8 directly with ch. 23. Moses comes to the people from the top of the mountain and delivers his message from the Lord. The critics, who objected to "come" in the sense of "descended," 19:7, having no object to serve by repeating that objection here, quietly ignore it. Moses told the people "all the words of Jehovah and all the judgments." Here the critics interpose to say that "the words of Jehovah" cannot mean the ten commandments, cf. 20:1, as there was no occasion for Moses to inform the people of what they had themselves heard from the voice of God. We now see why Dillmann found it to his purpose to interpret "judg-

ments," 21:1, in the strict sense and limit it to 21:2-22:16; and to maintain that 22:17-23:33 are not additional judgments but the words of Jehovah. Thus he finds both words and judgments in the compass of chs. 21-23 together with the prefatory words, 20:22-26. Wellhausen thence concludes that the author of 24: 3-8 knew of no decalogue but only of the book of the covenant as given at Sinai. But in spite of the limitation which he puts upon the phrase here used, Dillmann insists that in the people's promise of obedience to all that the Lord had said they necessarily engage to obey what they had heard from his own voice as well as what they had heard through Moses.

The critics commonly trace vs. 3-8 to a single source distinct from vs. 9-11, the former being given to J* and the latter to E, or *vice versa*, or vs. 9-11 attributed to Rj (Kuenen) or supposed to be a later interpolation in E (Wellhausen, Driver) or in P (Jülicher). Vatke† stands alone in acknowledging that these paragraphs belong together, as they manifestly do. It is the solemn ratification of the covenant between Jehovah and his people Israel that is here described. They formally pledge obedience to its conditions, burnt offerings and peace offerings are sacrificed, the blood is divided between the two contracting parties, one half sprinkled upon God's altar, and the other half upon the people, and the august ceremony was concluded by a covenant meal partaken of in the presence of a visible manifestation of Jehovah by Moses, Aaron and his two eldest sons and seventy elders as the official representatives of the people. The entire transaction is a unit. All has one meaning and tends to one result. And the whole is necessary to its completeness. To rend it asunder is to mutilate it and mar its significance. If it is possible for a passage to be so bound together as to defy critical severance, that is the case in the present instance.

Dillmann pushes the division to the utmost extreme, parcelling each of the paragraphs before us clause by clause between E and J. "Moses wrote all the words of Jehovah," 4a J, is set in contrast with the "words" and "judgments" of v. 3 E (but see v. 3b "all the words which Jehovah hath said"), and J is supposed to refer to 34:10-27 his version of the book of the covenant, which R has transposed from this its true position. Then all besides that relates to these "words" (vs. 7,8b) is given to J, while the sacrificial ceremony (vs. 4 from *builded*, 5,6,8a) is assigned to E; further the vision of God, vs. 9,10,11a is J's, the eating and drinking, v. 11b, is E's. What is to be thought of a criticism, which is so out of sympathy with the subject with which it deals, that it can thus deliberately mangle this majestic scene, which lies at the basis of the entire future of Israel, and tear it into shreds, separating what is vitally connected, and destroying a large part of its meaning and value?

* Wellhausen says that in E (19:8) the people promise obedience before, in J after the law was given. Dillmann sees no difficulty in attributing both to the same writer.

† Vatke assigns vs. 1-16 to E, always excepting those unwelcome intruders Nadab and Abihu in vs. 1,9.

The critical schemes, which have been reviewed, so cross each other as to form a network around the entire passage, which we have been considering. Dr. Dillmann tells us that vs. 3-8 and 9-11 are not mutually independent, but are linked together; others assure us that each of those paragraphs is a unit incapable of division. These concessions yield all for which we contend.

Wellhausen is concerned to know what became of the seventy elders, since no mention is made of their waiting halfway up the mountain, when Moses and Joshua came down in ch. 32. We hasten to relieve his anxiety by suggesting that in all probability they came down the mountain with Moses and Aaron, as soon as they had accomplished the purpose for which they went up, v. 11. This was so obviously the thing to do that no mention is made of it, just as no mention is made of Moses, Aaron and Hur descending the hill after the battle with Amalek, 17:10-12, or of the children of Israel returning to their tents after gathering the manna, 16:17,21. The command to Moses, v. 12, to come up into the mount, the presence of Joshua with him, v. 13, who was not named in the previous ascent, and Moses' injunction to the elders, v. 14, "Tarry ye here," does not imply that they were "half-way up the mountain" but in the camp at its foot.

There is no need, therefore, of linking 24:12 back to 20:19,20 in order to find Moses in the plain, and consequently no need of regarding vs. 1,2,9-11 with Wellhausen and Driver as later interpolations in the text of E, which bar this desired connection. No objection can arise from v. 2, which is no part of the command, v. 1, designed to govern action at that particular time, but, as the change from 2d pers. to 3d pers. shows, a general statement of the respective proximity allowed to the several parties named.

This also relieves the difficulty suggested, *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 253, "Moses ascends four times in succession without descending once." Moses went up, v. 9, to the covenant feast and returned again to the camp. The Lord bade him come up again, v. 12, and agreeably to Hebrew usage the general statement is at once made, v. 13, that he did so. Then follows the more detailed account including his charge to the elders, v. 14, his actual ascent, v. 15, and what occurred in the next seven days, v. 16. Finally at the Lord's bidding he advanced still nearer the summit, penetrating even into the cloud which enveloped the radiant glory, v. 18. There is not a superfluous statement in the entire series. And Kittell's remark, *Geschichte d. Hebräer*, p. 180, note 1, is uncalled for: "In the thrice recurring sentence, vs. 13-18, 'Moses went up into the mount,' each of the principal documents must have its share."

Jehovah directed Moses, v. 12, "Come up to me into the mount and I will give thee tables of stone and a law and commandments which I have written." This, Dillmann insists, must be a law and commandments additional to the tables of stone, additional consequently to the decalogue written upon them by the finger of God. But as according to his hypothesis E, to whom this verse is assigned

knew of no Sinai laws except the decalogue and the book of the covenant, and the latter had been given to Moses already, he infers that this expression must have been interpolated from J or from P, each of whom records additional laws given at Sinai. The interpretation put upon the phrase does not seem natural,* as there is no mention of laws written by God himself except the decalogue; and Dillmann's reference to 25:9; 32:32 sq., does not help the matter. But accepting his explanation Dillmann's hypothesis must be corrected by the statement in the text, not the text by his hypothesis.†

It is worth noting that while Moses and his minister Joshua rose up to ascend the mountain, v. 13a, and both were together in their descent, 32:17, Moses alone is spoken of, v. 13b, 15, 16, 18, since he was the principal party in the case. And yet a like reticence regarding Lot accompanying with Abraham, Gen. 12:10 sqq., cf. 18:1, or of Aaron with Moses in the narrative of the plagues of Egypt has given rise to the most extraordinary critical conclusions.

Nöldeke's proposal, endorsed by Wellhausen and others, to substitute "people" for "elders," v. 14, is quite unnecessary. The reason assigned that the present text implies a danger of strifes among the elders, is simply ridiculous. They had the oversight of the people and Moses properly addresses his direction to them.

Since Nöldeke it has been usual to assign vs. 15-18a to P, though Knobel and Schrader find no place for him in the chapter. The result of severing these verses from the preceding, however, is that while we are told, *HEBRAICA*, V., p. 50, that "P's heroes never move without directions from God," Moses goes, v. 15, unbidden up the mount, through the cloud, the symbol of the divine majesty was resting upon it. The command in v. 12 has to do treble duty, for E v. 13, P v. 15 and J v. 18b. This is supposed in P to connect directly with 19:2, so that P knows nothing of a promulgation of the ten commandments by the voice of God, nor of the book of the covenant, nor of the formal ratification of the covenant between God and Israel, but immediately upon the arrival of the people at Sinai Moses makes the ascent of the mountain which is here recorded and receives direction to make the tabernacle and its vessels and to ordain Aaron to the priesthood and the two tables of the testimony are given him, chs. 25-31.

* Doubtless Dillmann is right in his contention that reference is here made to additional legislation beyond that already given. But the mistake consists in making the relative clause, "which I have written," refer to the law *הַתּוֹרָה* as well as the commandments *הַמִּצְוֹת*. God promises to give Moses together with the tables of stone a law and in particular a body of commandments written by himself. That these last would be written on the tables of stone is implied but not expressed.

† In the Dissertation at the end of his Commentary, p. 616, Dillmann recedes from this position, but in doing so involves himself in fresh embarrassment. In order to find a law in E, which Moses was yet to receive, he transposes 20:22-23:33 so as to stand after 24:12-14. But this brings him into conflict with 24:3, where Moses repeated to the people "the words of Jehovah and the judgments" which on his own interpretation are these very laws and upon any possible interpretation must certainly include them. Kuenen goes to the extreme of alleging that the Book of the Covenant is only another version of the Deuteronomic law given in the plains of Moab shortly before crossing the Jordan, *Hex.*, p. 260 (4).

But this is rending asunder what belongs most intimately together. Jehovah's consent to dwell in the midst of his people was based upon the covenant just ratified, in which the people pledged obedience to his laws already given. These laws were the book of the covenant and the ten commandments; and the latter are again and again alluded to as the testimony written on tables of stone and to be put in the ark, 25:21; 31:18; 40:20. The critics themselves cannot explain the reason annexed to the fourth commandment, 20:11, without assuming that P had recorded the ten commandments in some passage which has not been preserved. The transactions at Sinai form one connected scheme all the parts of which are mutually related and in the closest interdependence. To parcel them among distinct writers is to reduce the whole to incomplete fragments, produced independently and without reference to each other, which nevertheless, when combined, form a consistent whole without flaw or suture, regularly unfolding from first to last. J and E and P writing independently and without concert have precisely supplemented each other and the record of each is in such vital connection with those of the others that the full significance of any one first appears from their combination. Does sheer accident produce such results, or does this indicate premeditation and design? Is it a piece of patchwork put together by R, or is it a continuous fabric, whose threads are unbroken from end to end?

There is no pretence of any ground for the partition of vs. 1-14 in this chapter on the score of language; and what is urged in vs. 15-18 is of small account. Dillmann confesses that the chief reason for referring the latter verses to P is the necessity of finding in P an introduction to chs. 25-31. The hypothesis must be forced through at all hazards. Narratives must be torn to shreds for the mere sake of keeping up the seeming continuity of each of the imaginary documents.

The linguistic marks of P in vs. 15-18 according to Dillmann are וישכן כבוד יי, ויכס הענן, and בני ישראל.

ויכס הענן is nowhere else used of the cloud covering Mt. Sinai, but an equivalent expression, "there was a thick cloud upon the mount," occurs 19:16 JE. The cloud is elsewhere said to have covered the Tabernacle, all the passages in which this expression is found, being for that reason referred to P.

וישכן כבוד יי The "glory of Jehovah" occurs 33:18,22 J, also Num. 14:21,22, which Dillmann evasively refers to R, but Driver to JE. The phrase "the glory of Jehovah abode" occurs nowhere but in this passage. P says "the cloud abode" but never "the glory abode." J and E use the word שכן abide as freely as P does. The appearance of fire on the mount occurs again 19:18 E.

בני ישראל see on ch. 14.

Knobel and Schrader urge *per contra* that these verses are shown to belong to the same narrative with ch. 19 JE by the recurrence of the phrases ראש ההר 24:17 as 19:20; 24:2, and יקרא אל משה 24:16 as 19:3,20.

Elohim occurs three times in this chapter and each time it is significant and appropriate. In v. 10 "the God of Israel" expresses the relation which Jehovah had now assumed by entering into covenant with Israel. "They saw God," v. 11, האלהים the divine Being just described; "the mount of God," v. 13, viz., that in which this divine Being had manifested himself. The prominent thought is that of the divine as distinguished from the human or merely natural.

The divine names do not accord here with the hypothesis of the critics. They cannot avoid giving Jehovah to E, while E has Elohim but once out of the three times that it occurs, vs. 9-11a being assigned to J (Dillm.) or regarded as a later interpolation in E (Wellh.).

Dillmann says that E calls the tables of stone *לוחות אבן*, J *לוחות אבנים*, and P *שני* *לוחות העדות*; but in order to make this out it is necessary to split 31:18, where E's and P's terms occur together, and to slice a clause containing P's term out of 32:15 which is in a J and E context. *לוחות אבן* is natural enough, *אבן* in the singular denoting the material, but when the numeral is added *אבנים* is invariably used in the plural and then only, the sole seeming exception being Deut. 9:9 where the numeral occurs in the immediate context, vs. 10, 11.

5. Chapter 31:18-32:35.

Wellhausen remarks that "the Jehovist* (i. e. Rj) is here more than a Redactor: he may be regarded as the real author of the section relating to the legislation on Sinai, Ex. 19-34. Whilst elsewhere he retreats entirely behind his sources, he here too indeed gives them in great part *verbatim*, but only uses them as material for a structure of his own." The same thing occurs in some other places likewise, as "in the history of Abraham and the call of Moses." In other words the so-called Redactor has constructed a narrative out of the documents that lay before him, which those documents do not warrant, but which is largely his own invention. If the composite character of this narrative were admitted, the question would still arise whether the Redactor, who by the hypothesis possessed the documents in their completeness, was not less liable to mistake their meaning than the modern critic who can only disentangle them by an intricate and dubious process.

The confession that the documents, as the critics profess to restore them, do not correspond in the account which they render with the narrative into which the Redactor has combined them, is proof positive that they are wrong in their conclusions. And the reason is obvious: for the fallacy is transparent. Separate portions of the legislation or of the transactions connected with it are assigned to different documents as though they were variant statements of the same thing, instead of successive items in a continuous series. And then these distinct parts are made equal to one another and each equal to the sum of the whole. Nothing but confusion can result from so perverse a method. It is not surprising that the conclusion is just what Kittell states it to be, *Geschichte d. Hebräer*, p. 212: "A profound and almost impenetrable obscurity rests upon the transactions at Sinai. . . . And the several narrators differ more seriously still as to the contents and the compass of the laws there given."

* In the nomenclature of Wellhausen the Jehovist (JE) is distinct from the Jahvist (J), and represents the Redactor who combined the documents J and E into one work. But there is an ambiguity in the symbol JE, which sometimes denotes J and E in combination, and sometimes the additions made by the Redactor who combined them. It contributes to clearness to adopt Jülicher's designation of the various Redactors, Rj who added J to E, Rd who added Deut. to JE, Rp who added P to DJE.

There is no ground for the allegation that vs. 7-14 conflict with statements elsewhere and hence are indicative of variant narratives (Dillm.) or are an interpolation (Knob., Wellh., Kuen.). Wellhausen infers from 31:18 that God's interview with Moses came to an end without being broken off by any extraordinary event, as in 32:7sq., which simply illustrates how easy it is to create discrepancies by putting a meaning upon words which they do not contain. It is said that Moses, 32:18, betrays his ignorance of what was taking place in the camp, and hence no such communication as 32:7sq. could have been made to him. But the very contrary is the fact. It was this and not superior acuteness of hearing which enabled him to interpret correctly the confused sounds which Joshua mistook for battle cries; though he did not deem it necessary to explain to his attendant all that he knew. Moses does not drop the tables in surprise and horror, v. 19, as though he had just become aware of the people's idolatry (Eichhorn). He indignantly casts them down and breaks them since the covenant had been broken, of which they were the pledge. Nor is there any inconsistency between vs. 7sq. and vs. 30sq. as though the words of Moses, v. 31, must have been the first mention of the people's sin and would have been different, if the Lord has spoken of it to him before; to which Dillmann replies that the deprecatory particle **נָּ** shows the contrary, and the offence, for which forgiveness is implored, is only briefly stated and not with the fulness that might in the first instance have been expected, and Moses is not asking for a forgiveness which had already been promised. The successive steps in Moses' intercession and God's pardoning mercy are very distinctly marked. God will not at once destroy the transgressing people, v. 14, but he has not forgiven their sin, and no positive bestowment of favor is suggested, only the negative resolve not to consume them instantly. And perhaps Kurtz is correct in inferring from the language used that even this was simply the divine purpose, which was not as yet made known to Moses.

The "two tables of the testimony" regarded as a mark of P perversely occur, 31:18, in immediate conjunction with "tables of stone" a mark of E, and, 32:15, in an E and J context. Dillmann boldly slices out the unwelcome expression. Vatke on the strength of it gives vs. 15b,16 to P, but has no following. Elohim in these verses is the proper term; it distinguishes the work of God from the work of man and can therefore be no index of E. No critic pretends to follow the indication of the divine names in the dissection of this chapter.

That vs. 7sq. is an original part of the preceding context is sufficiently vouched for by Deut. 9:10-15. Dillmann admits this and gives vs. 1-14 to J, but claims that vs. 15-19a* "constitute a separate paragraph belonging to E. Verse

* Dillmann severs the opening words of v. 19 (as far as "camp") from the sentence, of which they are a part, and attaches them to vs. 25-29 in order that he may have it to say that **מַחֲנֶה** camp is peculiar to E in this chapter. This is on the principle that a critic can move clauses and paragraphs from place to place *ad libitum* to answer his purposes, as though they were pieces on a chess board.

15, however, is indissolubly linked with v. 7, on the one hand, to which it stands in intimate relation, as with 19b on the other; for, as Kittell observes, the reason why the tables are particularly mentioned in v. 15, is because of what was to be further said about them, v. 19. The reference to the calf in v. 19 binds it to v. 20, as is universally conceded, and both to vs. 1-6. Knobel, Wellhausen and Kuenen are right, therefore, as against Dillmann in maintaining that vs. 15-20 belong together and are part of the same narrative with vs. 1-6; while Dillmann is right in linking vs. 1-6 with vs. 7-14 as well as with vs. 21-24 whose references to the opening verses of the chapter are too plain to be set aside. Vs. 1-24 cannot be separated.

But it has been claimed that vs. 25-29 give quite a different version of what had taken place, according to which it was not a lapse into idolatry but a general insurrection. Aaron and Hur,* in whose hands the management of affairs had been left during Moses' absence, 24:14, had been unable to control the people, and they were in a state of tumultuous insubordination. Such a turbulent outbreak, it is urged, would expose them to the derision of their enemies, v. 25, but their idolatry would not, for their enemies were idolaters themselves, and this alone would justify the summary measures by which Moses promptly quelled the riot, vs. 26-28, but which, it is said, would have been needlessly cruel to a people who, though they had fallen into idolatry, had submitted to the destruction of their idol and to the humiliation of drinking the water with which its ashes and its filings had been mingled. Moreover (HEBRAICA, p. 261, note 4), "the Ephraimite E could not very well condemn *this* calf as idolatry, in view of the worship at Bethel."

But even Kuenen, who says, Hex., p. 245, that "Ex. 32:1sq. can only be understood as a condemnation of the established religion of Northern Israel, and at the same time of the priests connected with it, who probably traced their descent from Aaron" (1 cf. 1 Kgs. 12:31), reminds us that "this condemnation is quite in the spirit of Amos and still more of Hosea." Wellhausen and Vatke do not hesitate to refer vs. 1-6 to E and to regard vs. 25-29 as a late interpolation, which so far from ignoring the golden calf is concerned to inflict a deserved penalty upon idolaters. And if, as the critics claim, E recorded the decalogue, he certainly had no sympathy with Jeroboam's iniquitous calf-worship. But at any rate no critical notions of what E would or would not have condemned, can be suffered to determine the interpretation of this passage. It is plain that the author of the chapter in its present form, be he Moses or be he one of the numerous R's, who on the critics' hypothesis have manipulated the text, understood this paragraph, as it must be understood in its connection. The people's being "let loose,"

* Dillmann says "The omission of Hur, v. 25, is due to R." This is a confession that Hur's name would have been joined with that of Aaron in this verse if the reference were to their inability to perform the duty assigned them, 24:14.

v. 25, can only denote the wild and frenzied excitement with which they were conducting their idolatrous orgies. This gives the word its appropriate sense; and it is as unnecessary as it is unwarranted to impose a meaning upon it, which shall put it at variance with its entire context. There is no justification of such a procedure, which is opposed to all the laws of sound interpretation. Their idolatry exposed them to the scorn of their foes by putting them under the ban of Jehovah's displeasure, as Moses pleads in his supplication on their behalf, v. 12.

It is urged (HEBRAICA, p. 262) that the wholesale slaughter here inaugurated and the gracious disposition shown the next morning argues "either another Moses or another writer." This is to deny the compatibility of the character in which Jehovah revealed himself on this very occasion, 34:6,7. Moses' earnest and repeated supplications on the people's behalf were not inconsistent with, but derived their urgency from his profound sense of the great sin which they had sinned. This gross act of treason and rebellion against their divine Sovereign could not be altogether condoned. The occasion called for resolute dealing and stern infliction. Moses' ardent love for his people, which poured itself forth in his prayers that they might be forgiven, did not unfit him for leadership in an emergency when the instant suppression of treason was his first duty.

Kuenen, Hex., p. 247, regards vs. 25-29 as an interpolation, in which Deut. 33:9 is translated into a visible act and preparation is made for the deuteronomic representation of the election of Levi as the priestly tribe. Dillmann, on the contrary, maintains that it is not an insertion by R with reference to Gen. 49:7 and Deut. 33:9 but E described in this place the induction of the Levites to priestly service; as, however, the passage deviated from the doctrine of P respecting priests and Levites it was omitted, or only an abstract or intimation of it given and hence the broken sentences in v. 29. It is observable how many of the inconsistencies alleged exist purely in the critics' imagination. The document E here contradicted P, but R has discreetly dropped the contradictory portion. One might think that the critics had seen the original documents and knew just what they contained. It is enough that we are assured that the discrepancy is not in the still surviving text. When the original documents are produced, it will be time to deal with the question of their reconciliation.

The behavior of the Levites on this occasion certainly paved the way for the assignment of the priesthood and of the ministration at the sanctuary to this tribe. This is distinctly indicated in the last blessing of Moses, Deut. 33:9: and thus the sentence passed upon Levi for his intemperate zeal, Gen. 49:7, had its fulfilment in the dignity conferred upon his descendants for their pious loyalty unswervingly maintained at the sacrifice of earthly relationships. But v. 29 does not affirm and does not imply that the tribe of Levi was entrusted at this time with the sacred functions, which according to Leviticus, chs. 8,9; Num. 8:5 sqq.; 8:5 sqq.; 18:6 were subsequently committed to them. It is most naturally under-

stood as supplementary to or explanatory of the order given by Moses in v. 27. "Fill your hand to Jehovah," i. e., bring this tribute of service to him of disregarding even the nearest and dearest of human ties and he will bless you for it. Or if it be supposed to be spoken after their self-sacrificing deed of loyalty had been performed, and in commendation of it, while it promises them a blessing from the Lord, it does not specify what that blessing would be.

It is particularly perplexing to those critics who regard this history as an invention of later times reflecting the feelings entertained in Judah toward the calf-worship in Israel that no exception is made in favor of Judah in the present instance and that, while the Levites were faithful, Aaron the future high priest was involved in the sin.

Wellhausen thinks that v. 35 is the proper sequel of vs. 19,20, and in his eager desire to bring them together insists that not only vs. 21-29 but vs. 30-34 is an interpolation. The majority of critics, however, confess that the latter passage is an essential part of the narrative. That it is not inconsistent with v. 14 has already been shown. The statement in 34b that the punishment of their sin was yet future is not at variance with v. 28. For the severity which put an end to the idolatrous frenzy did not supersede the penalty which the Lord should see fit to inflict. Neither is the fact that the infliction is described, v. 35, in such general terms, that we are unable to identify the particular occasion or occasions referred to, a reason for suspecting the genuineness of the verse. In conformity with the usage of Hebrew historians it is here proleptically asserted that the Lord actually did as he had threatened. Hence the resumption in 33:1 of the direction already given, 32:34, in order to continue the narrative. This shows that v. 35, although parenthetical, belongs where it stands, and is not as Dillmann affirms an insertion by R. And that the making of the calf is attributed both to the people and to Aaron follows naturally from the facts of the case and does not justify the assumption that two different narratives are here mingled.

6. Chapter 33.

Dillmann argues that as Moses' intercession is continued 33:12* from 32:31-34 J, as though there had been no interruption, the intervening verses do not belong originally and properly in this place, but 33:1-11 must have been inserted from another document and are therefore to be attributed to E. But it is obvious that there is no change of writers, for the forms of expression in v. 12 are borrowed from vs. 1,2 (bring up, send), and vs. 4-11 are entirely appropriate as illustrating the situation and preparing the way for the next step in the mediation of Moses.

Knobel and Schrader find no difficulty in regarding vs. 1-11 as the product of one writer and connecting this paragraph with the main body of the narrative in

* Stress is here laid by Dillmann and in *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 263, upon "the participle *וַיִּשְׁמַע*, as if Yahweh were just speaking." Are we then to infer from the participles in 5:8,17, that Moses and Aaron were still continuing their address to the king in the name of the people, v. 1?

ch. 32.* Wellhausen finds in these verses variant accounts by J and E blended. He connects that of J directly with 24:3-8. Moses having received the laws contained in the book of the covenant and written them down at God's command and received the people's pledge of obedience, the purpose of their stay at Sinai is accomplished and they are bidden to proceed on their way to Canaan without any extraordinary event to give occasion to it. This is represented in vs. 1,3a,12,14. There is no indication of displeasure in directing them to go to the land promised to their forefathers, the land flowing with milk and honey. According to E they are required to leave Sinai, the place of God's abode, as a penalty for the sin of the golden calf. Dillmann also finds J and E blended here, but the division is differently conducted and proceeds from a different point of view. E knows nothing of the golden calf, but the people are directed to go on to Canaan under the leadership of the angel of Jehovah, who in his conception is identical with Jehovah himself. Every word or clause implying censure or the refusal of Jehovah to accompany the people is carefully stricken out as an interpolation from J, who conceives of the angel as a substitute for Jehovah, who is offended by the people's sin. By such arbitrary erasures and groundless assumptions a critic can of course pervert a passage to any sense, which he chooses to put upon it. But this is neither rational criticism nor honest interpretation.

The fact that Moses is bidden to lead the people on to Canaan does not prove under the circumstances that the purpose for which they had been brought to Sinai was now accomplished. The Lord had given to Moses, chs. 25-31, a body of directions respecting a sanctuary and a priesthood in order to give effect to the covenant, into which he had lately entered with Israel. But they had violated their stipulations and the Lord will not now establish among them those gracious institutions which he had outlined. They are told to leave Sinai with Jehovah alienated from them and all those contemplated measures, by which their covenant relation to him was to be cemented and perpetuated, broken off. Jehovah's connection with them is severed. He is no longer Jehovah their God who brought them out of the land of Egypt, 20:2, nor does he acknowledge them as his people, 19:5,6. They are the people, whom Moses brought up from Egypt, v. 1, cf. 32:1, 7, a stiff-necked people, whom Jehovah would consume if he were to go in the midst of them, vs. 3,5.

The inconsistencies, which critics find between this passage and statements elsewhere are purely of their own creation, and have no existence in the passage itself. They amount simply to this. If these verses said what they do not in fact say, but what the critics torture them into saying by gratuitous erasures and insertions, then they would contradict other passages. But the question remains, which is discredited in consequence, the consistency of the record or the conjectural emendations of the critics?

* Knobel links 32:1-11 with 32:1-6,15-20,30-34; Schrader with 32:1-14,21-35. Between them they tie it fast to the entire chapter.

It is said that the time here fixed for leaving Sinai conflicts with Num. 10: 11 sqq. But there is no intimation in the chapter before us or in those that follow, that Israel actually left Sinai at this time; but the contrary plainly appears. They are told to go forward without Jehovah's having taken up his dwelling in the midst of them. But when their offence was forgiven, the reason for the command ceased, and things returned to the condition in which they were before the trespass.

That the angel here commissioned to attend them is contrasted with Jehovah's presence, vs. 2,3, while of the angel in 23:20,21 it is said that Jehovah's name is in him, is not a discrepancy but marks a distinction. It simply shows that a different angel is meant, or that he is differently empowered.

The statement of the passage is clear that the people laid aside their ornaments in grief and penitence; grief, not that they were to leave Sinai and go on to Canaan. They had not come out of Egypt to take up their abode in the desert. The land flowing with milk and honey was their eagerly desired goal from the first. Their grief was that they must go laden with God's displeasure. But the critics have changed all this. Without a word of justification in the text and in the face of its explicit declaration they claim that these ornaments were contributed for the construction of the sacred tabernacle. Then we are told that the original document must have related between vs. 6 and 7 how the tabernacle was made from these contributed materials. The whole thing is a sheer fabrication, based upon nothing but the arbitrary fancy of the critics.

Whence then, it is asked, came "the tent," v. 7, which Moses used to take and pitch without the camp, afar off from the camp and call it the Tent of Meeting? Surely it is not necessary to the answer of this question to invent a story, which has no countenance in this passage and flatly contradicts every other relating to the subject. Yet this is what the critics do. And on the ground of the contradiction between their manufactured story and numerous explicit testimonies they would have us believe that this is from a different document and gives an altered version of the origin of the sacred Tent.

Observe that the statement, v. 7, is not that Moses took "the Tent of Meeting" which had now been built, but he took "the tent" and called it "the Tent of Meeting." Obviously a pre-existing tent receives a new name, and is devoted to a new purpose. The language is different when the erection of the Tent of Meeting proper is described, 40:2. The definite article means simply that some particular tent, which though not mentioned before was definitely before the mind of the writer and perhaps well known to his readers, was employed and designated as is here stated, cf. Num. 11:27; 1 Sam. 9:9; 2 Sam. 17: 17. It may have been Moses' tent, in which he received the people who resorted to him to inquire of God, 18:15, or it may have been some other. We are not informed and it is of no consequence.

The tense of the verbs in vs. 7-11 denotes habitual action; but it cannot hence be inferred that this was the permanent sanctuary used throughout the journeyings in the desert. It simply describes the usage during the time of this provisional sanctuary, extending it may be to the erection of the Tabernacle proper.

Dillmann complains that vs. 7-11 have no connection either with what precedes or follows. Kuenen, too, regards it as an isolated fragment, the sole surviving remnant of E's narrative, all about it being rejected, as interpolations or later additions, and is impelled to say, *Hex.*, p. 251, "Here it may well be objected that criticism so freely applied positively eliminates the subject on which it is operating." But in fact the passage stands in a most intimate and significant relation to its context. The name applied to this provisional structure is taken from the directions given to Moses in relation to the future sanctuary, 27:21; 28:43, etc., etc. It temporarily represented the idea, which was to be embodied in that sanctuary and thus set forth in a striking manner by a visible token the strained relations between Jehovah and the people. Jehovah had not abandoned them entirely nor withdrawn from them every token of his favor; at the same time he was estranged and distant, for their gross iniquity was still remembered against them and was yet unforgiven. A sanctuary was, therefore, set up, where Jehovah spake with Moses and to which the people might resort; and under the circumstances this was an amazing grace, so that all the people gazed after Moses with admiration till he entered it, and when the pillar of cloud descended and talked with him they fell prostrate in adoration. Nevertheless this sanctuary was pitched without instead of within the camp and at a great distance from it: for Jehovah refused to have his abode in the midst of them.

Joshua, Moses' attendant, though an Ephraimite, was the guardian of this tent, the Levites not having yet been appointed to the service of the sanctuary.

Dillmann urges that vs. 14-17 are out of place and should properly stand after 34:9, as it would be superfluous for Moses to ask in the latter passage what had already been granted in the former. But this is a misapprehension. Knobel and Schrader take a juster view of the connection when they link v. 14 to 12a as the answer to the petition there implied, for which Moses presses his plea in 12b, 13, renewing it in vs. 15, 16 and thus obtaining a repetition of the promise in v. 17. 34:9 goes beyond the prayer that God's presence should go with them; it is an entreaty that he would not only go in the midst of them, but would pardon their iniquity and take them for his inheritance. In other words it looks to a full renewal of the covenant relation.

Moses' prayer, v. 14, that Jehovah would shew him his glory was not prompted by a curious desire to see so magnificent a spectacle. He asks as the mediator and intercessor for Israel for such a visible manifestation of God's presence and glory, as would be a token of peace and of the re-establishment of near and friendly relations between Jehovah and his offending people.

7. Chapter 34.

Wellhausen finds in this chapter a third variant account of the transactions at Sinai, additional to those in the preceding chapters from J and E, and from an independent source, of which there are no traces elsewhere. The commands to Moses to ascend the mountain, v. 2, and to guard it from the intrusion of men and cattle, v. 3, and the descent of the Lord upon it in a cloud, v. 5, are in his view parallel to what is recorded in ch. 19 and relate to the same occasion. In vs. 10, 11 God speaks of making a covenant and requires obedience to that which he commands; he does not say that he is about to renew a broken covenant. He accordingly gives the ten words to Moses, vs. 14-26, who writes them on two tables of stone, vs. 27, 28, this being an entirely different version of the ten commandments from that in ch. 20. This is related not as the third, but as the first and only divine revelation made at Sinai. All that is necessary to bring this about is to strike out from v. 1 everything after "Hew thee two tables of stone;" and to regard the words "like unto the first; and I will write upon these tables the words that were in the first tables which thou brakest" as an insertion by R with the view of harmonizing this with the preceding. It is apparent how easily a critic can alter the entire purport of a narrative and impose his own ideas upon it by arbitrarily expunging from the text a significant clause, which is the index to its true meaning and connection.

Wellhausen thus makes out three conflicting stories of the giving of the law on Sinai. In E the ten commandments are uttered by the voice of God in the audience of the people, and are subsequently written by him on two tables of stone, which were given to Moses after an abode of forty days on the mount, but which he broke on witnessing the idolatry of the people. It is not certain what further was done with them, but probably they were kept in that broken condition. J knows nothing of the ten commandments or tables of stone; but records that a body of laws was given to Moses on Sinai, which he wrote in the book of the covenant, and the people were pledged to obey them. The third account in ch. 34 agrees with E in its two tables, ten words, and forty days; but the tables were prepared and written by Moses and not by God and like the book of the covenant in J the commandments were given to Moses not spoken to the people. The ten commandments in ch. 34 are of a ritual nature; those in ch. 20 are moral and represent a much later religious development.

A pretext for these brain-spun notions is sought in the circumstance that the subject of the verb "wrote," v. 28, is not expressed, though it is plain from v. 1 that Jehovah is intended; and Jehovah occurs in the preceding clause though not the subject of it. In spite of this, however, Wellhausen makes Moses the subject and so confuses the words which Moses was directed to write, v. 27, with "the words of the covenant, the ten commandments," which were written by the Lord

upon the tables. Several scholars, who do not share the absurd notion, first suggested in a juvenile production of Goethe, then caught up by Hitzig, that vs. 14-26 is a variant record of the original decalogue, have sought to find just ten commands in these verses. As groups of ten are found in other Pentateuchal laws, it has been thought that the same might be the case here. There is no little divergence, however, in the attempted identifications of the requisite number. Dillmann pronounces it impracticable. Wellhausen and Kuenen take refuge in the plea that the original number has been obscured by additions and alterations of the text.

Dillmann sets aside Wellhausen's arbitrary treatment of this chapter and proposes another, which though less grotesque is equally arbitrary. He claims that v. 10 is no proper answer to the petition of v. 9; that the real answer is contained in 33:14-17, which should be substituted for 34:10-27; the latter is J's version of the book of the covenant and belongs before ch. 24.

But everything is in place as it stands. The Lord's gracious promise to replace the broken tables by writing the decalogue afresh, v. 1, his permitting Moses in his immediate presence, v. 5, and the proclamation of his forgiving mercy, vs. 6,7, encourage the supplication for a full pardon for the people and that the Lord would take them for his inheritance, v. 9. To this the Lord responds by engaging to enter into covenant with them, v. 10. It is the old covenant renewed. The injunctions of the Book of the Covenant, which specially concern their duty to God, are written afresh by Moses; and these together with the ten commandments once more written by the Lord on tables of stone constitute the basis of that engagement into which Jehovah now again enters with Israel, whose apostasy he has pardoned and whom he has again taken as his inheritance, a people peculiarly his own.

The concluding verses of the chapter, vs. 29-35, are assigned by the critics to P because of the expressions "the two tables of the testimony," v. 29, (though this occurs, 32:15, in a verse assigned to E), the mention of "Aaron" (repeatedly in E, 17:10; ch. 24; ch. 32), "children of Israel" (33:5,6 and elsewhere in E), "princes in the congregation" (referred by rule to P wherever it occurs). But vs. 34,35 create trouble by their evident reference to the sanctuary. That which is spoken of in sections assigned to P was not yet built. The reference can only be to the provisional sanctuary in 33:7-11: but that is a passage, which the critics tell us belongs to E. So that here again the partition between P and JE is annulled. The only escape is by means of the evasion that this is not an original part of P but a later interpolation.

It is spoken of, *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 253, as "decidedly strange that Moses' face had never shone before in his many interviews with God." The peculiarity of the present instance is obvious. He had now had as never before a vision of

Jehovah's glory to the full extent to which a man could see it and live, 88:18-28; 84:5-8. But this peculiarity, which is necessary to the explanation of this passage in P, is only recorded in J; so that here again the partition between P and JE falls away.

1) LANGUAGE OF P.*

OLD WORDS.

(1) יהוה. (2) כבוד יהוה Sect. 15, Lang. of P.

(3) עָרַת Sect. 15, Lang. of P. (4) נָשָׂא Sect. 15, Lang. of P.

2) LANGUAGE OF J.†

OLD WORDS.

(1) יהוה. (2) עֵתָה V., p. 155; also in E; in P, Gen. 48:5. (3) שָׁמַע בְּקוֹל V., p. 154. (4) אָנֹכִי Sect. 5, Lang. of J; also in E; in P, Gen. 28:4. (5) בָּעֵבֹר V., p. 155. (6) יָרַד also in P, Ex. 34:29b; Lev. 9:22; Num. 1:51; 4:5; 10:17; 20:28; 34:11; Josh. 15:10; 16:7; 17:9; 18:13, 16-18. (7) יָרַה Sect. 8, Lang. of E. (8) פָּן V., p. 155; also in E. (9) פָּרַץ Sect. 8, Lang. of J; also in E. (10) לָפִיד Sect. 5, Lang. of J; only twice in Hex. (11) מָרוֹחַ Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (12) עָלָה (to sacrifice) Sect. 3, Lang. of J; also in E; in P, Ex. 30:9; 40:29; Lev. 14:20; 17:8. (14) עָלָה do. do. (15) פָּרַק Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (16) חָרָה אֵף Sect. 2, Lang. of J. (17) הָרַג Sect. 13, Lang. of J. (18) אָרַמָּה V., p. 153. (19) נָחַם (repent) Sect. 15, Lang. of E. (20) מָחַלָה Sect. 15, Lang. of E. (21) מָוִי Sect. 5, Lang. of J; also in E; once in P. (22) נָא Sect. 5, Lang. of J; also in E; once in P. (23) נָחָה Sect. 15, Lang. of J; also in E. (24) גָּרַשׁ V., p. 154; also in E and P. (25) שָׁתָה Sect. 8, Lang. of J; also in E. (26) חָזַק חֵן בְּעֵינַי Sect. 3, Lang. of J. (27) לָמַעַן Sect. 15, Lang. of J; also in E and P. (28) מָפֹאֵם Sect. 7, Lang. of J; 8 times J, once E. (29) פָּלָה Sect. 14, Lang. of J. (30) חָנַן Sect. 8, Lang. of E; once in P. (31) נָצַב Sect. 8,

Lang. of J; also in E. (32) צוֹר Sect. 15, Lang. of E. (33) נָכוֹן Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (34) קָרַד שְׁלֵשִׁים Sect. 12, Lang. of E. (35) מָלִיךְ Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (36) כָּרַת בְּרִית V., p. 174 (6:18); also in E. (37) מָוֶה Sect. 6, Lang. of J; also in E. (38) נָפַלְמָת Sect. 13, Lang. of E. (40) גָּרַשׁ see No. 24 above. (41) הִשְׁמַר לִי Sect. 7, Lang. of J; also in E. (42) רִיקָם Sect. 13, Lang. of E. (43) לִין Sect. 6, Lang. of J; also in E. (44) גָּדִי Sect. 7, Lang. of J; also in E.

NEW WORDS.

(1) עָשָׂן (verb) Ex. 19:18 (Dillm. E); all in Hex. (2) מָהֵר (adverb) Ex. 32:8 J; Josh. 2:5 Rd; eight times in Deuteronomy; all in Hex. (3) בָּשַׁשׁ (delay) Ex. 32:1 J; besides in O. T. only Judg. 5:28. (4) חָלָה אֶת פָּנָי Ex. 32:11 J; all in Hex. (5) טָחַן Ex. 32:20 J; Num. 11:8 E; Deut. 9:21; all in Hex. (6) נָקֵרַת הַצּוֹר Ex. 33:22 J; besides in O. T. only Isa. 2:21. (7) פָּסַל (verb) Ex. 34:1,4 J; Deut. 10:1,3; all in Hex. (8) נָצַר Ex. 34:7 J; Deut. 32:10; 33:9; all in Hex. (9) תְּקוּפַת הַשָּׁנָה Ex. 34:22; all in Hex.

LANGUAGE OF E.‡

OLD WORDS.

(1) אֱלֹהִים. (2) נָכוֹן Sect. 10, Lang. of E; also in J. (3) הִשְׁמַר לִי Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (4) אָנֹכִי Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (5) מְבִית עֲבָדִים Sect. 15, Lang. of J. (6) שְׁלֵשִׁים Sect. 12, Lang. of J. (7) עָשָׂה חֶסֶד Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (8) אָמָה Sect.

6, Lang. of E; also in P. (9) עַל-כֵּן Sect. 5, Lang. of J; also in P. (10) לָמַעַן Sect. 15, Lang. of J. (11) אָרַמָּה V., p. 153; also in J. (12) חָמַד Ex. 20:17b E; Gen. 2:9; 3:6; Ex. 34:24; Josh. 7:21 J; Deut. 5:18; 7:25; all in Hex. (13) פָּן V., p. 155; also in J. (14) נָסָה Sect. 15, Lang. of J.

* The numbers are those of HEBRAICA, VI., p. 252.

† The numbers are those of HEBRAICA, VI., p. 255 sq.

‡ The numbers are those of HEBRAICA, VI., p. 260.

(15) לקראת Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (16) נרש V., p. 154; also in J and P. (17) שית Sect. 8, Lang. of J. (18) שמע בקול V., p. 154; also in J. (19) עלה (sacrifice) Sect. 3, Lang. of J; also in P. (20) כרת ברית V., p. 174; also in J. (21) אש V., p. 154; also in J. (22) רעהו.... אש Sect. 4, Lang. of J. (23) הרג Sect. 13, Lang. of J. (24) חורב Sect. 13, Lang. of E; apart from Deuteronomy three times in Hex. (25) אהל Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (26) הכיט Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (27) הכיש Sect. 15, Lang. of J. (28) נשא (forgive) Sect. 6, Lang. of J.

NEW WORDS.

(1) קנא Ex. 20:5 E; 35:14 J; three times

in Deuteronomy; all in O. T. אל קנא Josh. 24:19 E; but once beside in O. T., Nah. 1:2.

(2) ערפל Ex. 20:21 E; twice in Deuteronomy; all in Hex.

(3) נזית Ex. 20:25 E; all in Hex.

(4) מעלות Ex. 20:26 E; all in Hex.

(5) איב (verb) Ex. 23:22 E; all in O. T.

(6) צרעה Ex. 23:28; Josh. 24:12 E; Deut. 7:20; all in O. T.

(7) אָנָן Ex. 24:6; all in Hex.

(8) רָע (tumult) Ex. 32:17 E; all in Hex.

(9) שכצה Ex. 32:25 E; all in O. T.

(10) עָרִי Ex. 33:4,5,6 E; all in Hex.

CONCLUSION.

It will be observed that in this as in the preceding sections no discrimination is made or attempted between J and E in point of language. With insignificant exceptions every word that appears with any frequency in one is found also in the other. There is not the slightest pretext for partitioning the history, which has been under review, between these alleged documents on the ground of diversity of language. The only remaining pretext is that of doublets, incongruities and inconsistencies. Of these the ordinary English reader is as competent to judge as the most profound Hebraist. We have seen in the course of our detailed examination that these exist only in the imagination of the critics, and that they vanish upon any fairminded and rational interpretation. The havoc, that is made of the self-consistent, perfectly credible and well attested narrative of the transactions at Sinai, results merely from a gratuitous attempt to force through a divisive hypothesis, which has no support in either the language or the contents of the sacred record.

These transactions constitute a well ordered whole, all the parts of which are in evident mutual relation, each necessary in its place and contributing to the completeness of the general scheme, which is plainly no conglomerate of diverse documents however skilfully pieced together, but the carefully devised plan of one directing mind. To sunder what is so organically related is without reason to mutilate and destroy it.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF GEOGRAPHY.

BY PROF. RICHARD GOTTHEIL, PH. D.,

Columbia College in the City of New York.

III. MIMRA 'AL ŠABH'Ā KLĪMĒ.

In continuation of my former contributions to the history of geography among the Syrians,¹ I present here a third text. It is taken from a Vatican parchment MS. which is dated 1291 of the Greek era (= A. D. 980). According to Assemani² the codex was written "in coenobio S. Aaron in Sigara dittonis Collissuræ sub Patriarchis Joanne Antiocheno, et Nina Alexandrino Jacobitarum." He states further, "Titulus libri *Onomasticon*, seu lectiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti juxta traditionem Karkaphitarum." Through the good offices of Prof. Ignazio Guidi—the ever ready helper—a copy was made for me by a Maronite in Rome, and afterwards collated with the original by Guidi himself.

Who the author of the little tract is, I am unable to say. In the heading the name of Philoponus is mentioned. Whether John the Grammarian³ is intended or not I am uncertain, because of the word 'n ā š preceding. It might simply be an adjective *laboris amans*.⁴ Assemani has referred it to David of Beth Rabban.⁵ But the codex in which this *mimra* occurs is dated A. D. 980, "onde vedesi che l'Autore è anteriore almeno alla fine del secolo. Chi egli forse s'ignora, nè l'Assemani crede che si possa attribuire il carme a David di Bēth Rabbān"—as Guidi very correctly remarks. Towards the end of the "poem," the author says that on some other occasion he has spoken at length on the beauties of the City of Rome. But this gives us no further clue.

The geographical material in the treatise is small. The author is evidently a theologian. In a most general way, he sketches the position of the different *κλίματα*, and tells the chief places of interest in them. His information in regard to these places he has probably culled from very various sources: it hardly pays to go far in search of these sources. Though we learn little from such treatises,

¹ *Mittheilungen des Akademisch-Orientalistischen Vereins zu Berlin*, No. 3, 1890. HEBRAICA, VII., p. 39.

² *B. O.*, II., p. 499.

³ Cf. Steinschneider, *Alfarabi*, p. 152 sqq. Payne Smith, Col. 3108, where in the gloss of B. B. we must read (line 6) rāḥem kē'vē. See also Cols. 1573, 1663.

⁴ *B. O.*, III., I, p. 266.

⁵ Cf. my article, *PAOS.*, May 15-16, 1891, p. cxi. Wright, *Catalogue*, Index, s. v.

صمغصا و نه صمغصا ^۱ .	سمغصا و نه صمغصا ^۱ .
اف و نه صمغصا.	۱۱ اف و نه صمغصا.
صمغصا و نه صمغصا.	۱۲ صمغصا و نه صمغصا.
صمغصا و نه صمغصا.	۱۳ صمغصا و نه صمغصا.
صمغصا و نه صمغصا.	۱۴ صمغصا و نه صمغصا.
صمغصا و نه صمغصا.	۱۵ صمغصا و نه صمغصا.
صمغصا و نه صمغصا.	۱۶ صمغصا و نه صمغصا.
صمغصا و نه صمغصا.	۱۷ صمغصا و نه صمغصا.
صمغصا و نه صمغصا.	۱۸ صمغصا و نه صمغصا.
صمغصا و نه صمغصا.	۱۹ صمغصا و نه صمغصا.
صمغصا و نه صمغصا.	۲۰ صمغصا و نه صمغصا.
صمغصا و نه صمغصا.	۲۱ صمغصا و نه صمغصا.
صمغصا و نه صمغصا.	۲۲ صمغصا و نه صمغصا.
صمغصا و نه صمغصا.	۲۳ صمغصا و نه صمغصا.
صمغصا و نه صمغصا.	۲۴ صمغصا و نه صمغصا.
صمغصا و نه صمغصا.	۲۵ صمغصا و نه صمغصا.
صمغصا و نه صمغصا.	۲۶ صمغصا و نه صمغصا.
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صمغصا و نه صمغصا.	۲۹ صمغصا و نه صمغصا.
صمغصا و نه صمغصا.	۳۰ صمغصا و نه صمغصا.

^۱ Followed by ∞ , to which Guidi remarks "in fine della linea!"

• Read | قصص .

measures of times and of years. And so, in seven *κλίματα* is comprised the earth in its immensity. In the wisdom of those having understanding and according to the measurements of the knowing, they have comprehended and estimated creation in measurements according to law. The originator was Ptolemy, also Peter the philosopher.⁹ Wise men followed after him. In a variety of scripts those who know beautiful things¹⁰ filled with their writings the earth. Like lillies in the valleys, the beauty of their words sprouted forth. Like a rose among the thorns their compilation is pleasant to the eyes. With figures—like the color of flowers—they have increased beauty.¹¹ For the sake of argument¹² they have composed and written, and in order to make [it] plain, they have made use of figures. From one to the other beauty is added by the letters. Now I also have come in old age.¹³ I speak as has come to me. In poetic measures I add knowledge to the reader and to the understanding of his thought.¹⁴

The number seven is important. In it time passes and commences where it ends. Its traces are not clear. There are seven ways to its going. It causes the times of things to pass. In the seven miles¹⁵ which the creator has laid down, in them it turns. In seven stations¹⁶ it brings to an end the procession of time for the first ones and the middle ones. In them they are brought to an end. And also as regards those who are to come, in them they find their end. In this number—which is made up of five and two days—in it the wise men comprise the time which is passed. And in this same number the *κλίματα* finish their course. Draw near, therefore; I will give thee the measures of their different stages according to miles and parasangs. The God of Creation be praised!

⁹ Whom our author means I am at a loss to say. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, Vol. xi., p. 334, mentions two codices in the Paris Library *Petri diaconi et philosophi liber de cyclo et indictione* (cod. cmxxix.) and one *de sole, luna, ac sideribus* (cod. mmmxxxv.); but he refers it to Peter the Deacon (1082), with what right I do not know, as the Catalogue of the Library is not at my disposal. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, Vol. iii., p. 223, doubts the assumption.

¹⁰ I read here *المعاني*.

¹¹ One can understand our author's figure after having seen a MS. of Ptolemy's geography. I have had before me the splendid reproduction of the MS. in the *Reproduction Photographique du Manuscrit grec du monastère au Mont Athos*, Paris, 1867.

¹² In translating as I have done, I had in view some of the examples cited in Payne Smith, Col. 211; but I am not at all certain that I have hit the right thing. Other translations are possible.

¹³ I take *hewärtā* in the sense of "old age"; although Payne Smith, Col. 1231, says "in sing. non invenitur pro canis capillis."

¹⁴ See the quotation from Chrysostomos in the first line of Payne Smith's account of this word, Col. 966. We might also translate "of his reading."

¹⁵ I am at a loss to understand to what the writer refers. Or is the word *ملا* to be taken in a little different sense? Payne Smith, Col. 2089, end of first paragraph.

¹⁶ I had thought here of the Naxatra or "stations of the moon," about which M. Steinschneider has discoursed so learnedly (*Ueber die Mondstationen (naxatra) und das Buch Arcanum*, ZDMG. xviii., p. 118. Cf. also Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iii., p. 174. *JRAS.*, 1890, p. 328). In Hebrew they are called *bāttim* (Steins., p. 149). But their number is much greater. And what is behind the tripartite division of men?

The first κλίμα commences at the extreme south, where light is plentiful and heat is great; where the sun is strong and in its heat burns the earth. On account of its great heat, men [there] are different in character. Their appearance is untoward at their birth. They are black and dark with the color of blackness. They are men who are naked, and live like wild beasts. Outer India is placed in this κλίμα. It includes a large tract in which wild animals are found. They are men who have to do with the secrets of magic. The number of their days is long drawn out, and they live for many years. There are also beasts and birds which grow very great in their bodies. There are also there serpents, and great insects without number. The men of that place and κλίμα busy themselves with incantations. There are also roots there which have natural powers. There are stones good and full of power and healing. In their nature God placed healing for mankind. The stone is called HAON, also ἰδρωπικός¹⁷ stone; when it is used intelligently it is medicine for one afflicted with dropsy. Its length is 805,000 miles according to measurement. Its breadth is 1155 miles. This is the first κλίμα, and these are its measurements.

In the second κλίμα the Kushites live, among whom¹⁸ there are also many who are black. They do not make use of incantations and roots as do the Indians.¹⁹ They are near their neighbors. They know the secrets of wonderful things, and the hidden powers of roots. There are also in this place stones and pearls of every color. For this κλίμα is near to that land which possesses σούραγδος. It is south west of Egypt the strong. Its breadth and its length, also its measurement, are like [those of] the first κλίμα.

In the third κλίμα are beautiful cities: Alexandria, the great, the city καρχηδόνια, Jerusalem the city of kings, Nineveh, Arbēl,²⁰ and Ktesiphon. In this third κλίμα are men who are wise and astute and clever²¹ and who speak with knowledge. It is temperate in its air. . . .²² and prosperous on account of its being central.²³ In length and breadth it is similar to the first.

In the fourth κλίμα are placed Spain the renowned, Σικελ[ί]α²⁴ the godly,²⁵ Κρήτη the false.²⁶ And Κύπρος is placed in it, and Emesa, and Ἀπάμεια²⁷ and

¹⁷ Payne Smith, Cols. 978, 1774. Bar Bahlul, ed. Duval, Col. 610.

¹⁸ I am not certain of this translation: but see some passes cited by Payne Smith, Col. 1655.

¹⁹ Or should we translate: "They are not as abominable as the Indians. [But] in the [use] of incantations and roots they are near (i. e. like) their neighbors"?

²⁰ My copy seems to have a ῥba' four—a mistake of the copyist.

²¹ I read ῥῶλῖκῖν.

²² My copy has ταῦαῖθ, with which I can do nothing. Perhaps ταῖναῖθ? Bar 'Ebh-rāyā, Chron. Eccl. II., 278. Bickell, *Carmina Nisibena*, p. 70. See also note in text.

²³ I have guessed at the meaning of the word m^ephall'ghūthā.

²⁴ A yodh must be supplied in the text.

²⁵ Literally "of the gods."

²⁶ *Epistle to Titus*, I, 12.

²⁷ On the different ways of writing this name see Payne Smith, Cols. 85, 346. *Mithel. des Akad. Or. Ver.* III., pp. 10, 17.

Beroea. In it are Urhai and Hārān and Nisibis, and Babel and Madai. Knowledge and belief have taken deep root in it (κλίμα). Therefore kings have made war [upon it]. Strong men are known in it, rhetors, and wise men and teachers orthodox in their faith.²⁸ This κλίμα received the true faith. Men of approved understanding have called Jerusalem the city of kings the centre of the earth.²⁹ That it is called the centre of the earth is not because it is situated as a point of the Διάμετρον in regard to the circumference of the earth, but because it was in truth the centre of the land of promise when Joshua, the Son of Nun, parted out the possession[s] to the twelve tribes. Then the Jews wished that he should give them a place for the sacrifices. They said to him, give us a place situated in the middle of our possession[s], that one tribe be not offended at another, an account of the distance of the boundaries. Since it is placed in the middle, a sign of peace it shall be unto us. For according to the likeness of the tent of assembly the tribes shall be grouped around it. Three shall dwell to the east, three to the west, three again to the north, and three to the south. Joshua called it Jerusalem because of the people at the middle of the land, at the end of the tribe of Judah and the beginning of the tribe of Benjamin.³⁰ He also called it the middle of the earth on account of the division of the children of Noah. For since the possession was placed in the middle portion of Shem, from there it took its name, that it should be the centre of the earth. But let us leave off from such things and let us not add one thing to another. But this (κλίμα) also is completed according to the measurement of the third.

In the fifth κλίμα is placed the strong city of the kings, βυζάντεια. It is called by the name of Ko[n]stantinus. In it is Rome the well-known,³¹ which has a circumference of forty miles, in which Peter and Paul were placed as pillars.³² There is the beauty of prominent men and στήλαι³³ of the house of Abraham.

²⁸ Nestle, *Syrische Grammatik*, p. 195. Wright, *Catalogue*, p. 494. a. Frothingham, *Stephen bar Suda'i*, p. 59. Bar 'Ebh. *Chron.* (ed. Bedjan), 89, 4. Payne Smith, Col. 1563, etc. The opposite is 'udhyāyal šubḥā, Kayser, *Canones*, p. 5, 14.

²⁹ Is Ezekiel, v. 5 referred to? cf. Warren, *Paradise Found*, pp. 228, 234. The Syriac text of the M'arrath Gazzē (Lagarde, *Mithell*, III., p. 50) ed. Bezold, p. 14, 4 has the story that Adam was created there. In this it follows an old Jewish tradition. But in the Arabic text we read: Kān a dhālika-lmaudiū fi wasaṭi-lardi. Cf. Budge, *The Book of the Bee*, p. 17, note. The Talmud, punning upon the word, says the same thing of Tiberias. See the quotation in Kohut, *Ārūkh Haššālēm*, IV. 13. 1. See also שַׁתִּי אֶרֶץ, Levy, *Chald. Wortbuch*, II., p. 5, Col. 2. Sepp, *Jerusalem*, I, p. 106.

³⁰ I. e., on the border of Judah and Benjamin.

³¹ Such and more lengthy descriptions of Rome seem to have been current in the Middle Ages. Cf. Land., *Anecdota Syriaca*, III., p. 323. Mai, *Script. Vet. Nov. Coll.* x., p. 359. Kayser, *Das Buch von der Erkenntnis der Wahrheit*, p. 144, 10. Ignazio Guidi has published two monographs on this subject, *Il Testo Siriaco della descrizione di Roma nella Storia attribuita a Zacharia Retore* (Estratto dal Bullettino della Commissione archeologica di Roma, fascicolo IV., anno 1884) Roma, 1885, and *Di un Nuovo Manoscritto del Breviarium Siriaco*, 1891. On p. 68 of this last treatise, this part of our text is cited from B. O., III., 1; p. 256.

³² Galatians II., 9??

³³ The text has سِدَائِي, which from its first citation in Assemani (see above) has been translated "Stolae Abrahamicæ," which Bernstein and Payne Smith (Col. 300) are, of course, at a

There are beautiful pillars and lovely triclinia, beautiful temples and baths in number as the days of the year. The whole beauty of the city has been described by us on another occasion.³⁴ In it (*κλίμα*) is the place Thrace, and the dwelling-place of the philosophers. It has length and breadth according to the extent of one of (i. e. any other) of the *κλίματα*.

The sixth *κλίμα* is a northern one, near to the Barbarian people. In it are different nations and strange lands, many tribes, peoples, and men. In it are Amazon³⁵ women who cut off the right breast, that there be to them no impediment in battle with warriors. There is not³⁶ with them a male, nor does a man dwell in the house. At a certain time—the day [of which] they observe—they cross over the river to a mountain and hold a great banquet. [Many] peoples come to their nuptial[s].³⁷ From time to time they become with child as do the hinds upon the mountains; and as the birds in their nests they bring men to their beds, and receive conception there. Then they return to the place of their dwelling. And when these surreptitious conceptions have borne fruit, they kill the male [offspring] of their wombs. I believe that He who forms embryos knows the extent of their wickedness, and does not create in their bellies a multitude of males that they may be killed; [but] gives a multitude of females to the mothers accustomed to kill. Having pity upon the children, he diminishes [the males] and adds females, for these only they bring up: (for) such is their law. The length of this (*κλίμα*) and its breadth in measurement are as the others.

The seventh *κλίμα* is a northern one, and the extreme end of the habitable globe. There are there Numidians³⁸ men short-lived. On account of the great cold their power and their life are small. Their children are not numerous. A bad dwelling place is their place of dwelling. They are the Scythians, as those who know say. They build for themselves houses of wood, made out of shingles which are of a close fibre.³⁹ They have no houses upon

loss to understand. I have no doubt that we have here the word *σῆλαι*, which is written *سجلا* (Payne Smith Col. 299) *سجل* (Col. 2599) *سجل* (Col. 2600). Bar Bahlul (ed. Duval) 227, 3 (222, 17) Fürst, *Glossarium Graeco-Hebraicum*, 1891, p. 62. Bêth Ābhrāhām = Jews (Payne Smith, Col. 479). Guidi, *Il Testo Syriaco*, p. 222, 18 gives us the commentary: *īth bāh thūbh āndrānīn dhan'ḥāšā dh'bhēth ābhrāhām w'esarā w'hāghār wadh'malkē dh'bh-ēth dāwīd' 'esrīn w'hamšā. hānōn dassek aspisyānos malkā, khadh ahr'-bhāh lurišlem. w'ethar'ē dhilāh dhurišlem w'sebhwāthā 'hrānyāthā dhan'-ḥāšā, i. e. the things which were brought to Rome from Jerusalem by Vespasian. Cf. also *Di un nuovo manoscritto*, p. 63, 3.*

³⁴ Text has *šarbā*, thing.

³⁵ Read *سجل* - cf. *Anecdota Syriaca*, p. 207, 7. *Spicilegium Syriacum*, p. 17, 26, and, for the description, cf. Budge, *The History of Alexander the Great*, 1889, pp. 227 sqq.

³⁶ Text has *īth*; but read *laīth*.

³⁷ Really "jollification."

³⁸ The MS. has a *riš* in place of a *dālath*. The same mistake is made in *Spicilegium Syriacum*, p. 17, 1. Cf. *HEBRAICA*, Vol. III., p. 142. Lee, *Theophania* (Eng. transl.), p. 193. Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, p. 96, note.

³⁹ I have guessed somewhat at this translation.

the ground, nor a foundation placed upon a rock. [But] the house is built upon wheels, so that he may go where he wills. And the property and the children of the master of the house is with him on his journeys. Wherever there is a fitting pasture, there he halts his wagon. The Scythian has no house, that he should build up a multitude of stones. He does not make a brick of stone, nor has he lime for cement. His house is placed upon a wagon that oxen may be his servants. For when the sun is near its setting, they are bound in by fences of wood. There is no settlement of men there, nor separate possessions. As there are no boundaries laid down for the different nations, they pass on from place to place. This is the seventh κλίμα. Its breadth and length is like [that of] its fellows.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE ACCOUNT OF THE FLOOD IN P.*—A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE JEWISH CALENDAR.

BY BENJAMIN WISNER BACON,

Oswego, N. Y.

The student unfamiliar with the special characteristics of the Priestly Document might be inclined to doubt the possibility of discovering any recondite meaning in the remarkable series of statistics afforded by this writer throughout his work. All scholars, however, who admit the documentary theory at all, are agreed upon this as the most characteristic peculiarity of the Priestly Law Book, outside of its purely legal enactments, that it systematically skeletonizes the narrative, reducing it to a series of names and dates in the extreme of artificiality. So far as can be made consistent with his principal object, the history of the Law and the Covenants, the author reduces everything to an arithmetical statement. The history of the patriarchal period, for example, is comprised in ten *Toledoth* or Genealogies, of which Gen. v. the Book of the *Toledoth* of Adam, or XI. 10-26, the *Toledoth* of Shem, give the model, the story of the Creation (*Toledoth* of the Heaven and the Earth, leading up to the institution of the Sabbath I.-II. 4a), of the Flood (*Toledoth* of Noah, leading up to the Covenant of Blood-shed IX. 1-17), and of Abram (*Toledoth* of Terah, leading up to the Covenant of Circumcision, Gen. XVII., and Acquisition of Machpelah, Gen. XXIII.), being exceptional and in the nature of digressions. Hence it is an agreed point among critics that the numbers in P are both systematic and significant, though the particular significance of many of these series of numerals is still doubtful.

We do not now propose to discuss the method followed in the dates of the Genealogies of Adam and of the patriarchs further than to call the reader's attention to the fact that the establishment of an *era* is obviously an object of importance to the writer. This era, the *Annus Mundi*, is in fact still employed by the Jews, and in exceptional cases by ourselves. We wish at present only to ascertain what P has to say on the subject of a calendar, believing in particular that his account of the Flood, with its extraordinary system of dates, will throw light upon the important but still obscure and intricate question of the Hebrew calendar system, its character, sources and origin.

* Gen. VI. 9-22; VII. 6,11,13-16a,17 in part, 18-21,24; VIII. 1,2a,3b-5,13a,14-19; IX. 1-17,28sq.

We have abundant reason *a priori* to expect in this narrative a more or less complete treatment of the calendar, both from the character and utterances of the Priestly Document elsewhere, and from the character of the Assyro-Babylonian original to which the Creation and Flood-stories of this writer may, more or less directly, be referred.

1. Beginning with the latter, it is significant for our enquiry that the two digressions of P into general history, the narratives of the Creation and of the Deluge, each go back to the now well-known cycle of *calendar* myths discovered by Geo. Smith (*Chald. Acc. of Genesis*, London, 1876). This series of extremely ancient myths, which stand connected with the twelve months of the year and afford the explanation of the twelve signs of the Zodiac, are grouped into a single epos in twelve cantos, recounting the adventures of the Assyrian hero Gilgames (formerly read "Izdubar") and correspond to the twelve labors of Hercules in classic mythology. In this series the first was the cosmogonic or creative myth, corresponding to the sign Aries, the symbolic Accadian name for the month being *Bara zaggār*, "Altar of the demiurge." The eleventh, on the eleventh tablet, was the Deluge-myth, corresponding to the sign Aquarius, this month of the year being designated aš A. AN (šur), "The Curse of the Rain."*

Now the Creation-story of Genesis not only gives positive evidence, as well as the Flood-story, of dependence upon the Assyro-Babylonian cycle of calendar myths, but P exhibits, both in Gen. i. 14 and in the Flood-chronology, a degree of sympathy for the purpose of these myths, viz., the regulation of the luni-solar calendar. The fifth Creation Tablet reads according to Schrader's revised translation :

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Excellently he made the [twelve?] abodes
of the great gods ; | 3. He regulated the year, assigned to it decades ; |
| 2. the stars he brought forth like ...lu ma šī. | 4. for each of the twelve months he fixed three
stars. |

In the fragmentary remainder the movements of certain stars, and particularly the functions of the moon, are regulated.

The best commentary on this passage is a couple of fragments from Diódorus Siculus II. 30 quoted by Lenormant.†

"Over the course of the five planets are placed, according to the Chaldaeans, thirty [six] stars, called the Counsellor-gods; half of these look toward the places on the surface of the earth.... Every ten days one of them is sent as a messenger of the stars from the upper to the lower regions, while another quits the region located below the earth in order to ascend to those who are above; this movement is exactly defined and continues constantly, in a period which does not vary."

* A detailed comparison of the calendar myths with the signs of the Zodiac as they appear on the cylinders, with some further *rapprochements* to the Genesis stories, may be found in Lenormant, *Beginnings of History*, chap. VI., "The Ten Antediluvian Patriarchs."

† *Beginnings of History*, p. 495.

In the Babylonian system the year consisted of 360 days (=twelve months of 30 days each). It was divided into 36 decades (Tablet, line 3) or 3 for each month, a system subsequently adopted by the Greeks. The months accordingly were not lunations, though doubtless approximated to the lunations, but an arbitrary period of 30 days, marked by the rising and setting of certain constellations which subdivided each month into three decades or periods of ten days. These decades again were divided, each half-decade being named from the presiding deity.

The "twelve* mansions of the great gods" (line 1) are also explained by Diodorus, in the same passage :

"There are twelve Ruling-gods above the Counsellor-gods, each presiding over one of the twelve months of the year and one of the twelve signs of the Zodiac. (Cf. Heb. *Mazzaloth* or *Mazzaroth* Job xxxviii. 32; II Kgs. xxiii. 5).

The "abodes" accordingly are the constellations of the Zodiac. The calendar is astronomical and theological in one, regulated, as among nearly all peoples, by the priesthood, who are both mystics, astrologers and astronomers. The system itself is known to us from many sources, and was curiously elaborate as well as accurate, combining the decimal and duodecimal systems. The day consisted of twelve (double) hours, and the week, terminated by a Sabbath on the 7th, 14th, 21st and 28th of the month, was also employed; but apparently the first of the month (originally the first of the lunation?) was always the first of the week, the 29th and 30th being excluded from the series of hebdomads. The length of the year being very exactly determined, a system of intercalation served to compensate the civil year, but apparently the intercalation was always of whole months of 30 days. According to Sayce,† however, the first intercalation was not of a single month every 6th year, but of two months every 12th year, this twelve year period being identified as the *annus Chaldaeus* of Censorinus, a cycle which marks also one revolution of Jupiter and six of Mars. These two intercalary months were called the *maḡru ša addari*, "incident to (the month) Adar," and *ululu šanu*, "second Elul," and had each 30 days, as we know from the hemerologies. Besides these a third intercalary month, *nisanu šanu*, "second Nisan," was inserted at a period sufficient to compensate the fraction (5 hrs. 48' 48") by which the true value of the year exceeds 365 days. This, it is readily seen, could only have been the double *saos* of 120 years, or 10 times the *annus Chaldaeus*. In this period Saturn returns to the same point in the heavens after four revolutions, Jupiter after ten and Mars after 60. The true discrepancy of the civil year would amount to 29 days 1 hour and 36 minutes. Lenormant‡ argues for the existence of a 3d period of intercalation at the expiration of a *ner*

* A number is to be supplied, which from line 4, and from the connection, is certainly twelve.

† *Trans. of the Soc. of Bbl. Arch.*, vol. III., p. 160.

‡ *Beginnings of History*, p. 257.

of 600 years, but there seems to be a confusion in the mind of the French savant as to the number of intercalary months at our disposal. It is also difficult to make out the part played by lunar cycles. But it is beside our present purpose to further investigate the system. A sufficiently clear idea will have been gained by the reader as to the civil, astronomical and theological aspects of the Babylonian calendar.

Both the Creation and Flood-myth of the tablets are greatly condensed, and of course purified of their polytheistic character, in Genesis; but the horological importance of sun and moon are unmistakably predominant in Gen. i. 14, and indeed to an extent scarcely explicable save by the discovery of the Babylonian prototype. The function of "the two great lights" is to serve "for signs, and for sacred seasons (*mo'edhim*), and for days, and for years." What these sacred seasons and appointed days and years are, we begin to learn as soon as we reach the main body of the work, the ceremonial law, in which the accurate determination of the dates of feasts, new-moons, sacred days, anniversaries and sabbath and jubilee years was a matter of paramount importance. So the light-diffusing power of sun and moon in Gen. i. 15 is quite subordinate to their importance as time-keepers. The succession of day and night in Gen. i. is considered independent of the sun (cf. Job xxxviii. 19sq., 24), which is not created until the fourth day, and this conception is both natural in itself and common in antiquity, as we learn for example from the myths of Phoebus and Aurora. To the author of Gen. i. sun and moon are primarily "rulers over the day and over the night." There is therefore, in addition to the practical identity of matter in the Babylonian and Hebrew cosmogony, a degree of sympathy visible in P's Creation story with the calendrical interest of his model.

If we turn now to the Flood-story of P, we shall find still more reason to acknowledge that not merely its material is derived from Babylonian sources, but its peculiar chronological form, the main feature distinguishing it from its "prophetic" counterpart, is due, if not to direct imitation of a Babylonian model other (and later?) than that followed by J, then certainly to a real interest in the regulation of the calendar, corresponding to that which pervades the myth-cycle in its antoichthonous form.

The calendar myths of Babylonia circulated in different versions, one of which (that reported to us by Berosus, as quoted both by Polyhistor and Abydenus) dated the beginning of the Deluge on "the 15th of the month Daisius." If with Lenormant* we suppose Berosus to have written simply "the 15th of the eighth month" which the Macedonian writers translated into 8th of the Syro-Macedonian system, viz. Daisius, a Hebrew writer whose civil year began with Tishri, at the autumnal equinox, might call this the 2d month. The nearness of

* *Beginnings of History*, p. 413.

this date to 17th of the 2d month, P's date for the beginning of the Deluge (Gen. VII. 11), is certainly striking. But even without this conjectural reading of Berossus the very fact of the existence of one form of the Babylonian calendar-myth which *dated the story by the day of the month* gives an unmistakable hint of the source of the chronological system presented in P's Flood-narrative, and we shall naturally conclude that these dates in the Babylonian myth, if not in P's narrative, had more to do with periods of the calendar than with historical fact.

Finally we have in Gen. VII. 24; VIII. 3sq. an indication that P was in fact following some such Babylonian narrative, and following much more closely than is commonly supposed. Here there is a double reckoning, in days and months, and according to this reckoning 150 days = 5 months exactly. We are prevented from supposing the 150 days to be a mere round number by the fact that the terminal date is expressly given as 17th of the 7th month. Hence the months had each 30 days. But it is simply impossible to consider these Hebrew months. From the earliest period and throughout all their history the Hebrew month was an observed month, dependent upon the appearance of the new-moon. If the new moon was not discovered by any observer—whether from actual non-appearance, or from concealment by clouds—on the 29th, the month had 30 days, otherwise 29; but as the mean lunation has a value of very nearly $29\frac{1}{2}$ days (29.530588) no period of 5 months could possibly be estimated at 150 days, the months usually having alternately 29 and 30 days. Jewish astronomy, of the post-exilic period at least, was of no mean order, and while it continued for centuries the practice of checking its predictions as to the beginning of the month by actual observation, it had long ceased to be dependent upon the eye and was able to fix with remarkable accuracy the mean lunation, so that observation became ultimately a farce. Thus the Talmud reports (*Rosh-ha-shana* 25. 1) that R. Gamaliel claimed to have received from ancestral tradition a value for the lunation of $29\frac{1}{2}$ days 40 minutes, and Josephus regards the long lives of the patriarchs as intended to enable them to observe the lunar cycle or "great year" 600 years = 7421 lunations,* the triumph of Babylonian astronomy. A writer so minutely precise and painstaking with all his calculations as P would either have avoided the use of the reckoning by days alongside of that by months, or would have said "at the end of 147" or "148 days." The use of the even month of 30 days can scarcely be accounted for except by supposing P to follow, more closely than is commonly supposed, some Babylonian original; for the arbitrary equal month of 30 days is a peculiarity of the Babylonian calendar. The close general connection of the Creation and Flood narratives of P with Babylonian originals being an admitted fact, we are certainly justified by the special phenomena above noted in looking for a calendar significance in the dates of P's Flood-story, if not (as Bunsen, Lenormant and others have supposed) in all the dates of P in Gen. V.-XII. 4.

* *Antiq. Jud.*, I. 3, 9.

2. The deduction drawn from the character of the sources followed by P is materially strengthened by the general character of his own work as well as by specific legislation later on.

Among nearly all peoples the regulation of the calendar has been a peculiarly priestly function, while its periodic days have as invariably assumed a religious character. Even Gregory the Great in reforming the Julian calendar was but resuming the ancient office of *pontifex maximus*. It is therefore easy to see *a priori* that this kind of legislation belongs peculiarly to the province of P. We do not have to go beyond the opening chapter of his work to find him entering upon it. The importance of new moons and Sabbaths to ancient Israel scarcely needs to be emphasized, but it seems not unlikely, from the Assyro-Chaldean practise above referred to, that the Sabbath originally was dependent on the lunation, marking the 7th, 14th, 21st and 28th day, or the last of each lunar "quarter;" either the 29th or 30th, according to observation, formed then the next "new moon." The arbitrary succession of hebdomads independent of the moon's phases, whose origin P refers to the creation itself, was in this case substituted, probably within the historical period, for the ancient lunar method.

It is scarcely possible for those who enjoy the blessing of a fixed self-regulating calendar to realize the vital importance for the regulation of even every day life in any civilized community, of the determination of the civil year. The confusion produced at Rome by the pontiff's manipulation of the calendar, before the reforms of Julius Caesar, are an illustration in point. But the importance of the matter becomes tenfold greater, when, as in the Priestly Legislation, the attempt is made to regulate the whole life of a people according to fixed periods, to which the most important religious ceremonies and obligations are attached, and which are named as occurring in perpetual cycle upon certain days of the year. Read the provisions of the Priestly law as to the Passover and other feasts, the great day of Atonement and beginning of the year, the Sabbatical year of release, and the year of Jubilee, and think how absolutely essential to the carrying out of any such scheme is the definite fixing of the calendar.

The date of *introduction* of the Priestly Law, whatever the date of its *composition*, is the date of reformation of the calendar; for the two are inextricably bound up together. One is almost complementary to the other. Ascertain when a central authority was endowed with the function of regulating the calendar according to "signs and seasons and days and years" and you know when the Priestly Legislation became practicable. Ascertain the source of its calendar and you know the origin of the system. For, if the year might vary in length from the lunar year of 354 or 355 days to the year of Numa of 366½ days, how e. g. would it be possible to carry out the provisions of Lev. XXVII., where, on account of the reversion of lands to the original owners in the Jubilee year, a discount is to be made from the lease-price proportionate to the proximity of the Jubilee?

The Priestly Legislation presupposes as an absolute necessity a definite calendar system, and if such a system were not already in use, the author of the Code would find himself simply obliged to construct one. The Priestly system without an elaborate regulation of the calendar is absolutely impracticable, it lacks the very foundation. As a matter of fact we find its foundation laid in a system of chronology so astonishingly elaborate as to fix the very year and day of creation itself, and in particular, before we come to the great mass of ritual law, a fixed point is found for the beginning of the year. Next to the creation, perhaps the most important event for the writer, before the giving of the law, is the deliverance from Egypt. The former serves for the fixing of the week and the Sabbath, the latter for the beginning of the year. When all is ready for the exodus the divine fiat comes to Moses and Aaron saying, "This month shall be unto you the beginning of months; it shall be the first month of the year to you." Previously, it is here supposed, the beginning of the year was Tishri, as in the ancient Jewish practise (Ex. xxiii. 16; xxxiv. 22). But when was the end of the year? or rather, what was its length? for this was simply vital to the system. The answer to this question is readily found—has long since been found by many scholars, among whom it is sufficient to name Ewald* and Lenormant†—in the Flood-chronology.

According to Gen. vii. 11,24; viii. 4f,13f the epochs of the Flood are marked as follows:

Beginning	2d month	17th day.
Climax	7th "	17th "
Mountain-tops appear	10th "	1st "
Waters dried up	1st "	1st "
Earth dry	2d "	27th "

There is however one period by no means unimportant which is here left out of account, viz., that of warning to Noah and of the construction of the ark. If, as seems probable, P's Babylonian source gave no dates for this period, it was not so with the narrative which according to the dominant school of criticism was his main reliance. In the prophetic version (J²) the first two principal periods of the Flood are the seven days warning, and the forty days rain, vii. 4. In spite of the plausible *rapprochement* of Lenormant of Berosus' date, 15th of Daisius, I feel obliged to assume that P's adoption of the 17th of the 2d month for the beginning of the actual cataclysm was a departure from his Babylonian model in favor of J², the 47 days from the beginning of the year to the 17th of the 2d month being nothing else than the two preliminary periods of the "prophetic" version, 40 days + 7 days, adopted to stand for the time of warning and of building of the ark, covered by Gen. vi. 13-22.

*Jahrb. d. biblisch. Wissenschaft, vol. vii., p. 9.

† Op. cit., p. 411.

This impression is very strongly corroborated by the peculiar nature of the last period in P's chronology. Can any one read Gen. VIII. 13a and not experience more or less of a sensation of surprise on coming to verse 14? Not that it was not highly desirable that "Noah and they that were with him in the ark," even the animals included, should restrain their impatience for 57 days after "the waters were dried up from off the earth," and not go out while the ground was soft and muddy; but it is rather surprising that the author of the narrative should have exercised such extraordinary forethought against their getting their feet wet, and still more surprising that, when it took but 60 days for the waters to retire completely from a height equal to the highest mountains, it should take 57 days more to merely dry the surface of the ground. In short VIII. 14 with its additional period of 57 days *to dry the ground* has every appearance of an afterthought. Leave it out, and the connection is smoother than before.

Suppose then we attempt to reconstruct from these probable data in reverse order the chronology of the *Babylonian* Flood-narrative P may have been following. It ended on the 1st day of the 1st month of the 601st year of Hasisadra-Noah. The mountain-tops appeared on the 1st of the 10th month of the 600th year; and it began with a period of 150 days (= 5 months) of increase of the waters of the flood; for we have seen that this datum of P must have been derived from the Babylonian source. Knowing the cyclical character of the great Babylonian year of 600 years, and the calendrical character of the myth, can any one doubt that its original chronology was as follows?

Beginning of Flood.....	600th year (of Hasisadra?)	1st mo.	1st day
Climax, after 150 days (= 5 mos.)..	600th "	6th "	1st "
Mountaintops appear, after 150 days			
more.....	600th "	10th "	1st "
Waters dried up, after 60 days more.	601st "	1st "	1st "

Here are all the characteristics of the Babylonian calendar year of 360 days, the "decades," the 60-day period, the even month of 30 days, the "great year" of 600 years. But the Priestly writer could not take over bodily the Babylonian calendar. If there were no other reason, the religious ceremonies connected in the Hebrew ritual with the appearance of the new-moon demanded an observed month instead of the regular 30-day month of Babylon. What then has he done? Thrown the system slightly out of adjustment in the first part (at VIII. 5 where he comes back to the even 1st day of the month he resumes the thread of his source), by inserting a 47 day period at the beginning; and given it a new adjustment corresponding to the Hebrew luni-solar year, by appending a 57 day period at the end (VIII. 14). What this new adjustment was we still have to inquire.

As already observed, scholars have long since recognized in this chronology of P a determination of the Hebrew luni-solar year. This determination rests of course upon the fact that the beginning of the Flood and entrance of Noah into the ark is dated on the 17th of the 2d month of his 600th year, and his exit on the 27th of the 2d month of the 601st year. For, if one is reckoning according to the Hebrew system of lunar months, one must add ten days to the day of the terminal month for each solar year, and thus compensate for the deficiency of the lunar year, in order to reach the equivalent date in solar time; because $12 \times 28\frac{1}{2} = 354$. If now the solar year was reckoned at 364 days we can readily understand why the exit of Noah is dated on the 27th instead of the 17th of the 2d month. The ten days represent the luni-solar discrepancy as appears from the following denunciation from the Book of Jubilees, a work of the post-exilic period devoted to this very subject of the civil-ecclesiastical calendar, then the all-absorbing topic, against persons who aimed to determine the feasts "according to their own views and their own errors." "There will be those," says the author, "who will employ observations of the moon. Now the moon corrupts the periods of time, and anticipates each year *by ten days*. Thus will they hereafter corrupt the years and appoint a wrong day for the day of the Testimony and a wrong day for feasts, and shall err in months and sabbaths and feasts in jubilee-years." It is obvious that the addition of ten days to dates by day of month was then current.

But there is one insuperable obstacle to this explanation of the date. *It is absolutely incredible that P should have reckoned the solar year at 364 days.* Even if we leave out of account the 365 years of Enoch's life (Gen. v. 23) which are certainly not accidental, it is impossible to suppose an error of $1\frac{1}{2}$ days in a people of the mental development of Israel, midway between Babylon and Egypt. In forty years the "first-fruits" would have been extreme last fruits, and all the seasons shifted. No people of any degree of civilization has ever maintained for any length of time a year so widely differing from the true. It is a practical certainty that P reckoned 365 days to the solar year, and Ewald and Lenormant, being well aware of this fact, escape the difficulty by the bold method of assuring us, "The Deluge has thus lasted altogether one lunar year, plus *eleven days*."* But as I read P's chronology he adds *ten* days, and not *eleven*, to the lunar year, and this figure ten is confirmed by the above quotation from "Jubilees."

The distinguished scholars have been misled by the modern Jewish practise of the alternate full (30 day) and deficient (29 day) month. But this practise dates only from the introduction of the Metonic cycle and well-known later Greek system by the second Hillel, circ. 330 A. D. Previous to this date it was distinctive of Jewish particularism that they clung pertinaciously to the month of actual observation. Now the alternate system reckoning $29\frac{1}{2}$ days to the month gives of

* *Beginnings of History*, p. 411. See Ewald as there quoted. I have not yet been able to verify the quotation personally.

course a lunar year of $12 \times 29\frac{1}{2} = 354$ days. But close observation would show the mean lunation to be so much greater than $29\frac{1}{2}$ as to make 355 days actually nearer the true lunar year than 354, and we have seen evidence that the Jews at the beginning of our era knew the great cycle 600 years = 7421 lunations, and hence both could and did calculate the mean lunation as close as the figures attributed in the Talmud to the family of Gamaliel. I cannot but think that the reiterated statement of Lenormant* that the Hebrew lunar year contained but 354 days is erroneous. Certainly it could not have remained so for two consecutive years, and there seems to be abundant reason to think it had normally 355. The calendar of Numa made the lunar year consist of 355 days, and while tradition reports that this number was chosen instead of 354 "because the odd was more lucky than the even," it is not likely that such considerations would have determined the matter had it not been known that the real value is between 354 and 355, the latter being in reality somewhat more correct.

The explanation of the final date of P's Flood-chronology, 27th of the 2d month, in contrast with 17th of the 2d month as the date of beginning, is in reality the lunar deficiency of *ten* (not *eleven*) days, and his readjustment of dates in the Babylonian calendar myth which he was following afforded the determination of the length of the luni-solar year which his system demanded, viz., 1 lunar year of 355 days + 10 days = 1 solar year, the only period of time to which the name "year" (*shanah*, "repetition," "cycle," = *annus*) can properly apply.

The bearing of these facts upon the question of the date of P and the significance of his chronological system in general is a subject for future investigation.

* *Op. cit.*, pp. 253, 285.

THE USE OF PASEQ IN THE PSALMS. II.

BY PROF. A. J. MAAS, S. J.,

Woodstock, Md.

The former article on this subject published in *HEBRAICA* (Jan., 1889) plainly shows that investigations on the use of Paseq in the Psalms, with the Comm. Edd. Ps., Pr. and J. as basis, will lead to no satisfactory result. In the present article we shall, therefore, first endeavor to obtain a more accurate Paseq-list, then to discriminate between L'garmeh and Paseq and, in the third place, we shall state the results obtainable from the given facts.*

1. PASEQ-LIST.

For the most accurate Paseq-list extant in our days we might simply refer to B. Ps., Pr., J. as modified by W. H. P. A. But it may give greater satisfaction to some of my readers who wish to compare the critical with the common editions to briefly collate the variations in the pointing of Paseq. Under the letter *a* of the following paragraphs I shall indicate those passages in which both Comm. Edd. and B. Ps., Prov. and J. point Paseq; under *b* I shall state the passages in which the Comm. Edd. alone point Paseq; under *c* I shall enumerate the instances of Paseq found in B. alone, and under *d* the corrections found in W. H. P. A. Such a list will also facilitate future reference.

I. Paseq is found after Azla :

a. In both Comm. Edd. Ps. and B. Ps. : 1:3; 2:2; 2:12; 3:8; 5:11; 7:6; 7:7; 7:10; 8:3; 9:7; 9:14; 9:21; 10:5; 10:9; 10:14; 11:1; 12:5; 17:1; 17:14; 18:1; 18:8;

* Abbreviations:—

App. = Appendix. Cf. = compare.

B. J. = Baer's Edition of Job (Leipzig, 1875).

B. Pr. = Baer's Edition of Proverbs (Leipzig, 1880).

B. Ps. = Baer's Edition of the Psalms (Leipzig, 1880).

B. N. Ps. (Pr., J.) = Baer's notes to the Psalms [Proverbs, Job].

Ben-Bil. = R. Jehuda Ben-Bil'am's Treatise on the Accents of the Three Books.

Comm. Edd. Ps. [Pr., J.] = Common Editions of the Psalms [of Prov., of Job].

Dikd. hat. = Ben Ascher's דִּקְדּוּקֵי הַטֵּעָמִים edited by S. Baer and H. L. Strack (Leipzig, 1879).

Elem. Acc. Met. = Elementa Accentuationis Metricae in B. Ps.

W. H. P. A. = Wickes' Hebrew Poetical Accents (Oxford, 1881).

W. H. P. A. = Wickes' Hebrew Prose Accents (Oxford, 1887). In W. Heb. Accents the references are generally to page and line, except when indicated by n. which refers to the notes. To facilitate the verification of the numerous references to the treatises of Wickes, his terminology has been followed throughout.

18:9; 18:12; 18:14; 18:16; 18:51; 19:7; 19:10; 19:14; 19:15; 22:16; 22:24; 22:27;
 22:30; 23:5; 24:9; 25:5; 25:7; 26:1; 27:1; 27:2; 27:3; 27:5; 27:9; 28:1; 29:9;
 31:3 (*bis*); 31:14; 32:6; 32:8; 35:1; 35:10; 35:26; 36:7; 37:1; 37:20; 37:28; 37:34;
 39:4; 39:5; 39:6; 39:12; 39:13; 40:4; 40:6; 40:7; 40:10; 40:11; 40:13; 40:15; 40:17;
 41:7; 41:10; 41:14; 42:3; 42:5 (*bis*); 42:6; 42:9; 42:12; 43:1; 43:5; 45:2; 45:5;
 45:13; 47:10; 48:9; 48:14; 48:15; 49:11; 49:12; 49:15; 50:7; 50:16; 50:21; 51:6;
 51:16; 54:5; 55:16; 55:20; 55:23; 55:24; 57:2; 57:4; 60:2; 60:9; 61:3; 62:5; 62:9;
 63:2; 64:6; 65:6; 65:14; 66:6; 66:7; 68:7; 68:9; 68:19; 68:28; 68:31; 69:7; 69:
 14; 69:36; 70:5; 71:3; 71:20; 72:1; 72:16; 72:17; 74:2; 75:2; 75:9; 76:6; 76:18;
 77:17; 77:19; 78:4; 78:5; 78:6; 78:8; 78:31; 78:38; 78:49; 78:55; 79:3; 79:13;
 80:2; 80:3; 80:11; 82:5; 84:3; 84:4; 84:12; 87:5; 88:6; 90:10 (*bis*); 91:4; 91:7;
 91:15; 92:8; 93:3; 93:4; 93:5; 95:10; 96:10; 96:13; 97:8; 98:1; 98:3; 99:6; 100:4;
 101:3; 101:5; 101:7; 102:3; 103:1; 103:17; 103:22; 104:14; 104:24; 104:35; 106:1;
 106:7; 106:47; 106:48 (*bis*); 108:9; 110:1; 110:4; 111:1; 111:10; 112:1; 112:10;
 113:1; 113:9; 117:2; 122:5; 126:6; 129:8; 131:2; 132:11; 132:12; 133:2; 133:3;
 135:1; 135:21; 137:1; 137:6; 137:7; 138:1; 140:5; 141:4 (*bis*); 141:5; 141:8; 142:4;
 142:5; 142:8; 143:3; 143:5; 143:7; 143:8; 144:1; 144:12; 146:7; 146:10; 147:1;
 147:8; 147:20; 148:1; 148:14; 149:1; 149:9; 150:1.

Also in Comm. Edd. Pr. and B. Pr.: 1:27; 3:28; 5:21; 6:14; 6:22; 8:13;
 8:29; 19:7; 23:29; 24:12; 24:16; 24:27; 24:31; 25:13; 25:20; 27:14; 27:22; 28:10;
 30:4 (*ter*); 30:9; 30:15; 30:19; 31:4.

And finally in Comm. Edd. J. and B. J.: 3:26; 4:5; 5:5; 6:10; 10:3; 10:17;
 10:22; 11:6; 12:3; 12:4; 12:6; 13:27; 14:5; 14:13; 15:28; 15:30; 16:9; 16:10;
 16:12; 16:13; 19:27; 19:29; 24:5; 24:12; 24:15; 24:17; 24:20; 24:24; 28:4; 31:34;
 31:35; 31:40; 32:2; 32:11; 33:23; 33:26; 34:19; 34:29; 34:33; 36:16; 37:6; 37:12;
 38:2; 39:25; 42:3.

b. In Comm. Edd. Ps. alone: 30:6; 31:12; 32:5; 38:12; 40:13; 42:5; 44:3;
 56:10; 62:13; 68:36; 78:20; 79:6; 86:11; 92:10; 94:23; 99:4; 137:3; 138:2; 140:6;
 144:1.

Comm. Edd. Pr.: 27:10.

Comm. Edd. J.: 7:20.

c. In B. Ps. alone: 5:9; 10:14; 11:4; 15:4; 17:3; 18:7; 19:5; 20:6; 21:10;
 28:7; 32:4; 38:13; 40:3; 41:3; 43:2; 43:4; 44:2; 57:7; 59:6; 59:12; 60:8; 63:2;
 65:9; 65:10; 66:4; 71:18; 77:18; 79:1; 86:9; 86:14; 89:9; 104:35; 108:8; 109:14;
 115:7; 116:3; 125:3; 127:1; 127:2; 131:1; 135:11; 143:1; 146:8; 146:9; 148:13.

B. J. alone: 11:15; 14:19.

Cf. B. N. Ps. 2:12; 15:4; 19:5; 86:14; 87:5 and B. N. Pr. 6:14; 7:7; 23:29;
 and finally B. N. J. 11:15.

d. Wickes modifies B. Ps., Pr. and J. in the following way:

a. Paseq of B. Ps. 9:14			is omitted, cf. W. H. P. A. 64:2
"	"	"	11:1 " " " 6 n. 13
"	"	"	19:5 " " " 67 n. 3
"	"	"	42:5 (<i>bis</i>) " " " 36:8 sqq.
"	"	"	42:9 " " " 36:17
"	"	"	49:15 " " " 73:6
"	"	"	59:6 " " " 96:18
"	"	"	93:5 " " " 36:31
"	"	"	125:3 " " " 73:8
"	"	B. J.	38:2 " " " 68 n. 8
"	"	"	39:25 " " " 37:18

β. Paseq is introduced into Ps. 11:6, cf. W. H. P. A. 36:2		
"	"	" 22:25 " " 89:8
"	"	" 23:4 " " 89:9
"	"	" 31:12 " " 89:11
"	"	" 42:5 " " 36:8
"	"	" 32:5 " " 89:12
"	"	" 66:12 " " 36:22
"	"	" 106:38 " " 89:13
"	"	" 138:2 " " 89:16

γ. For Ps. 45:13 cf. W. H. P. A. 84 n. 4; for the Pss. 37:1; 106:1; 138:1; 150:1 cf. W. H. P. A. 60 n. 8.

II. Paseq occurs after M'huppakh :

a. In both Comm. Edd. Ps. and B. Ps.: 1:5; 3:1; 4:2; 5:5; 9:17; 10:7; 10:8; 10:13; 10:14; 12:3; 13:6; 14:5; 15:5; 16:9; 16:10; 18:7; 18:31; 18:50; 19:15; 20:2; 21:5; 22:28; 27:4; 31:15; 31:23; 32:4; 35:13; 36:5; 37:7; 37:14; 39:7; 40:18; 42:9; 42:10; 42:11; 44:3; 44:24; 45:2; 45:8; 48:12; 49:15; 50:1; 51:18; 52:2; 55:20; 55:22; 56:7; 56:8; 59:8; 59:19; 60:10; 61:9; 62:4; 62:11; 62:12; 65:5; 65:8; 68:17; 68:19; 68:20; 68:21; 68:24; 69:5; 69:21; 70:6; 71:6; 71:15; 71:21; 71:22; 72:4; 72:18; 72:19; 73:8; 73:10; 73:20; 73:28 (*bis*); 74:2; 76:8; 77:3; 78:21; 79:9; 79:10; 81:6; 84:7; 85:9; 86:12; 87:4; 88:14; 90:2; 90:17; 94:14; 96:5; 97:7; 98:6; 101:2; 101:6; 102:20; 102:27; 104:8; 104:15; 104:25; 104:26; 105:3; 105:45; 106:5; 109:21; 109:25; 111:9; 112:9; 115:18; 116:19; 118:15; 118:27; 119:69; 119:104; 119:128; 127:1; 128:3; 132:17; 135:9; 139:16; 142:7; 143:10; 146:6; 148:4.

In both Comm. Edd. Pr. and B. Pr.: 1:9; 6:3; 7:12; 10:26; 19:10; 21:17; 21:29; 22:3; 23:7; 24:14; 24:24; 25:1; 25:28; 26:1; 27:12; 27:27; 28:24; 30:1; 30:8; 30:14; 30:17; 30:20; 31:15.

In both Comm. Edd. J. and B. J.: 3:13; 4:16; 4:19; 5:6; 7:21; 9:24; 13:14; 15:24; 16:4; 18:2; 19:12; 20:20; 20:23; 20:29; 21:28; 24:13; 24:18; 26:14; 27:13; 28:3; 28:28; 30:1; 31:2; 32:6; 33:15; 34:10; 34:20; 36:28; 37:4; 37:14; 37:21.

b. In Comm. Edd. Ps. alone: 1:1; 1:2; 5:7; 5:9; 6:7; 11:4; 15:4; 17:3; 18:3; 18:7; 20:6; 21:10; 23:6; 24:4; 27:1; 27:8; 28:5; 28:7; 28:9; 30:13; 31:21; 32:7; 32:9; 37:17; 37:25; 38:13; 39:5; 40:3; 40:17; 41:3; 43:2; 43:4; 44:2; 44:4; 52:10; 55:13; 55:24; 56:1; 57:5; 59:12; 60:8; 61:9; 62:10; 63:2; 66:4; 68:7; 69:3; 69:16; 71:18; 86:9 (*bis*); 86:14; 89:9; 89:50; 97:9; 104:14; 108:8; 109:14; 109:16; 109:20; 115:7; 116:3; 119:52; 127:1; 131:1; 134:1; 135:11; 137:9; 138:7; 143:1; 145:12; 146:8; 146:9; 148:13.

In Comm. Edd. Pr. alone: 16:10; 16:11; 21:20; 29:13.

In Comm. Edd. J. alone: 11:15; 14:19; 19:3; 33:27.

c. In B. Ps. alone: 18:1; 30:11; 38:12; 47:9; 48:11; 56:10; 59:6; 68:5; 77:20; 99:4; 108:10; 109:28; 141:4.

In B. Pr. alone: 1:22; 24:20; 30:15.

In B. J. alone: 18:21.

Cf. B. N. Ps.: 1:1; 1:2; 9:17; 15:4; 19:5; 48:11; 68:21; 97:7; B. N. Pr. 6:3; 16:10; 24:24; 25:28; 30:15; and B. N. J. 18:21; 20:20; 38:2.

d. Wickes modifies B. Ps., Pr. and J. in the following manner:

a.	Paseq of B. Ps. is <i>omitted</i> in Pss.	14:5,	cf. W. H. P. A.	60 n. 8
"	"	"	"	18:1 " 76 n. 8
"	"	"	"	18:7 " 78:2
"	"	"	"	59:6 " 89:22
"	"	"	"	30:11 " 67 n. 3
"	"	"	"	37:7 " 96 n. 4
"	"	"	"	42:9 " 86:17
"	"	"	"	50:1 " 96 n. 4
"	"	"	"	55:20 " 96 n. 4
"	"	"	"	62:11 " 60 n. 8
"	"	"	"	73:8 " 64:5
"	"	"	"	76:8 " 36:28
"	"	"	"	118:27 " 96 n. 4
"	B. Pr.	"	Pr. 22:3	" 52:1
"	B. J.	"	J. 28:3	" 37:9
"	"	"	" 34:20	" 37:12

β. Paseq is *introduced* into Pss. 5:3, cf. W. H. P. A. 52:27

"	"	"	5:12	"	"	89:6
"	"	"	13:3	"	"	89:7
"	"	"	23:6	"	"	87 n. 15
"	"	"	27:6	"	"	89:10
"	"	"	32:5	"	"	58:1
"	"	"	40:6	"	"	81:10 and n. 3

Paseq is introduced into Ps.	56:1,	cf. W. H. P. A.	87 n. 15
"	"	"	59:8 " " 89:22
"	"	"	88:11 " " 67 n. 3
"	"	"	90:10 " " 89:25
"	"	"	95:7 " " 51:23
"	"	"	122:4 " " 89:14
"	"	"	123:2 " " 89:15
"	"	"	127:3 " " 61:13
"	"	into Prov.	1:23 " " 61:16
"	"	"	17:12 " " 61:16
"	"	"	27:10 " " 89:17
"	"	into Job	32:12 " " 61:14

γ. For the accentuation of Ps. 5:5 and Job 18:2 cf. W. H. P. A. 85 n. 8; 60 n. 8 and 84 n. 5.

III. Paseq follows Shalshéleth :

a. In both Comm. Edd. Ps. and B. Ps.: 7:6; 12:8; 20:8; 29:11; 33:12; 41:8; 44:9; 49:14; 50:6; 52:5; 66:7; 67:5; 77:4; 89:2; 89:3; 94:17; 131:1; 143:6; 143:11; 146:3.

In both Comm. Edd. Pr. and B. Pr.: 6:10; 24:33.

In both Comm. Edd. J. and B. J.: 5:19; 11:6; 15:23; 16:9; 32:6; 37:12; 40:23.

b. In Comm. Edd. Ps. alone: 68:15; 72:3; 137:9;

In Comm. Edd. Pr. alone: 6:27.

c. In B. Ps. alone: 10:2; 13:2; 13:3.

d. Wickes doubtfully adds Ps. 42:2 to Baer's list; but omits 24:33 and Job 5:19; cf. W. H. P. A. 67 n. 6 and 68 n. 7.

IV. Paseq follows Mer'kha :

a. In both Comm. Edd. Ps. and B. Ps. 10:3; 10:13; 20:7; 40:16; 41:14; 44:24; 66:8; 67:4; 67:6; 70:4; 72:19; 77:8; 78:65; 89:9; 89:50; 89:52; 89:53; 94:3; 119:52; 119:156; 139:19; 143:9.

In both Comm. Edd. Pr. and B. Pr. 8:21.

In both Comm. Edd. J. and B. J. 40:6; 40:9.

b. In Comm. Edd. Ps. alone: 65:11; 75:1.

In Comm. Edd. Pr. alone: 9:7.

c. In B. Ps. alone: 5:2; 5:5; 5:7; 18:50; 35:21; 36:7; 57:10; 58:7; 59:2; 61:9; 66:18; 68:20; 69:34; 74:18; 84:4; 86:8; 108:4; 113:4; 116:1; 137:7; 139:21.

In B. Pr. alone: 6:9; 8:30; 8:34; 15:25.

In B. J. alone: 27:9; 27:13; 35:13; 38:1.

d. Wickes omits Ps. 84:4; 86:7; 69:34; cf. W. H. P. A. 96:17 and 96 n. 4.

Cf. B. N. Ps. 5:2; 18:50; 20:7; 22:2; 55:20; 66:18; 84:4; Prov. 15:25; 21:20; 27:10.

V. Paseq follows Munach :

a. In both Comm. Edd. Ps. and B. Ps. : 57:5.

b. In Comm. Edd. Ps. alone : 7:17 ; 35:21 ; 40:6 ; 57:10 ; 58:7 ; 59:2 ; 61:9 ; 74:18 ; 78:24 ; 89:52 ; 100:3 ; 108:4 ; 137:7.

In Comm. Edd. Pr. alone : 6:9.

In Comm. Edd. J. alone : 27:9 ; 27:13.

c. B. Ps. adds to a. Pss. 22:2 ; 86:1 ; and Job 7:20 is added in B. J.

d. Wickes cancels Pss. 22:2 ; 86:1 and Job 7:20 ; cf. W. H. P. A. 96 n. 4.

The only remaining instance in which Munach is followed by Paseq in B. Ps. is Ps. 57:5 ; but it too must certainly be corrected, as the notes of Comm. Edd. Ps. suggest. Wickes must have overlooked the passage.

VI. B. Ps. has Paseq after Illuy in one passage, Ps. 61:1 ; Wickes does not mention this, but Illuy must be changed into a disjunctive accent. The cases in which Paseq follows any other servus in Comm. Edd. Ps., Pr. and J., we need not enumerate ; the general remark, that all must be corrected, suffices for our purpose. With regard to Paseq following a pausal accent cf. W. H. P. A. 96 n. 2 and HEBRAICA (Jan., 1889), p. 122. B. Ps. has retained Paseq after R'bhia in Ps. 68:36 ; W. H. P. A. 96:16 sqq. cancels the same.

2. PASEQ AND L'GARMEH.

To distinguish the cases in which Paseq with the preceding servus constitutes L'garmeh from those in which it remains Paseq strictly so called, we may have recourse to two criteria, namely, the rules of the Jewish punctuators for both signs and the Masoretic Paseq-lists. Were either of these perfect, we should be able to dispense with the other ; but in point of fact, the rules for Paseq and L'garmeh are so loose and restricted, and the extant Paseq-lists so inaccurate that both together scarcely suffice for our purpose. We shall first briefly indicate the rules, then give the Masoretic list and in the third place sketch the division lines between L'garmeh and Paseq.

I. *Rules : a. for L'garmeh.*—Ben-Bil. mentions L'garmeh as following M'hupakh, Mer'kha, Illuy and Sinnor. His only decisive criterion of distinction between Paseq and L'garmeh seems to be the marginal notes פִּיִּם and לִיִּן, cf. W. H. P. A. 92 n. 1 and 93 n. 7. Dikd. hat. § 18 speaks of L'garmeh under the name שׁוּפֵר הָרֵב, but rather plays on words than conveys any definite rule for the accent.

b. *For Paseq.*—Dikd. hat., § 28, gives five rules for Paseq or rather indicates five purposes for which Paseq is employed :

a. "Paseq euphonicum," to insure distinct pronunciation when one word ends and the next begins with the same letter [H. P. A. 97, II.].

β. "Paseq homonymicum" [cf. W. H. Pr. A. 123, 3] between repeated words.

γ. "Paseq euphemicum" [cf. W. H. P. A. 96, I.] to prevent the joining of the Divine Name to a word which it was thought unseemly to bring into contact with it.

δ. "Paseq distinctivum" [W. H. Pr. A. 122, I. 1] between two words that are to be distinguished as to sense.

ε. "Paseq dichotomicum" [W. H. Pr. A. 124, II.].

II. Masoretic Paseq-list. I shall first give the Paseq-list of B. Ps., Pr. and J. and then state the modifications of W. H. P. A.

a. B. Ps.: 5:2; 5:5; 5:7; 10:3; 10:13; 18:50; 20:7; 22:2; 36:7; 37:7; 44:24; 50:1; 55:20; 57:60; 108:4; 58:7; 59:2; 59:6; 61:9; 66:8; 66:18; 67:4; 67:6; 68:20; 68:21; 69:34; 74:18; 77:8; 78:65; 84:4; 85:9; 86:1; 86:8; 89:9; 89:50; 89:52; 94:3; 113:4; 116:1; 118:27; 119:52; 119:156; 137:7; 139:19; 139:21; 141:4; 143:9; **הָאֵם | וְכָל הָאֵם | וְאֵם | וְכָל אֵם**, cf. B. Ps. App. VI.

B. Pr.: 1:22; 6:3; 6:9; 8:21; 8:30; 8:34; 15:25; 30:15; cf. App. VI.

B. J.: 7:20; 27:9; 27:13; 35:13; 38:1; 40:6; 40:9; cf. App. IV.

b. Wickes, on the authority of the 2d ed. of Bomberg's Rabbinical Bible compared with four MSS. lists suggests the following corrections: Ps. 22:2; 36:7; 37:7; 50:1; 55:20; 59:6; 69:34; 84:4; 86:1; 118:27, and also Job 7:20 are to be omitted, while Ps. 57:10, being identical with 108:4, must be added. In consequence of the double **הָאֵם** and **אֵם** Ps. 35:21; 40:16; 41:14; 70:4; 72:19 and 89:53 must also be added. Cf. W. H. P. A. 96 sqq.

It may be of interest to know that Dikd. hat. (§ 28) too cites Ps. 67:4; 119:156; 139:19; 139:21; 55:20 and 68:21 as instances of Paseq.

III. Division line between Paseq and L'garmeh. From I. and II. it follows:

a. That in all cases enumerated under 1, I., Paseq serves to indicate L'garmeh. It is surprising that in spite of the frequent occurrence of Azla L'garmeh, Ben-Ascher seems to know only M'huppakh L'garmeh; for he speaks only of the latter. Dikd. hat., § 18. Cf. Elem. Acc. Met., X., 11.

b. That all cases enumerated under 1, IV are Paseq.

c. That the passages under 1, III. are neither L'garmeh nor Paseq, but Shalshéleth, cf. W. H. P. A. 67 sqq. and 94.

d. With regard to the passages cited under 1, II., we are left in doubt. Wickes maintains, that we have Paseq in Ps. 68:20; 68:21; 85:9; 144:4 and in Prov. 1:22; 6:3; 30:15, all the other passages being instances of L'garmeh. He confesses, however, that one is sometimes in doubt, whether Paseq or L'garmeh is intended by the accentuation. Ps. 37:7 is given as an example; cf. W. H. P. A. 91 n. 1.

3. RESULTS.

I. In the Three Books Paseq always immediately precedes a pausal accent, no servus intervening. The following table proves my statement and facilitates reference.

a. Paseq precedes Silluq in Pss.: 5:7; 10:3; 40:16; 41:14; 58:7; 61:9; 66:18; 70:4; 72:19; 89:53.

b. Paseq precedes Athnach in Pss.: 5:2; 5:5; 10:13; 18:50; 35:21; 44:24; 57:10; 59:2; 66:8; 67:4; 67:6; 74:18; 77:8; 78:65; 89:9; 89:50; 89:52; 94:3; 108:4; 113:4; 116:1; 119:156; 137:7; 139:19; 139:21.

In Prov.: 6:9; 8:21; 8:30; 8:34; 15:25.

In Job: 27:9; 27:13; 35:13; 40:9.

c. Paseq precedes R'bhia mugrash in Pss.: 86:8; 119:52; 143:9 and in Job 38:1 and 40:6. According to the accentuation of Wickes in Ps. 5:2 also Paseq precedes R'bhia mugrash.

d. Paseq precedes R'bhia in Ps. 20:7.

It may be of interest to note here that Pss. 67:4 and 67:6; 57:10 and 108:4, and Job 38:1 and 40:6 are identical.

e. Paseq occurs also before Olev'yored in Ps. 85:9 and Pr. 30:15; before R'bhia in Ps. 68:20; before Sinnor in Ps. 68:21 and Prov. 1:22; before Pazer in Ps. 141:4 and Prov. 6:3. But with regard to all these cases, cf. 3, III. below.

II. In the Three Books Paseq always influences the preceding servus, if this be not Mer'kha. Before Silluq Munach changes to Mer'kha, when Paseq intervenes between it and Silluq, cf. W. H. P. A. 70:2; 71:1; before Athnach Munach changes to Mer'kha also, when Paseq follows; and if a second Munach precedes, it changes to Tarcha, cf. W. H. P. A. 61:25; 62:10. Munach before Sinnor and Galgal before Pazer and Olev'yored change to M'huppakh, if Paseq follows the servus. Cf. W. H. P. A. 82:1; 88:13 and 57:14. Before R'bhia mugrash and R'bhia the ordinary servus is Mer'kha.

III. The servus preceding Paseq is always Mer'kha except in Pss. 68:20; 68:21; 85:9; 114:4 and Prov. 1:22; 6:3 and 30:15, in which instances Paseq is preceded by M'huppakh. But it would be doubtless more correct to point L'garmeh in these instances.

a. Concerning Prov. 6:3 Wickes too repeatedly asserts that Paseq marks the dichotomy; cf. W. H. P. A. 88:22 and 98:11. Besides, B. Ps. gives three servi to Pazer, one of which Wickes suppresses by inserting Maqqeph. But why should we not point: עֲשֶׂה-זֹאת אֶפֶּיָא-בְּנִי instead of: עֲשֶׂה-זֹאת אֶפֶּיָא | בְּנִי, thus reading L'garmeh instead of Paseq?

b. As to Ps. 141:4 Ben-Naftali's pointing omits Paseq; but if Ben-Ascher's punctuation be adhered to, the accentuation of this verse seems parallel to that of Ps. 59:6, which Wickes cancels from the Paseq-list and corrects. Cf. W. H. P. A. 89:22.

c. In Ps. 68:20 Wickes corrects the R'bhia following Paseq to Olev'yored [W. H. P. A. 57:16], probably thus omitting סִלָּה; but if we retain Baer's punc-

tuation, the Paseq precedes Little R'bhia, and may thus be looked upon as L'garmeh.

d. In 68:21 we prefer L'garmeh to Paseq according to the rules of dichotomy. Cf. W. H. P. A. 44:5. Other instances of Sinnor clauses consisting of only two words and having L'garmeh, we see in Pss. 68:17 and 102:27. Cf. W. H. P. A. 80:12 sqq.

e. The same may be said concerning Prov. 1:22, only Mer'kha being written in עַרְמָה instead of Maqqeph.

f. The two remaining passages in which Paseq follows M'huppakh are Ps. 85:9 and Prov. 30:15. Comm. Edd. omit Paseq in the latter case; cf. W. H. P. A. 57:16, and the former may be corrected as Wickes corrects Ps. 50:1; we might perhaps point Galgal instead of M'huppakh in 85:9, omitting Paseq entirely; cf. Pss. 22:2; 68:13 and Prov. 20:24. But we must confess that the suggested corrections of Pss. 68:20; 85:9 and Prov. 30:15 are not fully satisfactory.

IV. In the Three Books Paseq is either euphemistic or distinctive.

a. Euphemistic we may call Paseq in Pss. : 5:5; 5:7; 10:3; 10:13; 18:50; 44:24; 57:10; 58:7; 59:2; 66:8; 67:4; 67:6; 74:18; 77:8; 78:65; 86:8; 89:52; 94:3; 108:4; 113:4; 119:156; 139:19; 139:21; 143:9 and also in Prov. 15:25 and Job 27:13; cf. above 2. I. b. γ.

b. Paseq is distinctive:

a. Mechanically in Job 38:1 and 40:6; cf. B. J. *ad loc.*

β. Phonetically in Prov. 8:21 and Job 40:9 (cf. above 2. I. b. α.) and also in Pss. 35:21; 40:16; 41:14; 61:9; 70:4; 72:19; 89:53; 137:7 and Prov. 8:30; 8:34; cf. above 2. I. b. β.

γ. Logically in Pss. 5:2; 20:7; 66:18; 89:9; 89:50; 116:1; 119:52; in Prov. 6:9; and in Job 27:9 and 35:13; cf. above 2. I. b. δ.

V. Finally I must draw attention to another fact evident from this investigation. In the Psalms Paseq occurs, at least, 400 times. Considering now that the Psalms contain 2527 verses [B. Ps. App., p. 159], the book of Proverbs 925 [B. Pr. App., p. 66 C.], and the poetical part of Job about 1020 verses [B. J. App., p. 72 C.], and that the same system of accentuation is followed in the Three Books, we naturally expect in Proverbs about 145 and in Job about 160 Paseqs, while in reality Proverbs numbers about 55 and Job about 84 Paseqs. Due allowance being made for the considerable shortness of verses in Proverbs and Job, still the proportions, Psalms : Prov. : : 29:11 and Pss. : Job : : 40:21 are startling and call for an explanation.

PSALM XXII. 17—כארי ידי ורגלי—.

REV. FREDERICK KRAMER,

Rector of St. John's Church, Boulder, Col.

“There is scarcely any passage of the Old Testament, the true reading and interpretation of which have given rise to so much discussion.” These are Dean Perowne's words referring to this passage. Many attempts have been made to explain the difficulty, but to my mind, as well as to the minds of students at large, none have proven successful. The literal translation of the passage is—“As a lion, my hands and my feet.” The word in dispute is כארי, which, in connection with the two following words “my hands and my feet,” is beyond a doubt, the wrong reading, because it does not make sense, and whatever the writer may have written, he certainly wrote something that was reasonable and comprehensible. Now, although כארי is a palpable mistake, we cannot on that account substitute another reading, without proving the substituted reading the true one beyond a reasonable doubt.

The reading substituted in all translations is “pierced.” “They pierced my hands and my feet.” Some critics, however, (Rosenmüller, Gesenius, De Wette, Winer,) translate “bound strongly.”

The Massoretic reading in almost all MSS. is כארי. There are some exceptions which we will note later. LXX. has ὀρυξάν, Syriac כּוּרַח, Vulgate *foderunt*, they “pierced” “bored through.” Aquila, 2d ed. Symmachus and Jerome have, “they bound;” and Aquila, 1st ed. has “they put to shame.” Here we have four different readings of the MSS. and versions: (1) As a lion; (2) they pierced; (3) they bound; (4) they put to shame. Nos. (1) and (4) are without a doubt wrong, since they do not suit the context. We are, therefore, left to follow the versions in rendering either “they pierced” or “they bound.”

The LXX., Syriac, and Vulgate agree, all reading “they pierced.” The agreement of these three weighty authorities is of the highest importance and solves the problem for us. We accept, “they pierced” as the true reading.

But having adopted this reading, the real work only begins, we must harmonize the Hebrew text with the versions, and show that the original reading of the passage was, “they pierced my hands and my feet.”

All critics, without exception, have tried to solve the difficulty by *supposing* a root כּוּר, or כּוּרַח, a cognate of כּוּר or כּוּרַח. Some make the word כארי

a participle in 3d plur. constr. כָּאֲרִי ; and others retaining the Massoretic punctuation, regard כָּאֲרִי as an Impf. plur. absol. with termination י־ instead of יִם .

These explanations might be conclusive but for one thing. There is no root כָּוֶר in Hebrew. Further, the analogy between כָּוֶר and כָּרָה is arrived at through the Arabic, and the Arabic كَرَّ very seldom has the meaning, "to pierce."

That there is no root כָּוֶר in Hebrew is proven from the following. Jacob ben Chayim in the Massorah Finalis says that he found כָּאֲרוֹ as the k'thib and כָּאֲרִי as the k'ri in good MSS. This is supported by the Massorah Magna in Num. xxiv. 9. Why did the Massorites insert a k'ri? Simply because the word in the text was unknown and strange to them. That the explanation of the critics, therefore, is highly problematic, is plain. A more plausible theory, then, would be preferable.

The oldest Hebrew MS. dates back only to the middle of the Xth century. This dearth of really ancient MSS. is owing to the fact, that they were condemned for very slight defects. A new sheet, if there were found in it three defects of the scribe, was buried in the "Gheriza," attached to the synagogue. If, then, the oldest MS. be only a little over 900 years old, it is plain that the text of our present Hebrew Bible is many centuries removed from the original copy. Now, I maintain that the reading כָּאֲרִי is merely a mistake of some copyist. There is a verb כָּאֶר, "to bore, to pierce," and I will now endeavor to show that the original reading of the passage was כָּאֲרוֹ יָדִי וְרַגְלִי and not "וְרִי" "וְרִי" .

That many scribes did not understand what they were copying, is well known. That they also made mistakes and repeated passages can be seen by a careful reading of the Scriptures. Compare 1 Chron. ix. 34sq. with 1 Chron. viii. 28sq. So, too, the scribe that copied Psalm XXII. was led to write down the wrong word in the 17th verse. He did not understand that which he was putting down, and through the similarity of כָּ with כ in MSS., he mechanically wrote כָּאֲרוֹ for כָּאֲרִי ; and the mischief was done.

That this interchange of letters was a common mistake of copyists, may be seen from the following examples: Isa. xvii. 3 כְּכֹת for כְּכֹת Cdd.; xxvii. 21 כְּהָר for כְּהָר Cdd., Syriac, Sym., Theo.; Jer. xviii. 4 כְּחֹמֶר for כְּחֹמֶר Cdd. mult., Aquil., Theo., Tg., Vg., Massorah at v. 6 and Job x. 9; Hosea vii. 12 כְּאֶשֶׁר for כְּאֶשֶׁר Cdd., Syr., Tg., Arabic. These examples are taken from Davidson's "Revision of the Hebrew Text." The two following are taken from Gesenius in his Introduction to his *Hebr. und Chald. Wörterbuch*. Ezek. xlvii. 13 נָהָ for נָהָ ; Ex. xvii. 16 כָּס for כָּס .

But how came the change from כָּאֲרוֹ to כָּאֲרִי ? This is easily traced. The MS. containing the mistake was used and the mistake was not discovered. Finally, after having been in use for a long time, a copy was made from it and

the mistake discovered. The scribe who was making the copy came to the word כֶּאֱרוֹ and stopped. He did not know the verb כָּאֵר or כּוֹר because it did not exist in the language. Then he sought to fix the right reading. He looked back over the Psalm and saw in the 13th verse "Many *bulls* have come about me, *fat ones* of Bashan enclose me on every side." Verse 14, They *gaped* upon me . . . as a *ravening* and a *roaring lion*. Verse 17, For *dogs* have come about me;" and came to the conclusion that the former scribe instead of writing ׀ at the end of the word, wrote ך, and he therefore, made the correction, as he supposed, by writing כֶּאֱרִי in place of כֶּאֱרוֹ. This I think to be an easy and plausible explanation of a difficult passage.

NEW NAMES FOR THE FORMS OF THE HEBREW FINITE VERB.

BY REV. F. P. RAMSAY,

Augusta, Ky.

Our starting-point is the fact that what is known as the Preterite or Perfect in Hebrew has no prefixes for person, gender, or number, while what is known as the Future or Imperfect has such prefixes. Is this difference peculiar to Hebrew, or is it common to the Semitic languages? The same difference is found in Ethiopic in Biblical-Aramaic and Syriac, in Arabic and Assyrian, although here the prefixal appears in two forms and the suffixal is comparatively rare. This common characteristic of Semitic is not recognized in the names Perfect and Imperfect, or Preterite and Future, or in any other names taken from the terminology of Indo-European grammar. Moreover, these terms are misleading, especially in Hebrew; for here at least, the suffixal is not generally past or perfect, and the prefixal is not generally future or imperfect. But to call the one form *Prefixal* as having prefixes, and the other *Suffixal* as having suffixes only, would not mislead and would recognize the one great difference between these forms.

It may be objected that the form usually called Imperative is a suffixal, while yet it is really but a modification of what it is now proposed to call Prefixal. But the term Imperative may be retained, since the term is as correct for Semitic as for Indo-European; or the term De-prefixal might be used as indicating the relation of this form to the Prefixal.

And in this difference of form lies the root of the syntactical difference of the Prefixal and the Suffixal. The Pre. is not primarily a future, or an imperfect; nor the Suf. primarily a past, or a perfect; nor is either distinctively an aorist. But in the Prefixal we have subject and predicate, in the Suffixal predicate and subject. In the Pre., we see an actor before we see the action; in the Suf., we see an action before we see an actor. In the Pre., the action arises out of the actor; in the Suf., the actor is disclosed through the action. Since in the Pre., the action is presented as arising out of the actor, it may be an inceptive, and hence an aorist (not past) or a future, or an imperfect designating continuance, incompleteness, repetition, and then endeavor, wish. And since in the Suf., the mind looks across the action to the actor, and thus the action is pre-

sented as a whole, this may be a perfect or a past or may indicate certainty. The Suf. presents an act for contemplation; the Pre. presents the conditions of an act, an actor acting.

But it is the Wâw-conversive that breaks down all theories of distinction in meaning between these two forms; let us examine this peculiarity of Hebrew in the light of this root difference of Prefixal and Suffixal. If a writer has used an independent Suf., he hangs Pres. upon it, and *vice versa*, the modal and tense coloring of the series of verbs being that of the first verb. Hence, he has either the succession *act-agent, agent-act, agent-act, etc.*, or *agent-act, act-agent, act-agent, etc.* And *act-agent, agent-act* is the logical order, when the agent in both cases is the same. If one is presenting God and should say *Creator-he*, he would logically continue *and he governor*. On the other hand, if he should say *He creator*, he would logically continue *and governor he*. For that which is last before the attention at one instant is before the attention in the transition to the next instant, and so is first before the attention in the next instant. Thus the feeling could find origin and growth in the Hebrew until it rose into idea and usage, that a Pre. dependent on a Suf. takes on the coloring of the Suf., and *vice versa*. And as this dependence was denoted by putting the verb first in its own clause preceded only by a ך, the feeling and usage could easily develop, that one of those forms preceded only by a ך had the modal and tense coloring, each of the other.

As at first the connection between the pronominal prefix and the other part of the verbal form was loose in pronunciation, the little conjunctive particle became closely united with the small pronominal word; and so ground was laid for the usage of more closely uniting the Wâw-conversive with the Pre. than the simple Wâw-conjunctive.

To sum up, the names Suffixal and Prefixal (and De-prefixal) are based on an obvious difference of formation, suggest no wrong view of the difference in sense, and leave the mind free to seize and trace the real difference.

➤CONTRIBUTED NOTES.◀

A Note on the Pronunciation of יהוה.—It may be accepted as a fact that the word is formed by prefixing ' to the root הוה. We then inquire the meaning of the ' prefixed. We find it used to form an imperfect of a verb, to form a few appellatives, and to form quite a number of proper names. We might conclude at once that יהוה is a proper name rather than an appellative or a verb. If it is a name rather than a verb, then the analogy of *name-forms* instead of *verb-forms* must be sought to help us decide its probable pronunciation.

We need to consider only those formed from ה"ו roots. The following facts appear. All names formed from such roots, and that appear without prefixed ' or ת, end in ה, except שוה and יקה, and one or two formed like the participle, unless the third radical appears quiescing as ך or ף.

All the names from such roots having ' or ת prefixed and ending in the letter ה, end in ה, except יבנה and יבנה.

Thus we find such names as these: יורה, יושה, יטה, ימלה, ימרה, ימרה, תרצה, תקנה, יתלה, ישפה, ישוה, יהודה, יסכה.

Among these we have ישוה and תקנה like יהוה in having the second radical ך as well as ending in vowel letter ה.

Following the analogy of these names it would seem probable that יהוה also ended in the sound ה. In determining the vowel of the first syllable from analogy, we find no names with ' prefixed before ה to help us. But we find it before the gutturals ח and ע taking the vowel = or =, and we may suppose the vowel of the ' in יהוה was likewise either = or =. Thus we have יהוה, יהוה, יהוה or יהוה as the probable form of the name, and of these יהוה is the most probable.

B. C. TAYLOR,
Crozer Theological Seminary.

A-bi-e-shu-'=Ebishum.—In the preface to the third volume of the *Records of the Past*, Prof. Sayce has a long introduction on the Hammurabi dynasty, and, among other things, he says: "Contemporaneous documents lately discovered at Niffer prove that the true name of Ebishum, who is made the eighth king of the first dynasty, was really Abesukh." These tablets were not found at Niffer. Compare *HEBRAICA*, Oct., 1889, where, in commenting on the Kh. (= Khabaza) collection purchased in London for the University of Pennsylvania, I said: "One of the most interesting things connected with these collections was

the discovery of a king hitherto unknown. The reading of the name puzzled me for a long time. It was read in two or three different ways by two or three different Assyriologists to whom I had shown these names. At last on J. S. 41— a collection of antiquities also purchased in London from Joseph Shemtob with the aid of Mr. Pinches, I read A-bi-e-šu-. On J. S., Nos. 42 and 43, the name is written quite plainly in the same way." Cf. also J. S. 142, an archaic contract from the same king. In the Kh. collection I found two tablets of Abêšu', viz.: No. 19, "lists of amounts" and No. 198, a case-tablet. In the collection purchased in Baghdad, in January, 1889, there are three or four contracts belonging to this king. In August, 1889, Mr. Joseph Shemtob, an Arab dealer in antiquities, in London, had two more of these Abêšu' tablets in his possession.

Since my notes in *HEBRAICA*, and *ZA.* in 1889, Mr. Pinches has found a tablet of Ammi-satana on which he calls himself the son of Abêšu'. A translation of this tablet will appear in vol. V. of the *Records of the Past*, and the text itself will be reproduced in a later number of *HEBRAICA*. Mr. Pinches informs me that there are two Abêšu' tablets in the collection brought back by Mr. Budge in 1889.

In a letter to Dr. Carl Bezold, published in his *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, April, 1889, the identification of Ebišum with Abêšu' was established. My letter was dated from Niffer and hence Prof. Sayce's mistake in crediting these tablets to the finds at Niffer. During the first season's excavations at Niffer, no tablets belonging to this king were found.

ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER.

London, November 23, 1891.

➤BOOK NOTICES.◀

WILSON'S "ELEMENTS OF SYRIAC GRAMMAR" AND AN "INTRODUCTORY SYRIAC METHOD AND MANUAL."*

These two books are not only supplementary, but indispensable the one to the other, and are intended to supply for the Ancient Syriac language what has been done by Professor Harper's text-books for the Hebrew. The inductive method, so far as exhibited in the grammar, consists merely in printing the examples before the rules, or deduced principles, as perhaps we should call them; and that is about the only substantial difference in method between this grammar and others. The rules or principles are generally stated in a concise and clear manner; and there is enough of the elementary in a clear form in the two books to give a pupil—with a teacher—a good start in Syriac. The grammar alone, however, could not be used to profit without a teacher; while its referring so constantly to the Manual for its examples detracts very much from its utility as a general grammar for the reader of texts. At the same time it goes very much beyond the needs of the student of the Manual, and is evidently intended to supply the place of a larger grammar in English; which, however, it can scarcely do in its present shape, to say nothing of the distance—in comprehensiveness, depth and finish—between this work and the magnificent grammar in small compass of Nöldeke, and the less accurate and masterly but more comprehensive one of Duval. A smaller grammar than this would have secured its object better; and the inductive method would have been more nearly attained in the practical way of furnishing more extensive and complete tables or paradigms, and leaving to induction from extensive reading—for the student will never learn them in any other way—the matters of etymology that are presented as another's deduction, along with a few examples to illustrate the latter placed before that deduction in order of printing. Not that the latter is to be found fault with by itself; but one of the crying needs of the book is that tables of the paradigms of verbs are so scanty, while the principles for making them are, in general, admirably set forth, and the verb otherwise so well treated as to exhibit one of the best parts of the book. The compilation of this grammar seems to be made from a faithful study of the master European grammarians, along with a good, but none too extensive, reading of Syriac authors. The statements are often too strongly tinged with a feeling of the literal interpretation, mechanical and verbal, where the real meaning and force of the Syriac in English is omitted; but this is a feature not to be avoided in elementary books—although it sometimes inculcates ideas which the student will have to unlearn by and by.

* THE "ELEMENTS OF SYRIAC GRAMMAR BY AN INDUCTIVE METHOD," AND AN "INTRODUCTORY SYRIAC METHOD AND MANUAL," by Robert Dick Wilson, Ph. D. Professor of Old Testament Languages and History in the Western Theological Seminary, Allegheny, Pa. 8vo, Grammar, pp. viii., 209; Manual, pp. viii. 160. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, price of each, \$2.50 net.

"In the syntax," the author says, though he might have added, in the other portions of the grammar also, "when the examples could not be verified, the grammar from which they have been taken has been noted." All true and excellent; but nevertheless his unverified examples have sometimes brought him into a very treacherous place. One of these will suffice. On p. 130 (§ 103, Rem. 3) we find the rather startling statement that **ܡܢܐ** (*mono*, the neuter interrogative pronoun) is in a few instances used as an adjective, and sometimes for persons. Turning back to the examples supposed to sustain this principle, we find "**ܡܢܐ ܫܬܬܐ ܠܠܒ ܠܡܢܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ** *what Satan hath filled thy heart?* (Barh. I. p. 184, l. 24 [Duv.])," along with another example we may speak of farther on. Sure enough, the example is found in Duval's grammar, at page 301, with the statement that the word can be put, like an adjective, in apposition with a substantive. (Duval's examples, all but this one given, are from a grammar of *Modern Syriac*). Turning to the reference in Barhebraeus, we find no such thing. Barhebraeus is treating of the contraction of two particles into one, and says, in substance, at this place, that **ܡܢܐ** and **ܡܢ** are regularly so contracted or joined (into **ܡܢܐ**, *monau*) in expressions of threatening; and then he cites (in Syriac, of course, from Acts v. 3) "Ananias, why hath Satan filled thine heart?" using the words of the Peshitto, omitting only as unnecessary for his purpose the **ܡܢܐ**; taking **ܠܚܝܬܐ**, a common MS. reading in his region, in place of the **ܠܠܒ**, of the Nestorians or the **ܠܠܒ** of the English and other editions; and—not **ܡܢܐ** at all, but **ܡܢܐ**, as it stands in the Peshitto, making all sure by his pointing. Then he adds, in substance, For it is clear that if Peter had said **ܡܢܐ ܡܢܐ**, with the words separated or uncontracted, it would not have been an expression of threatening. The construction, then, is only the regular one, **ܡܢܐ ܡܢܐ**, "What (i. e. why) is it [that] Satan has [thus] filled thine heart?"—the words of the Peshitto which Barhebraeus omitted I have put in brackets. Duval's principle falls to the ground along with his non-recognition of a familiar passage (though Barhebraeus had said "Ananias" too!), and his mistake of **ܡܢܐ** for **ܡܢܐ**; and with it also Professor Wilson's extension of Duval's "apposition" into an adjective use. There is scarcely space to show it here; but the other example I above referred to (which attempts to prove that **ܡܢܐ** is used of persons), from the Chrestomathy of Knös, cited by Wilson from Duval, is likewise a misquotation and a mistake. Instead of **ܡܢܐ** it is **ܡܢܐ**, and the context shows abundantly that the meaning is not "*who are these kings?*" but "*of what are these kings?*"

"The plates for the first sixty pages," the preface informs us, "were made by Messrs. Tuttle, Moorhouse [read Morehouse] and Taylor, of New Haven, Conn.; those for the remainder by the firm of W. Drugulin, of Leipzig, Germany." The style of typography is creditable to both; but there are the inevitable misprints in the work of both; many more in the Syriac than there ought to be; more in the English than are pleasant, and some of these latter before we reach p. 60. On p. 36, first line of paragraph 1, "words" for "verbs" is quite unfortunate; on p. 20, in (3), "fountain" for "fourteen" does not so much harm. But the numerous mistakes in numbers made in referring to the author's Manual are a serious inconvenience.

The critic finds much that he would like to say—without fault-finding—about the representations of facts where theories differ; but space will hardly permit; also about a few matters which all the grammars state as invariable

truths, but which have notable exceptions; but of these we will mention but one. Referring to p. 45, Rem. 2, it is not an invariable rule that in the Ettaf'al stem, wherever the preformative is a *tau*, the other *taus* are written as one, to avoid the occurrence of three *taus*. The manuscripts often have three *taus* in such case; many of the Heracleian Gospels and kindred writings have them regularly.

The grammar has the praiseworthy feature of a good index.

Concerning the Manual by itself, there is little need of remark. The progressive method is good; the selections are intended in the main to correspond with those in Prof. Harper's *Hebrew Manual*, and are rather limited in range. "The last selection," says the preface, "is the introductory portion of the history of Rabban Soma [better Sauma], possessed in manuscript by the author and never before published. Being printed in the Nestorian alphabet, it will be useful as an introduction to the East Syriac system of writing." But the matter had been already printed, along with rest of the manuscript—except some scandalous mutilations; edited anonymously by one of the Urmî Lazarists, printed by Dru-gulin at Leipzig, and published by Maisonneuve at Paris, in 1888. Moreover, Prof. Wilson's Manual does not give it "in the Nestorian alphabet," but in the Estranghela, with Nestorian pointing.

The Manual has a double system of numbering the notes, which probably aim at utility in the class-room.

While in the statement of a number of elementary and of some minor matters we should not agree with Prof. Wilson, it would be improper and unjust not to recognize the labor and fidelity with which the bulk of the work is done; the books, together, will prove a most useful pair. But both Grammar and Manual are so full of matter that an *autodidakt* beginner would be overloaded. The best use must be in the class-room, with a judicious teacher.

ISAAC H. HALL.

BEZOLD'S KOUYUNJIK CATALOGUE.*

The second volume of Bezold's Catalogue appeared on November 26th. It contains Nos. KK. 2192-8162. This volume differs in several respects from vol. I. An attempt has been made to save as much space as possible, and hence the description of the various tablets is less complete. Only the size—in inches—is given and the number of lines. A convenient list of signs has been introduced, and these also play their part in diminishing the space necessary to the description. For example: "12 + 11 lines" = 12 lines on obverse and 11 on reverse; "10 + 11 . . . lines" = 10 lines on obverse, the reverse lost; "5 ± 7 lines" = 5 lines on obverse and 7 on reverse, but the minus sign has been added to indicate the possibility of the 7 lines being on the obverse and 5 on the reverse, etc., etc. It is not necessary in a catalogue to indicate the color of a tablet, whether baked or unbaked, number of cracks, erasures, etc., and hence I am inclined to think that the author has done well to omit these details. These can be added to the description when the text is published in full with notes.

* Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum. by C. Bezold. Volume II. Published by order of the Trustees, pp. lx.-xxiv. and 421-900. London: 1891. Price, 15 shillings.

In the different tablets, Bezold has almost always given the "catch line" in the original cuneiform in support of his view as to contents. No attempt has been made to pass over difficulties. In many cases, several lines of the text are quoted.

One of the most important and helpful points is the complete bibliography under each number. Every possible reference has been added. These references could not have been demanded in a catalogue and hence they are the more welcome.

Almost every kind of tablet is represented in these numbers. I think that I can safely say that most of them, however, are omens, astrological forecasts and religious texts. There are also a great many historical fragments, and broken letters.

This volume, as does the first, shows an immense amount of painstaking work and a most exhaustive knowledge of the bibliography of the subject. No one was so well prepared to do this work as Bezold, and he has done the science an incalculable service in these volumes. For the first time, we are able to make a fairly good estimate of the contents of the K. collection. We can see what there is in this collection, what has been done in the way of publishing and translating, and what remains to be done.

The print is beautiful and very correct. I have noticed a few typographical errors, but none of any importance. The K. collection contains over 20,000 tablets, and I understand that Dr. Bezold will not only catalogue the remaining 12,000 but also all the other collections from Kouyunjik.

ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER.

British Museum, December 1, 1891.

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Intit page

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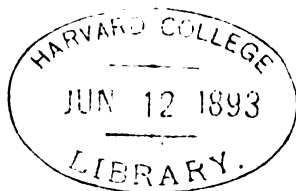
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➤ HEBRAICA. ◀

VOL. VIII.

APRIL—JULY, 1892.

Nos. 3 and 4.

ON AN UNPUBLISHED CYLINDER OF ESARHADDON.*

BY S. ARTHUR STRONG,

Cambridge, England.

The cylinder here published and translated for the first time belongs to that group of documents of Esarhaddon and Aššurbanipal, of which the common theme is the restoration of the temples of the province and city of Babylon and the return of the banished gods to their ancient seats. It is dedicated to Ištar of Erech, and describes in the usual way the restoration of Éanna the temple of Anu, in which, as we learn, there was a shrine of Ištar called Énirgalanna. Its exact date is impossible to determine; but it probably belongs to the very end of the reign of Esarhaddon, seeing that it speaks for instance of the bringing back of Marduk to Ésagila as an accomplished fact, though we know that he was not finally installed there until the beginning of the reign of Aššurbanipal, who expressly says that he completed what his father had left unfinished at Ésagila.

The cylinder is of grey clay, small and barrel-shaped. It is numbered 81 6-7 209 in the collection of the British Museum; but "where it was found is not known" (*PSBA.*, 1884, p. 181). The characters are of the Babylonian form, clearly written and, with few exceptions, well preserved.

A transliteration, with a translation of a few of the lines, has been given (*Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, II., p. 120), by Winckler, who (l. 1) reads Ištar šurbutiê bêlit šamiê for I. šurbuti êtillit šame and šarruḫti for šaruḫti; (l. 9) reads itu kun for itûṭ kun; (l. 17) sattuki for sat-tukku; (l. 20) lû for rabû, and omits bîtišu; (l. 27) reads Šumêri for Šumêru; (l. 28) Bêl-ibni for Bêl-banî, and (l. 29) ṣâti for iâti.

* The text has also been published by Prof. G. A. Barton in the *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, 1891; but the present article was in the hands of the printer before Prof. Barton's edition reached England.—ED.

TRANSLITERATION.

- 1) a-na Iš-tar bêlti šur-bu-ti ê-til-lit šam-ê u irši-tim қа-rit-ti ilâni ša-ru-uh-ti
- 2) Ištar Uruk ru-ba-a-ti şir-ti li-қа-a-ti pa-ra-aş A-num-u-tu
- 3) ša ri-kis tê-ri-ê-ti ha-am-mat
- 4) ru-um-ti ti-iz-қar-ti ša a-na šarri mi-ig-ri-ša ki-niš ip-pal-la-su
- 5) palî-šu u-şal-ba-ru i-şar-ra-ku-uş da-na-nu u li-i-ti
- 6) ša-nun-ka-at ad-na-a-ti ša-қu-ti ilâni a-ši-bat Ê-nir-gal-an-na
- 7) ša ki-rib Ê-an-na bê-lit Uruk bêlti rabî-ti bêlti-šu
- 8) Aššur-âḫâ-iddi-na šarru rabu-u šarru dan-nu šar kiššati šar Aššur šar kib-rat irbit-ti šakkanak Bâbili šar Šu-mê-ri u Akkadi
- 9) ti-ri-iş қâtâ Aššur i-tu-ut kun lib-bi Bêli ni-bît Marduk mi-gir Ir-ni-ni
- 10) ša ultu şî-ḫi-ri-šu a-na Aššur A-num Bêli Ê-a Sin Šamši Rammân Marduk Nabû Nergal u Ištar
- 11) ilâni rabûti it-tak-lu-ma ni-is-sat-su u-şak-ši-du-uş i-mu-ru da-na-an-šu-un
- 12) a-na nu-uh-ḫu lib-bi ilu-u-ti-šu-nu u nu-up-pu-uş ka-bit-ti-šu-nu şilli-šu-nu da-ru-u
- 13) it-ru-ḡu êli-šu
- 14) ina ê-muқ Aššur-Bêl apil Bêli u Ištar ilâni ti-ik-li-šu kul-lat mââtati i-bê-lu-ma
- 15) ina gi-mir ma-li-ku u-şak-ni-šu šê-pu-uş-šu
- 16) ba-nu-u bît Aššur ê-piş Ê-sag-ila u Bâbili mu-ud-diş Ê-an-na
- 17) mu-şak-lil eš-ri-ê-ti u ma-ḫa-zu mu-kîn sat-tuk-ku
- 18) šarru ša ina û-mê palî-šu bêlu rabu-u Marduk a-na Bâbili sa-li-mu ir-šu-u
- 19) ina Ê-sag-ila êkalli-šu ir-mu-u şu-bat-su
- 20) A-num rabu-u ana âli-šu Dûr-ilu u bîti-šu Ê-dim-gal-kalam-ma u-şê-ri-bu-ma
- 21) u-şê-ši-bu pa-rak-ka da-ra-a-ti
- 22) ilâni mââtati ša ana Aššur i-ḫi-šu-ni şu-kut-ta-šu-nu ud-diş-ma ul-tu ki-rib Aššûr
- 23) ana aš-ri-šu-nu u-tîr-šu-nu-ti-ma u-kîn is-қu-uş-šu-nu
- 24) rubû ên-қu it-pi-šu ḫa-sis kâl şip-ri ša ina ma-ḫa-zu rabûti
- 25) si-ma-a-ti iş-tak-ka-nu uş-tê-ši-ru şu-luḫ-ḫa

TRANSLATION.

1) To Ištar, the great lady, queen of heaven and earth, the heroine of the gods, the glorious one,

2) Ištar of Erech, the princess supreme, who receives the command of Anu-mutu,

3) who the bond of laws makes fast,

4) the high and mighty one, who upon the king her worshipper, faithfully looks,

5) his reign prolongs, and bestows on him power and glory,

6) queen of the mansions of the most high gods, dwelling in Ênirgalanna,

7) which (is) within Êanna, lady of Erech, the great lady, his lady,

8) Esarhaddon, the great king, the mighty king, king of the whole (world), king of Assyria, king of the four regions, governor of Babylon, king of Sumir and Akkad,

9) set up by the hands of Aššur, offspring of the righteousness of the heart of Bel, the chosen of Marduk, worshipper of Irnini,

10) who from his youth up in Aššur, Anum, Bel, Êa, Sin, Šamaš, Rammân, Marduk, Nabû, Nergal and Ištar,

11) the great gods, his lords, has trusted, and (in that) his grief they have caused to be put away from him has seen their power,

12) for the repose of the heart of their godhead, and the health of their soul, the shadow of their protection everlasting

13) they cast over him :—

14) in the might of Aššur-Bel, son of Bel, and Ištar, the gods his helpers, all lands he has taken possession of, and

15) all princes has subdued (under) his feet,

16) maker of the house of Aššur, builder of Êsagila and Babylon, restorer of Êanna,

17) who completed the shrines and the city, who instituted daily sacrifices,

18) the king in the days of whose reign the great lord Marduk to Babylon (his) favor granted,

19) (and) in Êsagila his palace established his seat,

20) who Anum the great into his city Dûrilu and his house Êdingalkalamma caused to enter, and

21) set him to dwell in an everlasting sanctuary,

22) (who) the gods of the countries, that to Assyria had hastened, their costly ornaments renewed, and from out of Assyria

23) to their own seats restored them, and fixed their revenues :—

24) the prince, wise, busy, cunning in all works such as (are) in great cities,

25) adornments made, ordained rites and ceremonies :—

- 26) apil Sin-âhi-ir-ba šar kiššati šar Aššur apil Šarru-ukin šar Aššur
 27) šakkanak Bâbili šar Šu-mê-ru u Akkadi
 28) li-ib-li-pi da-ru-u ša Bêl-ba-ni apil A-da-si šar Aššur
 29) pir'u Aššur šu-ku-ru-tim šarru-u-tu ki-šit-ti ia-a-ti
 30) i-nu-ma Ê-an-na bit A-num-u-tu na-ram Ištâr bēlit-ia ša šarru ma-ḥar
 i-pu-šu
 31) la-ba-riš il-lik-ma i-ku-pu iḡarâti-šu
 32) aš-ra-ti-šu aš-tê-'ê-ma nit-ta-šu as-suḥ tē-mê-ên-šu u-ba-tiḫ-ma ki-ma
 si-ma-ti-šu
 33) la-bi-ra-a-ti ina ši-pir (ilu) libittu ar-šip u-šak-lil ki-ma šadi-i ri-ê-ši-
 ū ul-li
 34) Ištâr bēltu šur-bu-ti ši-pir ū-a-tu ḥa-diš lip-pa-lis-ma a-mat damiḫ-
 ti-ia liš-ša-kin šap-tuš-ša
 35) muḫ-ḫi kul-lat na-ki-ri li-šam-ri-ir kakki-ia
 36) ma-ti-ma ina aḫ-rat ūmê rubû arku-u ša ina ūmê palî-šu ši-pir ū-
 a-tu
 37) in-na-ḥu-ma ū-kit-ti i-raš-šu-u aš-ra-ti-šu liš-tê-'ê-ma nit-ta-šu liḫ-šir
 38) mu-šar-u ši-ṭir šumi-ia šamnu lip-šu-uš niḫâ liḫ-ḫi ina aš-ri-šu liš-kun
 39) iḫ-ri-bi-šu ilâni i-šim-mu-u ur-rak ūmê u-rap-pa-aš kim-ti
 40) ša mu-šar-u ši-ṭir šumi-ia ina ši-pir ni-kil-ti ib-ba-tu lu-u a-šar-šu
 u-nak-ka-ru
 41) Ištâr bēltu rabi-ti ag-giš lik-kil-mê-šu-ma šumi-šu zir-šu ina nap-ḥar
 mâtâtî li-ḥal-lik

- 26) son of Sennacherib king of the whole (world), king of Assyria, the son of Sargon, king of Assyria,
27) governor of Babylon, king of Sumir and Akkad,
28) descendant from of old of Belbani, son of Adasi, king of Assyria,
29) scion of the city of Aššur, the jewel of the kingdom my possession, am I.
30) When Éanna, the house of Anumutu, beloved of Ištar my lady, which a former king built,
31) in age advanced, and its walls decayed,
32) its shrines I cared for, its ruins I removed, its foundation-stone I took up, and like its adornments
33) of old with the work of the Brick-god I built up, I completed; like a mountain its spires I raised.
34) May Ištar, the great lady, this work joyfully look upon, and a word of favor towards me be put in her lips!
35) Over all enemies may she make my weapons terrible!
36) In the future, in after days, may the later prince, in the days of whose reign this work
37) may decay, and the fabric be broken down, its shrines take care of, its ruins repair;
38) the tablet inscribed with my name with oil may he anoint, (and) the sacrifice of a lamb offer; in its place may he set (it)!
39) His prayers shall the gods hear; they shall lengthen his days, (and) multiply his kith and kin.
40) (But) he who the tablet inscribed with my name with (of) cunning work destroys, or its place alters,
41) may Ištar, the great lady, in anger look upon him, and his name, his seed in all lands destroy!

NOTES.

2) *paraş Anumutu* must mean either *the command of Anu*, with whom Istar was closely associated at Erech (see Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 184), or, simply *the heavenly command*, just as in line 30 we have *Êanna*, *the house of heaven*, explained by *bit Anumutu*.

3) For this phrase used in connection with Bel and Istar see II R. 57, 10.

4) For the meaning of *rumti tizkarti* see II R. 31, 54, *ru-um-tum* = *ka-bit-tum*, and II R. 25, 50, *MAH* (= *şiru*) = *ti-iz-ka-ru*.

6) *ŠA-NUN-KAT* with the explanation *šarratum* is found (obv., line 6) on an unpublished "bilingual" list (numbered 81-4-28, 327) in the British Museum, to which Mr. Pinches has directed my attention.

9) *itût kun libbi Bêl*. Cf. Nebuchadnezzar (Abel and Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte*, p. 33, Col. I. 17), *ituti kûn lib ilâni rabûti*; and (I R. 52, 3; Col. I. 2) *itût kûn libbi Marduk*. With regard to Irnini, Pinches (*Babylonian and Oriental Record*, I, p. 208) has shown that *ir* may represent an older *ur* or *ura*, and therefore, if Jensen's proposed identification of *URA* with Nergal in his character of "the bloodthirsty" or "the bloodhound" (*Kosmologie*, p. 483) be accepted, Irnini, that is the god *Ir*, might be explained as a name or title of Nergal. On the other hand, in the following fragment of an incantation, Irnini seems to be an epithet of Istar: *şıptu Istar liêit ilâni rabûti şakutum şuputum garittum Iştârâti*(?).... *mupilatatum şurbutum Irnini bêltum*.... *ana iâşi ruşi banat u addirât*.... *Bêlat nişi ilat zikkari*.... *şaninti nişi têliti Istar binat Anum nabnit ilâni rabûti [na]-dinat haţtu kussu*....

11) *nissatsu uşakşiduş*, literally, *his weeping they caused him to subdue*.

12) For a defence of the form *kabittu* as against the (literally) possible *kabattu*, see Zimmern, *Babylonische Busspsalmen*, p. 29.

14) *Aşşur-Bêl*. This composite god, formed out of the Assyrian *Aşşur* and the Babylonian *Bêl*, and to a certain extent, as it would seem, subordinated to the latter, is evidently the outcome of a policy of combining the Assyrian and Babylonian pantheons into one system, of which the center of gravity would lie more on the side of Babylon than on that of Assyria. And this would correspond in the religious sphere to the political subordination of Assyria to Babylon, which was undoubtedly contemplated by Esarhaddon, though he never lived to effect it. It is true, however, that we meet with *Aşşur-Bêl*, as a component of a proper name, at a much earlier period, for in the new fragment of the Babylonian chronicle recently published by Mr. Pinches (*Records of the Past*, new series, Vol. V) mention is made of a *Tukulti-Aşşur-Bêl*, who seems to have been a contemporary of *Aşşurnasirpal*.

20) Cf. K 3053 rev. l. 42, where Esarhaddon is describing how he restored the gods to their temples: *ilu rabû šarrat Dûrilu Kadi (AN-SIR) bēlit balâti.... ana Dûrilu âlišunu utîr*; also the Babylonian Chronicle, Col. III., 44 (where Kadi is written syllabically).

22) *šukuttu*. Both the meaning and the reading of this word are obscure. *šukutti (šuḫutti?) ḫurâši* are mentioned in the Nimrûd inscription of Tiglath-pileser III., line 28, where Smith (*Discoveries*, p. 260) and after him Schrader (*Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, II., p. 16) translate by *cups, drinking vessels*, with evident reference to the root *šaḫû*; but this can hardly be the meaning of the word here. I prefer, with Delitzsch (*Assyrian Grammar*, § 49b.), to connect it with *šakânu*, as meaning, however,—not *rubbish, stuff*, but—the elaborate jeweler's or sculptor's work, which adorned the shrines or the images of the gods.

25) *šuluḫḫu*, originally *handwashing*, then, perhaps, *rites and ceremonies* in general. Cf. V R. 13, 1 and 2, *kissalluḫḫu*, used of a class of priests whose business it was to anoint the temple floor (Latrille in Delitzsch's *Beitraege*, I., p. 291). *šuluḫḫu* occurs in line 10 of the Ripley Cylinder of Neriglissar in the phrase *muštêširu šuluḫḫišun*, for which Winckler (*Keilschrifttexte, Woerter-Verzeichnis*, p. 85) proposes the rendering *der in Ordnung brachte ihre Abgaben (Einkuenfte)*, and further in a difficult passage of the same cylinder (Col. II., l. 17), *ana ullulu šuluḫḫu zanana(ti?)*, which Bezold (*Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, III., p. 79) translates doubtfully by *den Bau zu erhoehen*.

28) *Bêl-banî* son of *Adasi*. Cf. K 3053 obv. l. 48, where Esarhaddon calls himself *liblibbi šarruti ša Bêl-ba[nî] šar Aššur*. This ancient king—more mythical perhaps than historical—is known to us only as the reputed founder of Sargon's line. It is not impossible that he may be the same as *Bêl-kapkapi*, the former king from whom Rammân-nirârî III. claims descent (I R. 35, 3, 24); but see Tiele, *Geschichte* I., p. 255.

32) The object of the verb *aššuḫ* evidently occurs again in line 37, where the characters, though somewhat defaced, can still plainly be read as *uš-ta-šu* or *nit-ta-šu*. I have read *nittašu* in both places, connecting the word with the root (נאך?) seen in *ani'i*, *muni'i*, forms which with the meaning *pierce through*, or *shatter* occur in Sennacherib, *Taylor Cylinder*, V. 66, *irat-sun ani'ima*, *I pierced their breast*, and Sargon, *Nimrûd Inscription*, l. 9, *muni'i irat Kakmiê*, *who pierced the breast of the Kakmi*. *nittu* would thus mean that which has been shattered, broken away. It is possible that it may be connected—as *ḫiṭtu* with *ḫiṭu*—with the word *nîtu*, which is used of besieging in the formula *nîtum almi, nîti almi* (Sennacherib, *Taylor Cylinder*, V. 13, and *Bavian Inscription*, l. 44; cf. V R. 19, 21, *nîtum ša lamê*); but the meaning of which is obscure. Bezold, (*l. c.*) gives *Cordon*, Winckler, *Belagerungswall*. Prof. Robertson Smith suggests the comparison of نسي "a ditch surrounding a tent," and Heb. נאות מדבר which must be interpreted to mean such

ditches disused and deserted. The word that follows *têmênšu* is difficult to decipher, for the character which I have read *ba* has almost the form of *giš*, and the succeeding character is very doubtful. My reading is proposed with great hesitation. The fact, however—if it be a fact—that the old foundation-stone was taken up, would show how thoroughly Esarhaddon went about his work of renovation.

37) *šukittu* is related to *šukuttu* as *butiḫtu* to (the more usual) *butuḫtu*. *iraššû*, from *rašâšû* (Heb. *רשש*) to *break*, parallel in point of form to *izannu* from *zanânu* (Neriglassar, I. 27).

39) *urrak ûmê*, etc. Cf. V R. 34, Col. III., 43, 44, where the goddess is directly addressed in the second person, *uriki ûmua....balaṭam ḫuti*, where Winckler (*KB.*, III., p. 44) reads *balaṭam [dam]-ḫuti*, *ein gnadenreiches Leben*, with a note to the effect that *dam* has been left out by the scribe.

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II. THE CALENDAR OF ENOCH AND JUBILEES.

BY BENJAMIN WISNER BACON,

Oswego, N. Y.

IN *HEBRAICA*, VIII., 1 and 2, we made an investigation of the chronology of the Flood according to the P document, which, in connection with certain other passages from the same document, seemed to make it clear that the writer employed, if he did not intend positively to inculcate, a calendar system strikingly different from the very irregular one in current use among the Hebrews down to the fourth century of our era. The peculiarities of the calendar suggested by the priestly writer of the Flood story were: (1) the invariable month of 30 days, instead of the Hebrew observed month, varying from 28 to 30 days, and having an average value slightly exceeding $29\frac{1}{2}$ days; (2) the lunar year, less by ten days than the solar; (3) the "great year" of 600 years = 7421 lunations. The 30 day month corresponds with that of Babylonia and Egypt, the "great year" was certainly of Babylonian origin, and the "decade" was also a Babylonian period.

It was found to be an essential requirement of the ritual system of P to furnish a perpetual calendar for the accurate reckoning of "signs and seasons (sacred) and months and years," and the passage Gen. i., 14 was held to indicate an intention of the writer to furnish a perpetual luni-solar calendar. His establishment of a complete chronology of universal history, fixing even the very day of creation itself as the first of the week and the prescription of feasts by the day of the month seemed to be an indication that he considered himself to have furnished such a calendar.

The difficulty came with the *ten* day intercalary period, which seemed to be intended to stand for the discrepancy between the lunar and solar year (Gen. VIII., 13 sq.). That this period of ten days added to the day of the month (lunar), was intended to make good the deficiency of the lunar year, and so bring the close of the Flood to precisely one solar year from its beginning, was evidenced by a citation from "Jubilees" prescribing this very addition of *ten* days to the day of the (lunar) month to secure the true date (solar time). Now if the author of the Flood narrative was familiar with the "great year" of Josephus, 600 solar years = 7421 lunations, the great triumph of ancient Babylonian astronomy, this would inevitably require a solar year of at least 365 days, unless the lunation was made considerably less than $29\frac{1}{2}$ days, which is scarcely supposable. In addition there was the significantly exceptional number 365 employed by the same author for

the age of Enoch, a character inseparable from calendar and solar myths, and the palpable fact that a year of 364 days would, in the course of an ordinary lifetime, be so far out of the way as to have entirely altered the succession of the seasons, and so made the whole system of feasts impracticable. All this being taken into consideration, together with the fact that both in Babylon and Egypt the year had long been reckoned at 365½ days, and that no civilized nation has ever within historical times employed a solar year so widely departing from the true, seemed to warrant the conclusion emphatically stated in the preceding article, "It is absolutely incredible that P should have reckoned the solar year at 364 days," and as we are not at liberty with Lenormant (*Beginnings of History*, p. 411) to find an addition of *eleven* days to the lunar year according to Gen. VIII., 13 sq., but only *ten*, as in "Jubilees," the inference seemed unavoidable that the lunar year was reckoned at 355 days.

We have now to consider the bearing upon this question of two important works of the Pharisean period largely devoted to the rectification of the calendar, in each of which it is plainly intimated that the Law of Moses contains just such a perpetual calendar as we have concluded P both must have presented, and actually considered himself to have presented. That one of them in particular which makes the rectification of the calendar its most especial aim goes back to the very passages which we have considered to afford the calendar-system of the priestly legislation, viz., the chronology of the Flood-account in P, as the infallible and divinely revealed basis for the calendar.

These two books are the Samaritan book of Enoch *circa* 144–106 B. C., which we will speak of simply as "Enoch," and the book of "Jubilees" already referred to, dating from *circa* 50 A. D. Both advocate a purely solar calendar, and fall back upon Genesis as the infallible authority. Both wish to introduce an invariable month of 30 days with four intercalary *ἡμέραι ἐπαγόμεναι*, making thus an invariable year of 364 days. Of course both attack the current practice of their day, which determined the month by what "Jubilees" considers the corrupting, "Gentile" practice of "observations of the moon."

As we shall need to have a thorough understanding of this writer's calendar-system, an abstract of his teaching on the subject will be necessary for our purpose. It should be understood from the outset that the book of Jubilees is in the nature of a *haggadah*, or discursive commentary on Genesis. Its characteristic treatment of the biblical writing has won for it the title of *Septegenesis*, which might be well rendered "Genesis carried out in the minutiae." Section VI., relating to Noah and the flood, is, as we might expect from the facts adduced in *HEBRAICA*, VIII., 1 and 2, mainly devoted to the regulation of the calendar according to the plan above stated.

Beginning with VI., 16 the author reckons from creation to Noah's 600th year 28 jubilees (of 49 years) and 5 weeks of years (7 year periods). There are

then 7 jubilees (343 years) and one week (7 years) to Noah's death. The significance of these dates in connection with the chronology of P corresponds with the paraphrase in "Jubilees" of Gen. i., 28, which has previously been given by the author in II., 8, as follows: "And God established the sun as a great sign over the earth, and for days and for sabbaths and for months and for festivals and for years and for jubilees and for all seasons of the years." Whatever P's calendar may have been, it is clear that "Jubilees" favors solar reckoning, and regards the moon as a "corrupter" of times and seasons.

In VI., 20 the author proceeds to enact the feast-days of the year: 1st, "one day a year at the feast of weeks, as it is written in the book of the first law (Num. XXVIII., 26). 21, The new moon of the first month (vernal equinox), of the fourth (summer solstice), the seventh (autumnal equinox), and the tenth (winter solstice) are to be celebrated as the feasts of Noah; 22, because Noah ordained them. 23, In the first, God said to him, 'Make an ark.' In the fourth, the mouths of the flood-gates were closed (not contained in Genesis). In the seventh, the flood-gates were opened again to reabsorb the waters. In the tenth, the mountain-tops appeared..... 27, There are to be 13 sabbaths (91 days) to each of the above quarters of the year. In 52 sabbaths of days (4×13 weeks = 52 weeks = 364 days), the whole is completed..... 29, The year has precisely 364 days..... 31, But if they [the people] transgress and do not observe them [the feasts of Noah] according to his commandment, then all the fixed dates will be corrupted, and the years will waver in consequence and also their times and years. And all the children of Israel will forget and will not find the paths of the years, and will forget the new moon and sabbaths and festivals, and in all the order of the years will they err....and walk according to the festivals of the Gentiles, after their errors and their ignorance. 34, And there will be those who will make observations of the moon; for this one corrupts the stated times and comes out earlier each year by ten days. 35, And in this way they will corrupt the years and err as to months and sabbaths and festivals and jubilees. Therefore I command thee [Moses]....for after thy death thy children will corrupt [the calendar] so that they make a year only 364 days,* and on this account they will err as to new moons and sabbaths."

It is clear that the author of "Jubilees" writes from a period of great confusion of the calendar, in which there appears to be a strong tendency to adopt the "Gentile" year of 365½ days (the Julian calendar?); for in VI., 35 we must certainly read 365 (½?) in place of "only 364." This unpatriotic, heathenish tendency he resists and denounces to the utmost, as a departure from the divinely revealed calendar of Genesis of 364 days. If only Israel would abide by the writ-

* As to this flagrant contradiction of the preceding context, Prof. George Schoedde, from whose new translation, *Bib. Sac.*, 1885 and sqq., I quote, writes in a foot-note that there is nothing to be said save that it is totally unaccountable.

ten word all would be well. But they are prone to depart from the way ordained in the law and from the example of Noah to forget the feasts instituted by him at the solstices and equinoxes, and to "walk according to the festivals of the Gentiles, after their errors and their ignorance." This desperate struggle of Pharisean conservatism to maintain the infallible truth of the divinely revealed law, as the author understands it, against the "ignorance and error of the Gentiles," who profanely declare in the face of Scripture that the year has 365 days or more, has a pathetic parallel in more than one great modern struggle of the church for what it was persuaded was the divinely revealed infallible truth of Holy Scripture, and of Genesis in particular. Viewed by itself, one sees nothing in it but bigotry and narrow-minded fanaticism; but viewed as it should be, simply as one phase of the heroic Maccabean struggle for the preservation of national independence, religious freedom and the institutions of Mosaism, it possesses more of pathos than of absurdity, and calls for pity rather than contempt.

But we have other facts to consider before we shall have reached a thorough comprehension of the relation of this Pharisean plea for the "Mosaic" calendar, to the tendencies of its own time on the one hand, and to the calendar of Genesis, which it attempts to expound, on the other.

We have already observed that the author of "Jubilees" is not the first to present this cause, but expressly refers to his predecessor "Enoch" as authority on this subject. It is when we examine the latter work that we first obtain a clear and comprehensive insight into what "Jubilees" understands to be the Noachic (and Mosaic) system. Here again the last vestige of possibility that the reading of Jub. VI., 35, "so that they make a year *only* 364 days," could be correct is entirely removed. If "Enoch" was authority for "Jubilees," as appears not alone from explicit reference,* but still more obviously from the manifest dependence of his whole calendar system on the elaborate astronomical and calendar data of Enoch LXXII.-LXXXII., then the number 364 for the days of the solar year was the most solid and unshakeable of facts; for Enoch not only repeats with emphasis in more than one place "the year has precisely 364 days," but, lest there should be the shadow of a doubt as to the real meaning of his "precisely," he adds, "In three years there are 1092 days; in five years there are 1820 days; in eight years there are 2712 days." He has not even left us room to suppose that he proposed an intercalary period; for in order to be of practical value to the Hebrews, whose feast of first-fruits could not be celebrated, if the seasons were permitted to fall back very far by reason of a deficient year, the intercalation would have to be made at least as often as once in eight years.

But "Enoch" too rests upon Genesis as the ultimate authority. The revelation which is supposed to be made by "Enoch, the seventh from Adam," to his

* "Enoch wrote out the signs of heaven according to the order of their months." —Jub. IV.

great-grandson Noah is in chs. LXXII.-LXXXII. devoted to the exposition of an elaborate astronomical and calendar system, detailed at great length and with painstaking precision. As the framework of the entire book rests upon the story of Gen. v.-VIII., so the physical system of chs. LXXII.-LXXXVII. corresponds obviously to what the author understands to be that of Genesis. By being caught up above the sky, Enoch has opportunity to inspect the whole celestial mechanism from the inner (i. e. the upper) side. He travels entirely around the great celestial vault, which as an inverted hemispherical shell rests upon the flat horizontal surface of the earth, the latter extending indefinitely north, south, east and west beyond the circle where the celestial hemisphere rests upon it. In these various regions outside the "world" are the abodes of the just and the unjust dead, of angels good and bad, the latter "in prison" since "the days of Noah," of the four winds with their inlets into the "world" and the "courses" of the sun, moon and stars. There are six "gates" on the east horizon through which the sun enters for his career on the inner surface of the vault and six gates of exit on the west through which he emerges again at evening to travel thence horizontally around the north pole back to the place of entrance.

It is by such personal inspection of the heavenly mechanism that Enoch is qualified to explain to his great-grandson Noah the entire celestial economy, with especial reference to the fixing of a permanent calendar. This is done with the adoption of the very terms of Gen. i., 28, and an elaborate explanation of the mutual relations of the sun, moon and stars; especially the "signs" (stars which precede the sun and moon through the respective "gates" to direct their course). Here we find the origin and explanation of the peculiar division of the year in "Jubilees," the equinoctial and solstitial "feasts of Noah," and at the same time the point of connection with P's calendar of 30 day-months and year of 364 (?) days.

According to Enoch the months are no longer lunar but purely solar, or better sidereal; for they are of equal length (30 days) and are determined by the position of the stars in the Zodiac. The sun passes from season to season through the six gates, going in order from one to the other and returning on his track. In each gate on the east he enters daily for two months (60 days), of course, making his exit (setting) in the corresponding gate on the west for the same period. Only at the beginning of each of the four quarters of the year (equinoxes and solstices), does he spend an extra day in the gate then occupied, "on account of the signs," and these extra days, not counted in the days of the months, are called "leaders" (*ἡμέραι ἐπαγομεναι*), from the fact that they "lead in" the four quarters of the year. The moon has a period of 29 or of 30 days. "It has also a period of 28 days." The lunar year, however, is reckoned to be 354 days and accordingly the great year 600 years = 7421 lunations can scarcely have been known to the writer.

It is obvious that both "Jubilees" and "Enoch" are intensely loyal to what we may call the Noachic calendar, as they understand it. It is clearly a prime object with both writers to defend what they understand to be the year of divine revelation from the inroads of Gentile astronomy. It is equally obvious that the Gentile year can only have been the longer one of 365 or perhaps 365½ days, since the true value of the year was known as accurately as this to Babylonians, Egyptians and Greeks long before this time, which precedes by little more than half a century in the case of Enoch the actual adoption of the Julian calendar at Rome and in Jubilees is a century later. It is further no less clear that the year of 364 days, advocated by these writers as infallibly and exactly correct, is maintained as such on the express ground that it is the year of Noah, revealed first to Enoch, employed by Noah, and afterward again made known on Sinai to Moses. It cannot therefore be successfully questioned that "Enoch" and "Jubilees" both find in the chronology of the account of the Flood a year of exactly 364 days, consisting of 12 even (sidereal) months of 30 days each + 4 *ἡμέραι ἐπαγομεναι* at the beginning of each quarter of the year. Indeed, it is difficult to understand how the advocate of a solar calendar at the stage of astronomical science of the 2d century B. C. could fix upon 364 as the number of days in the year unless he supposed himself to be following some infallible authority. The attitude of these two writers should serve at least to prove beyond question that the tracing of a calendar system in the chronology of the account of the Flood in P is not a mere fancy of modern criticism, but an undeniable fact of far-reaching consequences.

But were "Enoch" and "Jubilees" right in so understanding Genesis? It must be remembered that we have not here two wholly independent authorities, but one is confessedly dependent on the other though corroborating his judgment on the main point. The question now is, Was "Enoch" right in interpreting the Noachic calendar as requiring a year of 364 days?

In the preceding article, this question was answered in a way which, in view of subsequent investigation, must be pronounced as at least prematurely positive, and the author asks leave to withdraw from the opinions expressed in the concluding section of the article (p. 87 sq.) from the paragraph beginning, "But there is one insuperable obstacle to this explanation of the date [a year of 364 days]. It is absolutely incredible that P should have reckoned the solar year at 364 days." It must still remain true that the *originator* of a solar calendar of the nature of that which shines through the *material* of P in the story of Enoch (translated at the age of 365 years) and of Noah, material most naturally seized upon by the calendar-making authors of "Enoch" and "Jubilees," must have known the "great year," 600 years = 7421 lunations (the calendar dates of the flood chronology begin with the 600th year of Noah's life), and also the value of the solar year *at least* as near as 365 days. But it does not follow that P *himself* reckoned 365 days to the year, impracticable as the error of 1½ days, would make the whole

system. A student of the priestly document familiar with its sublime defiance of practicability, should not have allowed himself to say that anything was too palpably impracticable for this purely ideal and artificial legislator to enact. With the legislator who assigns to Eleazar and Ithamar the duties of Leviticus and Numbers, and rewards them with the thirteen cities of Josh. xxi., we may well believe that nothing is impossible. The priestly legislation maps out periods of time in as serenely ideal and purely artificial a way as Ezekiel's does the territory of Palestine. While, therefore, the indications are quite sufficient to show that the *originator* of the material P employs in the first chapters of his work must have been familiar with the year of 365 days and the great cycle of $600 \text{ years} = 7421$ lunations, it does not follow that the priestly legislator who employed this material was really familiar with these astronomical data. Had the solar year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days been in current use, as among ourselves, in either Babylon or Egypt, P could scarcely have ventured to fix the year at 364. But both in Babylon and in Egypt the civil year had 360 days. In the former it seems to have been corrected by the intercalation once in twelve years ("*annus Chaldaeus*" of Censorinus) of two months. In Egypt the seasons ran through every period of the year. A writer comparatively ignorant of astronomy might thus be familiar with the use of the invariable sidereal month of 30 days, the "signs," the solstices and equinoxes, and still adopt 364 days as the exact length of the year, if he saw any (to him) adequate reason for fixing upon that number.

In the preceding article, reasons were given for regarding P's Flood-narrative and kindred sections as based upon a form of the well-known Assyro-Babylonian calendar myth of Gilgames, and it is doubtless this which we see cropping out in the various calendar data of Babylonian type, the 600 year cycle, the year of 365 days, the sidereal, invariable month of 30 days, and the decade, as a rough adjustment of the lunar to the solar year. The late tradition of a value for the lunation of $29\frac{1}{2}$ days and 40 minutes in the family of Gamaliel is quite insufficient to overthrow the much older and stronger indications that the lunar year was considered to be of 354 days as nearly as possible. I am constrained therefore to admit that there is no ground whatever for thinking P could have known any other value for the lunar year than 354 days, and accordingly that "Enoch" and "Jubilees" are quite right in understanding him to fix the value of the solar year at 364 days, impracticable as it certainly is. Hence the suggestion that Ewald and Lenormant must have been misled by the later Jewish practice of the alternate full (30 day) and deficient (29 day) month into the assumption that the lunar year had only 354 days was unwarranted and is sincerely regretted. On the other hand, however, it becomes unmistakably evident that one, if not both, of these scholars was wrong in claiming for the chronology of the Flood-story in P a year of 365 years ($354 + 11$). It was not the intention of the priestly legislator merely to adopt the Babylonian calendar. He was fully alive to the advantage of a perpetual solar calendar with an invariable sidereal month. It was in fact a necessity for his chronological

system, one object of which is to identify the seventh day in current use in his own time by uninterrupted sequence with the seventh day of the creative week. It was not enough for him to enact observance of a seventh day but *the* seventh day: not to sanctify one day in seven, but to *keep* holy the day which Yahweh had sanctified in the beginning. If such an idea is impracticable to us, it was not to him; but is exactly in accord with his *durch und durch idealistisches System*. So the dating of the events of his history by the day of the month (cf. e. g. Ex. XII., 40sq.; XIX., 1, etc., "the selfsame day") and the fixing of the feasts of the year in the same way, together with the system of jubilee-years which the book of that name is perhaps the last vain effort to put in force, all show that P undertook to enact, and supposed himself to be successfully providing, an ideal, perpetual calendar, without intercalations or variations in length of year or month.

But what led him to fix upon the value 364 for the days of the year? Probably the desire to secure an even number of weeks in the year, so that the sabbath each year might fall on the same day of the month, and, more important still, in the same relation to the feasts and fasts. The first day of the world was the first day of the week, and, according to his scheme, it would be the first day of the year and the first of each quarter of the year, and the Sabbath the last day, to the end of time. Each quarter from equinox to solstice would have 13 full weeks = 91 days ($4 \times 91 = 364$). Unfortunately the sun could not be hurried; but with the *a priori* astronomer the facts depend upon theological presumptions, and not *vice versa*, as appears clearly enough in the curious literature which marks the desperate effort of the Pharisees to put the calendar of the priestly legislation into practice *quand même*.

The history of this effort to introduce a solar calendar of 364 days and an invariable sidereal month of 30 days, should tend, with immense strength, to confirm the date assigned by recent criticism to the codification of the ritual law, and in particular to the priestly narrative of the Flood and kindred passages, as extricated by Pentateuch analysis. The dependence here on Babylonian originals is generally acknowledged. The sources of the sidereal month and of the other calendar data employed by P can scarcely be discovered elsewhere than in Babylon, nor can the effort to introduce them be easily dissociated from the reconstructive work of Ezra and the post-exilic scribes. The irregular observed month of lunar reckoning, and the irregularities of intercalation by months can only be the survival of the old pre-exilic popular practice which fortunately is not doubtful. This the lawyers vainly seek to displace by a "scientific" perpetual calendar of infallible accuracy, revealed to Moses on the mount. To invert the relation and make the sidereal month precede in time the lunar is a palpable absurdity. The roots of the strange calendar system of P go back to the Exile; the history of the necessarily unsuccessful attempt to enforce it is a neglected part of the strange, half-fanatic, half-heroic story of Pharisaism.

BY ISAAC H. HALL,
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City.

TEXT.

Of the Love of a Man and his Wife.—In the Name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. As Adam loved Eve, as Abraham loved Sara, as Isaac loved

Rebekah, and as Jacob loved Rachel, as Joseph loved Asenath, as Moses loved Zippora, as David loved Bath-sheba, so, Lord God Almighty, let the love of him, and the affection for him, and the desire of him, and the thought of him that bears these charms, fall upon his wife and upon his house. And as the sun makes his circuit in the firmament, so may the heart and the thought of him that bears these charms make the circuit upon his house and upon his wife. May they be in love and unity all the days of their lives; by the prayer of the prophets and apostles. Amen.

The name of Joseph's wife above is given as *A s i t h*; but I have rendered as if the scribe had written a yud for a nun—a very easy mistake.

OLD PERSIAN NAMES IN BABYLONIAN CONTRACTS.

BY THEO. G. PINCHES.

British Museum, London, England.

One of the most interesting tablets for old Persian names is S.† 409. The following is a free translation of it:—

“Tumma’, son of Barzu the magian, the cattle-keeper of Atar-šitra’, has sold Ratakkā’, the slave, for 2½ mana of silver, to Baga’-pada, son of Nabû-zēr-iddina. (Witnesses) Artaukus(?), the chief cattle-keeper; Atē-amuštum, who is over the dues; Baga’-siru’, son of Huma-gammudiš; Umari’-mira’, the Uppaditum of the land of Hamadišu. Month Tebet, day 17th, year 7th.”

7 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0
 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0
 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0
 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0
 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0
 Page: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
 Rev.: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20
 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40
 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60
 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80
 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

TRANSCRIPTION.

1. m. îlu. Tu-um-ma-', âbli-šu ša
2. m. Bar-zu, â melu ma*-gi-ia, â melu dam-gar.
3. m. A-ta-ar-ši-it-ra',

* This seems to be better than is (giš), the lowest wedge having been apparently partly effaced by careless handling before the tablet was baked.

4. m. Ra-ta-ak-ka-' â melu ârdu
 5. a-na šanê šînipu ma-na kaspi
 6. a-na m. Ba-ga-'-pa-da,
 7. âbli-šu ša m. Nabû-zēr-iddina
 8. id-din. m. Ar-ta-u(?) -ku-us*
 9. rab â melu dam-gar ; m. A-te-e-a-mu-uš-tu^m,
 10. ša êli gi-ni-e ;
 11. m. Ba-ga-'-si-ru-', âbli-šu ša
 12. m. Hu-ma-ga-am-mu-diš ;
 13. m. U-mar-'-mi-ra-',
 14. â melu up-pa-di-tu^m ša mât Hu-ma-di-šu.
- On left-hand edge : 15. Araḥ Tebēti, ūmu siba-êšrû,
16. šattu sibit.

The discussion of these names I leave to those who, being specialists, are more competent than myself. It is to be noted, however, that at least one of those bearing a Persian name, Baga'-pada, son of Nabû-zēr-iddina, was a Babylonian, and that the first name has the prefix of divinity. The name of the king reigning at the time is not given. The tablet is small, rather roughly shaped-up, and carelessly written.

Nov. 24, 1891.

* Ar-ta-ki-us is also possible.

THE VIEWS OF JEHUDA HALEVI CONCERNING THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

BY W. BACHER,

Budapest.

Jehuda Halevi does not indeed belong, like Salomon Ibn Gabirol, the other great master of new Hebraic Poetry, to the "Elders of the Sacred Language," (זקני לשון הקדש) the founders and pioneers of Hebrew philology, whom Abraham Ibn Esra enumerates in the introduction to his first grammatical treatise, yet he should receive honorable mention in the history of that science, since, in his religio-philosophical work, *Kuzari* (Alchazari), he has made the Hebrew language, its history, and its peculiarities, the subject of a searching treatment, and has put into the mouth of "Chaber," who, in conversation with the Chazar king, as the appointed representative of Judaism, presents the ideas of the author, extremely noteworthy utterances concerning the sacred speech of Israel. On the basis of these utterances, which have been supplemented by the communications of a pupil of Jehuda Halevi, Salomon Ibn Parchon, I shall attempt to offer the following as a sketch and elucidation of the views of the famous poet, concerning the Hebrew language.

As a poet he had a more masterful grasp of the language than any of his contemporaries; he deserves, therefore, to be heard with special attention, when as a thinker he withdraws himself into the circle of his own speculations and brings forward what are partly the ruling ideas of his own time and environment and partly new results of his investigation.*

1. THE AGE OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

According to the Bible, the Hebrew language is the oldest of all languages; in it Adam and Eve received the revelation of God,† and it was the first colloquial speech of men. Proof of this is found in the etymologies of the name אָדָם from אֲדָמָה; the naming of the woman אִשָּׁה from אִישׁ (Gen. 2:23), the biblical derivation of the name חַוָּה (Gen. 3:20) קַיִן (4:1) יָשָׁת (4:25) נֹחַ (5:24). In addition is the testimony of the Bible to the uninterrupted race succession, which proceeds backward from Eber (עֵבֶר), after whom the Hebrew language

* In what follows *Kuzari* will be cited according to the ed. of the Arabic original by H. Hirschfeld (Leipzig 1887) together with citation of the page of the 2d Cassel ed. (Leipzig 1869). Most citations are from paragraphs (67-81) of the 2d book. I shall sometimes refer to Hirschfeld's German translation, *Al-Chazari* (Breslau 1885).

† For another and more correct comprehension of this passage, see below.

is named, to Noah, and then to Adam. The language was named after Eber, because after the confusion of tongues (Gen. 10:25; 11:9) he preserved the primitive speech. (p. 124, Cassel 167 sq.)

This view, that the Hebrew was the primitive language which was preserved through Eber after the dispersion, was also the commonly accepted view before J. Halevi among Jewish scholars. Saadi says in his preface to Agron, (ס' אנרון) * לא נשאר לשון הקדש רק בפי בני עבר לבדם; Salomon Ibn Gabirol in his Grammatical History (v. 40)†

היא היתה מאז שפת כל היקום עד נפלנו אנשי עצת נבערת כלל שפתם ד' לכר בלשון בני עבר לכרה היתה נשארת

Abraham Ibn Ezra stated repeatedly the same opinion and adduces as proofs the etymologies of the names אדם, שם, נח, † that is the same as mentioned by Jehuda Halevi. The derivation of the name of the first man from אדמה 'earth' was compared with the other scriptural etymologies and appears to have passed for an axiom. Abulwalid Ibn Ganah says expressly in his lexicon‡ that אדם means, first, the first man, who was formed from the earth, from which his name was also derived.‖ Perhaps the words of Menahem Saruk ויתכן להיות אדם should be removed from the third division of the root אדם, where they cannot be understood, and placed at the close of the first division. Moreover, Jerome gives as the first of possible renderings of Adam "terrenus."¶ The naming of woman אשה, because she was taken from איש, man, is found to be an argument for the same thesis in a Palestinian Amora of the fourth century (R. Simon, סימן, ר'). Just as the Thora was revealed in the Hebrew language, so also the world was created with the Hebrew language. For in Greek, "man" and "woman" are designated by entirely different words: ἀνδρῶς and γυνή, and in Aramaic one says not גברתא corresponding to the man, גברא; only in Hebrew אשה is from איש.** It is natural that the Palestinian Amora should have chosen for comparison only the two languages, the Greek and the Aramaic, with which the Jewish Diaspora came in contact.

2. THE INNER EXCELLENCE OF HEBREW.

Languages are distinguished from one another in that in some the names of objects are appropriate, in others this is only true to a limited degree. The divine, originally-created language which God taught Adam, since he put it upon his tongue and in his heart, is undoubtedly the most perfect of languages and its

* Cf. Harkavy, *Mittheilungen aus der Petersburger Bibliothek* I. 14.

† Cf. *Einführung zu Sal. Ibn Parhons Machbereth*—ed. Stern p. xxiii. Zunz, *Jubelschrift*, p. 194.

‡ Cf. Bacher, *Abraham Ibn Ezra als Grammatiker*. p. 34 sq.

§ *Kitābulusūl*, ed. Neubaur, col. 21, line 30.

¶ David Kimchi in his lexicon s. v. אדם: ואדם נקרא על שם האדמה אשר לוקח משם. Kimchi had Gen. 3:19 in mind, while Abulwalid was thinking of 2:7.

‡ Cf. *Onomastica Sacra*, ed. de Lagarde (1887), p. 27.

** Bereschith rabba c. 18 and c. 31.

expressions are the most appropriate for the objects by them designated. To illustrate, we read in Gen. 2:19, "as man named every living thing, that was its name;" that is, the creature designated merited this name, it was appropriate to it, and exhibited its relationship. (IV. 25 p. 268, Cassel p. 341 sq.)

The view of Jehuda Halevi, that language was divinely communicated to man's soul and vocal organs, has found representatives in recent times (in 1766 in Berlin appeared Süßmilch's, *Beweis dass der Ursprung der Sprache göttlich ist*). The Mahometan scholar who exercised a great influence upon Jehuda Halevi's thought, the famous Algazâlî, devoted to the question of the origin of language, a special chapter of his dogmatic writings,* and states after having presented the various opinions, that the choice lies between the two views, either that to reason was granted the capability or power of framing language, or that language was given to man by revelation.† The latter view Jehuda Halevi accepted as his, and with the greater readiness as it agreed with his opinion as to the pre-eminence of the Hebrew. Abraham Ibn Esra held the other view; according to him, man was given the capability to originate thoughts and to lend to them expression.‡ However Ibn Esra adopted Jehuda Halevi's explanation of Gen. 2:19; according to which the verse expressed the idea that the names of the living creatures were appropriate and in accordance with their nature. Hence he remarks on the words of the text, **כפי תולדתו : הוא שמו**, "according to its nature." So also in the earlier partially preserved commentary on Genesis.§ In the complete commentary he says expressly **שקרא שמות לכל הבהמה והעוף כפי תולדת כל אחד ואחד** || Jehuda Halevi calls the Hebrew language in another passage (II 72 p. 128, Cassel p. 272) the "Created Language"¶ and possibly the passage in the former section which is translated "in Adam and Eve's reception of the revelation" should read instead "it was revealed to Adam and Eve." The Arabic text gives this sense **אללנה אלתי אחי כהא**, which is easier to understand than that of the Hebrew translator Jehuda Ibn Tibbon, followed by Cassel and Hirschfeld in which is found **אשר דבר כה השם יתברך עם אדם וחוה**. In an earlier stage of the investigation before Jehuda Halevi had presented his views on the excellence of the Hebrew language, he discussed the question of the origin of the language or rather the languages, and reached the conclusion, that they had arisen not in eternity but in time, (and that through the conventional form of the inflectional endings (I 53-56)). Here then has come in the common view of grammarians and

* M. Schreiner in the *Revue des Etudes Juives* XXI comments on this.

† **ואלמכתאר פי הרא אכא אן ררנע אלי אלנואז אלעקלי או אלי אלוקוע אלסמעי**

‡ v. *Abn. Ibn Esra als Grammatiker*. § 3.

§ v. Friedländer's *Essays on the writings of Ibn Esra* (London 1877) Hebrew part. p. 38.

|| It is to be observed that in Ibn Esra, "nature" is always represented by תולדות not by the Arabism טבע.

לשונונו הנוצרת הכרואה Hebrew. **לגתנא אלמכלוקא אלמכתרעה ד**

philosophers (chiefly the Mu'tazilites)* as the premise for further adduction of proof: while later this view for the original speech of the Hebrew is silently set aside, and the revelation of the latter is taught.†

3. THE LANGUAGES RELATED TO THE HEBREW.

Abraham, who was witness of the confusion of tongues, with his dependents clung to the Hebrew language, named after his ancestor Eber (I 49 § 22). But this was for Abraham a sacred language. For secular purposes he spoke the Aramaic (Syriac), the language of Ur Kasdim where he was born.

This was carried by Ishmael to the Arabs, so that after the Arabic had developed, the three closely related languages were the Aramaic, Arabic and Hebrew. The relationship showed itself in the words, as well as in grammatical rules and inflexions (II 68, p. 126, Cassel p. 168).

We have here a remarkable attempt to establish a historical hypothesis for the relationship of the three chief Semitic languages which since Jehuda Ibn Koreish has been so richly developed and generally employed. Abraham spoke two languages, which were near akin, Hebrew, holy; Aramaic, secular. The sacred language became the language of the lineal descendant of Abraham, who received the revelation, receiving also in this way the character of sacredness. The Aramaic, through the other son, Ishmael, was brought to Arabia, and from it arose the Arabic. Another hypothesis for the relationship of the Arabic with the Hebrew, is found in Jehuda Halevi's pupil, Salomon Ibn Parchon: One of the brothers of Eber, mentioned in Gen. 11:15, is עֶרֶב (Isa. 25:26) who was the ancestor of the Arabs.‡

4. THE FORMER RICHNESS OF THE LANGUAGE.

One can form conclusions concerning the pre-eminence of the Hebrew language, when one considers what people used it in daily conversation, especially when one remembers that all prophecies, religious exhortations—the hymns and poems of the people were in this tongue, and when one further reflects that men like Moses, Joshua, David and Solomon stood at the head of the people. It seems inconceivable that any expression whatever should have been found wanting even though many Hebrew phrases have disappeared before the present time.

We have simply to cast a glance at the descriptions in the Thora, of the Tabernacle, the Ephod, and breastplate, and similar descriptive passages, for

* Cf. Goldziher in *ZDMG*. XXXI p. 49.

† As an interesting analogy to the view of the Hebrew language represented by Halevi, the view of a modern oriental scholar is presented, communicated by Fleischer (*Kleine Schriften* III. 136) (it is the well known Philologist Potrus Bistani in Beirût) in a conference held in the year 1859. He says Arabic was communicated to Adam by revelation; this at least I believe must be held, that Arabic and its two sisters Syriac and Hebrew are different branches and remnants of that revealed Adamite speech.

‡ v. Stade's *Zeitschrift für ATW.*, xi. 89.

which rare words are necessary to be convinced of the perfect vocabulary which the Hebrew language offers for a description and of the rhetorical excellence of the style. The same is true of the names of nations, of birds and stones.* One must further in order to appreciate the richness of the language study the Psalms of David, the Lament of Job, and his arguments with his friends, the warnings of Isaiah, his promises and threats, as well as the other monuments of the early period which have been preserved. (II. 68 p. 126, Cassel, p. 169.)

With this presentation, the Chaber answered the remarks of the Chazar king, that other languages were apparently more perfect and complete than the Hebrew. (II. 67.)

He refers probably chiefly to the Arabic, as the Hebrew translation of Ibn Tibbon makes special mention of the Arabic in the remarks of the king, instead of language in general. Moreover, it was common with the Hebrew philologists of the middle ages to emphasize the extraordinary verbal richness of the Hebrew language as shown by the vocabulary of the biblical books.†

5. ON HEBREW PHONOLOGY.

To the excellences of the Hebrew language in virtue of which the beauties, peculiar to the biblical Hebraism, could develop themselves, and upon which also the mode of transmission of the Bible text, fixed by the Massoretic accent system, rests, belong the following phenomena in Hebrew phonology (II. 78, 80, p. 128 sq. Cassel, p. 175 sqq.).

1. Two "resting" (unvocalized) consonants may stand together,‡ but three "active" (*bewegte*) consonants (i. e. consonants provided with a vowel) cannot follow each other consecutively,§ unless, however, some urgent cause might necessitate this.||

By this means the speech received the basal principle of the "resting," (*ruhenden*) (i. e. of the enduring pause) and attains the advantage of being fitted for ordinary reading: whereby, also, is facilitated the preservation in mind and the imprinting of the substance of what is read, upon the soul.

* In Ibn Tibbon's translation the words *ומיני העופות והאבנים והמיות דוד* are connected immediately with.... Accordingly Cassel translates and connects with each other in a remarkable way two such heterogeneous things. In the Arabic original a word unobserved by Ibn Tibbon precedes the enumeration of the Biblical Classics (David, Job, Isaiah), namely *ואתחבאר*. This is coördinated with the word standing at the beginning of the passage (l. 3) viz. *פאתחבאר* and introduces a second proof for the excellence of the language. Hirschfeld, who translates according to the original, has not understood the expression and translates ".... with the names of nations, birds and stones, the designations of the praise songs of David.... and with other things."

† See Cassel's remarks on this passage.

‡ E. g. *וַיִּבֶן וַיִּשֶׁת*, also *צור*, where the mater lectionis is treated as a "resting" letter.

§ I. e., with interruption by a resting letter: as is the case in Arabic *qā-tā-lānī*. A consonant accompanied with a long vowel, is treated as an "active" letter, upon which a "resting" letter (the expressed or suppressed mater lectionis) follows.

|| In cases like *וַיִּחַל וַיִּלֵּל*, compound *š'wa* is treated as a vowel.

2. The retention of the seven principal vowels (Kings); especially, however, the fine and exact distinction between Qameç and Patah, between Sere and Segol; the employment of this distinction to distinguish word-forms with similar sounds but different meanings, like the perfect *שָׁמַח**, and future consecutive, *וְשָׁמַח*, *וְאָכְרָהוּ* and *וְאִכְרָהוּ*, and the verb *חָכַם* and adjective *חָכָם*.

3. Through the joining of two "resting" consonants, the language gains in euphony in the connecting parts of speech.† This peculiarity makes it possible for a whole congregation to recite a Hebrew text in unison without following a tune.

The three points require further explanation, especially as I felt obliged to differ at the first point and at the conclusion of the last, from the usual conception of these passages in *Kuzari*.‡ As regards the first point it is founded on the last of the four rules for Hebrew phonetics given by Chajjug,§ but only so far as the succession of the "active" letter is concerned. Respecting the permitted succession of the "resting" consonants, which has only been cursorily indicated in the beginning of the first point, but which forms the substance of the third, I have to remark that here Jehuda Halevi differs from Chajjug's third rule as also does Abraham Ibn Esra|| and follows Abulwalid, who also adds forms like *וַיִּשָּׂא* to the cases in which two "resting" consonants can stand together, while according to Chajjug the second consonant is to be read as moving with the next words.¶

Both phonetic peculiarities mentioned in the first and third points, give, according to Jehuda Halevi, the Hebrew language this advantage that texts can be recited in unison by a great number of people. In the third point this is especially mentioned and it is added that the recitation in unison takes place, *דִּין לֶחֶן* (p. 130, l. 25).

These two words, Ibn Tibbon translates by *מְבִלִי טְעוֹת*, mentioning as example one meaning of the Arabic verb *לֶחֶן* "erravit in legendo." That this illustration is not in accordance with the passage has been felt by Cassel as well as by Hirschfeld; the former translates therefore "without discord," the latter "without one disturbing the other." Each is quite arbitrary. The simple explanation accepted by me is probably the most correct. Jehuda Halevi means to say that the unison in reciting is effected even without the melody by which it is produced in singing.

* According to the punctuation of the older grammarians.

† P. 130, l. 24 is to be read *כִּמְאָ* instead of *אֶלְאָ*.

‡ Derenbourg alone gives the text to the first point with the proper translation in the work mentioned in the next note (p. lxxxiii.).

§ See Derenbourg, *Opuscules et traités d'Abou'lwalid*, p. lxxx.

|| See Abraham Ibn Esra als Grammatiker, p. 65.

¶ See Morris Jastrow's *Dissertation on Chajjug's Grammatical works*. (Glessen, 1885) p. 29, Note 1.

But perhaps he understands by **לחן** not melody in general, but as, in the immediately succeeding new passage, (**ללחן אצא שרוט**) the mode of recitation of biblical texts marked by the Massoretic accents as well as recited in unison by the assistance of a melody. Here Ibn Tibbon translates the word correctly with **טעמים**. One is almost inclined to believe that **מבלי טעות** is a corruption of **מבלי טעמים** which could easily have happened with the abbreviation **מבלי טע**.

In the first point, the sense found by me in the Arabic text has not been recognized by the commentators and translators. The words on which the argument depends are in the original (p. 128, l. 26), **פנא אלכלאם אלסכון ואכסב הרה**, In the Hebrew translation, **ובא הריבור נוטה אל הנח והועילה זאת המעלה ר' ל' החברה והחריצות על הקריאה**.

Cassel translates:—"Where the speech inclines toward the 'resting' (consonant?) this peculiarity, namely, the fixed uniformity of sound, assists the reading considerably." According to Hirschfeld:—"Then the speech comes to a rest and has attained this advantage, namely euphony or fluency in reading." The same misconception is common to the otherwise differing translations. The Arabic **אלפה**, Hebrew **חברה** is translated "similarity of sound." The word in reality is to be understood in the same way as in a preceding sentence (l. 17) **אלא אנא נפסד וצע לגתנא אלתי וצעת ללאפה פנרדהא ללשתאא**.

The Chaber says this (II. 74):—"By the application of the Arabic metre to Hebrew we destroy the natural tendency of our language, which is intended to unite more closely those who speak it, whilst through this artificial metre we make it a source of division and confusion." This sense, which again was not recognized (Cassel:—"we spoil the nature of our language, which is founded upon unisonous tone, and produce discord;" Hirschfeld almost literally the same) is evident in the continuation of the conversation. "How is this to be understood," asks the king (II. 75), "that is, in what respect is it the nature of the Hebrew language to encourage unity?" whereupon the Chaber responds (76):—"Have you not seen how a hundred people read the Holy Scriptures as if they were but one man, how they stop at the same moment, and resume at the same instant?" The king answers (77), that he has observed this and never seen the like among the Arabians or Persians. "But," says he, "how did the language acquire this power," (**הרה אלפצילה**) and how does the metre destroy it? Thereupon the Chaber replies, first (78) with the sentence given above that through the phonetic peculiarity of the Hebrew the pause has come into the language* and the language has in consequence gained (read *ūksibā*) this advantage, (**הרה** (**אלפצילה**), namely the possibility of unisonous recitation, and the encourage-

* **נא אלסכון** is the object of **נא אלכלאם** the subject.

ment of concert reading." This is a literal translation of the passage which was more freely described above.

How the before mentioned result is produced from the cause given by Jehuda Halevi, can be set forth as follows. Because the speech, through the partiality for syllables and words ending in "resting" consonants, and the prohibition of a continued series of short open syllables, is obliged to pause at short intervals, it becomes possible, by a unisonous recitation, which pays attention to the frequent points of rest, to acquire perfect harmony in reading, and this peculiarity in effects promotes recitation in unison, and there produces closer unity between man and man (חִכְרָה, אֶלְפָּה).

The second point, which like the other two has mainly in view the contrast with the Arabic, calls attention to the wealth of vowels in the Hebrew language, as also the part which vowels play in the distinction of word-forms.

6. THE HEBREW VOWELS.

The pronunciation of the vowels in Hebrew can be divided in three ways: Closing, (scil. of the mouth), opening, and breaking (violently drawing apart); upon further subdivision we find the following vowels. I. 1. The great closing, or Qameç. I. 2. The medium closing or Hôlem. 3. The little closing or Šureq. II. 4. The great opening or Pattaḥ. The little opening or Segol. III. 6. The great "drawing apart" or Sere. 7. The small drawing apart or Hireq. The Š'wâ can be pronounced in each of these ways according to the rules laid down for it; it designates vowel pronunciation pure and simple, without any addition which would require a "resting" sound after it (II. 80, p. 130sq. Cassel, p. 182sq.).*

The seven Hebrew vowels (the seven kings) which differ one from the other in the Massoretic punctuation, have already been traced back by Abulwalid† to three main vowels. He designates them by their Hebrew names, חֶרֶק, שֶׁרֶק, פֶּתַח. These are the "mothers, roots" (אִמֹּת, אֲצוּל) of the vowels, the others are the "daughters, branches." Jehuda Halevi acts logically, and indeed more correctly, in not bringing forward three of the seven vowels as principal vowels. He mentions, as "directions" (נְהָאָת) of the "movement" in vowel pronunciation, the three different methods of mouth-formations which he designates by the three Arabic words (כֶּסֶר, פֶּתַח, צִמְּה) and under which he classifies all the seven vowels. Herein he agrees with Abulwalid, but differs materially with him in regard to the vowels of the first class, for, according to Abulwalid, Šureq ranks above Hôlem, and this above Qameç; our author names them in the following order Qameç, Hôlem, Šureq. This difference is explained by the fact that Abulwalid proceeds from the closed mouth, and therefore gives the first place to

* Cf. also III. 31 (p. 180; Cassel, p. 238), where Jehuda discusses the oral tradition of vowel pronunciation and that which was afterwards fixed by signs.

† In *Takrîb wataaskil*, v. Derenbourg, *Opuscules*, p. 275.

Šureq (u) and also considers this the main vowel of its class; next comes Holem (o) which is produced by a somewhat less forcible closing, and then the Qameç (a) which approaches closely to Paṭṭaḥ. Jehuda Halevi, on the contrary, takes into consideration the size of the opened mouth during the pronunciation of the vowel. Therefore Qameç is assigned the first place, Holem the second, and Šureq the third. Only thus is there any meaning in his designations "Great," "Medium," "Little." There is no question here of quantity, even in a relative sense, as Cassel would have us think.* Abraham Ibn Esra in the beginning of his *Zachôth* adopts the view of Abulwalid, and also the theory of the parallel to the three principal vowels in the three elementary movements of the world (upward, downward, roundabout),† but he makes the leading vowel of the first class not Šureq, but Holem.

In the Hebrew alphabet the letters ך ם ן ף ץ occupy the first rank, because they designate the vowel pronunciation without which the other letters would be soundless. They are, one might say, the souls which give life to the other letters. The ף and ן belong to the A-group of vowels, the ם to the O-group, the ך to the I-group,‡ (p. 230, Cassel p. 303). Since ן and ף belong first of all to the long Qameç, this vowel was not reckoned in the O-group but in the A-group.§ The symbol of soul and body, for the relations of vowel and consonant has been adopted in *Zôhar*.||

What Jehuda Halevi says in the first place about the pronunciation of the Š'wâ is the substance of the well known traditional rules for pronouncing the Š'wâ *mobile*, which are already found in Aharon b. Asher. The second part of the remark means that after the Š'wâ neither a final consonant nor a *mater lectionis* is permitted.

7. THE THREE STAGES OF WORD-FORMATION.

1. By contemplating every separate word and each of its letters, without regard to the influence produced on its pronunciation by the connection in which it is placed, that is to say, without regard to connection and pause, long and short words etc., one obtains a knowledge of the laws by which the word in the first stage of its formation is pronounced. This first formation (תכונה, וציע) shows the vowels in their original, unchanged use and the Š'wâ without Ga'ja (Methegh).¶

* See Cassel's translation, p. 183. "The great Qameç," "the medium Qameç" etc. is not correct. The קמץ of Ibn Tibbon is not a vowel name, but like the Arabic original צמכה, descriptive of the form of mouth used in the pronunciation of the three vowels, which belong here.

† See *Abraham Ibn Esra als Grammatiker* p. 61 sq.

‡ As to how the letters of prolongation (*matres lectionis*) belong to the individual vowels, J. H. explains in the leading paragraph (II. 80) of this discussion.

§ See Cassel, p. 183.

|| See Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Attributenlehre* p. 174; *Abr. Ibn Esra als Grammatiker* p. 31; *Revue des Etudes Juives* XXII. 225.

¶ At one point he designates these more definitely thus: באלטכע באלוצ'ן אלמול p. 132 l. 10. It is thus the "natural" form of the word.

2. In the second stage the pronunciation of the separate word is often changed relative to the euphony in connecting the expressions and in the connection of speech.

3. The third stage is the sentence as it is to be read with accentuation, whereby the pronunciation often becomes different from the first two stages (II. 80 p. 132, ll. 16–23, Cassel, p. 185).

By the above definitions Jehuda Halevi gives distinctly the outlines of his peculiar theory, by which he contemplates the pronunciation of the Hebrew word in the three-fold stages, as word-individual; as member of the syntactically connected sentence; as part of the unity of a verse provided with Massoretic accentuation. From the point of view of these three stages, he tries to explain in a very fine and intellectual manner, a series of remarkable phenomena in the domain of the science of Hebrew word-formation, and to trace them back to a uniform principle. With regard to these phenomena produced by the Massoretic punctuation, he says at the end of his definitions (p. 138, l. 4):* The founder of this subtle science (the Massoretic punctuation) hinted at many secrets still, which are hidden from us, but which we have in part found out, by suggesting to us the true sense of Bible passages through niceties of punctuation. Yet Jehuda Halevi only mentions, as an example of the exegetical significance of the Massoretic punctuation, the already discussed example **הָעוֹלָה** (Eccl. 3:21). In general it is only on grammatical details that Jehuda Halevi throws light, and some of these may be cited here as illustrations of his peculiar theory of the three stages.

1). From the rules of the vowels (132, 3–16), the one concerning **Paṭṭaḥ** and **Segol** must be mentioned. **Paṭṭaḥ** and **Segol** are not followed in the first stage by a “resting” letter of prolongation, while the second stage prolongs them, either because serving as support for the pronunciation (the accent of the word falling on them) or because they have an accent themselves or stand in pause. In modern terminology the rule would read thus. **Paṭṭaḥ** and **Segol** are by nature short vowels, in the second stage they become long.

2). The verbal-form **פָּעַל** presents a pronunciation contrary to that of the vowels of their two syllables, leaving the first syllable with the long vowel **Qameṣ** unaccented, while the second syllable with the short vowel **Paṭṭaḥ** is pronounced with a prolongation on account of the accent. In the vowels, we recognize the first stage; in the pronunciation necessitated by the speech, the second stage. That the prolongation of the second syllable of **פָּעַל** is due only to tone, not to a quiescent weak letter, is seen in such cases as **אָמַר-לִי**, (Gen. 20:5), where on account of the short, accented little word on which the verb rests, the latter remains in the first stage and the first syllable is accented, (p. 134, l. 5–8).

* “A glorifying of this wonderful science” v. c. III. 32.

3). The noun-forms of the type **פֶּעַל** prolong the first syllable although it contains Segol. This remarkable fact we will understand, when we consider that, if the first syllable were not prolonged, the second one would have to be. This would have produced the strange fact that between the Segol of the second syllable and its ending consonant a quiescent weak letter would have been inserted. On the other hand, the natural place for the prolongation (the accent) is on the first syllable, where the Segol stands in an open syllable, as the form **פֶּעַל**, thereby answers to a combination **פֶּן אֵל**, not **פֶּאן עֵל**, and even through the change of the Segol into Qameç **פֶּעַל** required by the pause, there would result a word-form answering to the likewise normal combination **פֶּן עֵל** (134, 23-28, 136, 1-2).*

4). It is remarkable that nouns like **מַעֲשֵׂה מִרְאָה**, **מִקְנֶה**, in the *status absolutus*, have the Segol in the second syllable, but Sere in the *status constructus* and in the forms with suffixes,† (where usually the shorter form is found). We understand this when we consider that the ה, the quiescent third radical of these word-forms is to be considered as not existing, so that the above words ought to be written without ה and therefore the preceding letter is pronounced with the lesser vowel, the Segol.‡ But the Segol becomes Sere when the necessity arises of bringing forward the third radical ה, as for instance in **מַעֲשֵׂהוּ**, **מִרְאֵהוּ**, **מַעֲשֵׂהוּן**, **מִרְאֵהוּן** (136, 21, 27).

8. THE PRONUNCIATION OF שְׁתִּים

When Jehuda Halevi, so relates his pupil, Salomon Ibn Parchon,¶ came to Africa, he heard everybody pronounce the word **שְׁתִּים** as if it were **אֲשֵׁתִים**. He, as well as his companion, Abraham Ibn Ezra were surprised at this peculiarity, but found after due consideration that this pronunciation of the above mentioned numeral was quite justifiable. Jehuda Halevi explained it in the following way: since **שְׁתִּים** was derived from the masculine **שְׁנַיִם** and the נ in the root of this numeral had been replaced by the Dagheš in the ת there had to be heard a vowel** (like א) before the vowelless ש, because otherwise the ת could not have been pronounced with a Dagheš as the letters **ב נ ד כ פ ת** after the š-wâ (mobile) have to be aspirated. This pronunciation **אֲשֵׁתִים** answers to the rule

* By the side of the supposed forms **פֶּעַל** the corresponding anomalous combination would be **פֶּן־עֵל**.

† **אֶצְמֶה** means both.

‡ About Segol it is said on a similar occasion, p. 130, l. 12, **לֹאֲנָה אֶקַּל אֶלְחֶרְכָּא תִּמְכֵּנָא** (be, cause it is the vowel occupying the least space).

§ This must be, as is plain, the correct reading **מַעֲשֵׂה**, **מִרְאָה** or **מִרְאֵם** as the latter form does not exist.

¶ The closing words of this passage defy any attempt at explanation **לִיקוּם עֲנֵר אֶלְמַצְפָּה** **מִקָּאם אֶלְפֶּתַח פִּי מִרְאֵם מַעֲשֵׂם**.

¶ **Maḥbereth Hearukh**, ed. Stern, Introd. 4 c.

** In Ibn Parchon designated by the form **אֶל־עֵל**.

by which in words like **הַמַּכְכֶּם** (Is. 29:16) **בְּרַכַּת** (Job 29:13) **יִרְכֶּה** the third letter is pronounced with Dagheš, since it follows a "resting" consonant, with the exception of a few examples fixed by the Massora. Therefore **שְׁתִּים** ought not to be read **שְׁתִּים** because then the word would be joined to the root **שָׁתָה**, to drink, (cf. **שָׁתָה** from **שָׁתָה** Gen. 24:18).^{*} This is the argument of Jehuda Halevi as it may be understood from the rather confused representation of Ibn Parchon. Ibn Esra, who on this occasion is mentioned as acquiescing in the reason for this pronunciation, afterward refuted it.[†]

9. THE MEANING OF THE ACCENTS.

The aim of the language is: To cause the thoughts and feelings bred in the soul of the speaker to penetrate the soul of the listener. This aim can only be reached perfectly by verbal conversation on account of the advantage which it has over written communication. For oral speech has the most varied expedients at its disposal. The stopping at a pause, the lingering on parts of speech which belong together, the modulation of tone, motions of the hands, and expression of the eye in sentences of admiration, interrogation, narration, promise, threat or prayer, as well as movements (gesticulations) for which there is no verbal equivalent.[‡] The speaker often makes great use of the motions of the eyes, the eye-brows, the whole head and the hands in order to express anger or good will, humility or pride in differing degrees. Along with that, which remains of the language of the biblical scriptures, has been preserved an ingeniously devised method, peculiar to them, which makes known the manifold contents of speech and takes the place of the above mentioned auxiliaries of verbal speech. These are the Massoretic accents (**טעמים**) with which the Holy Scriptures are read. By them pause and connection are alike depicted, through them question and answer, command and desire, eagerness and indifference, commencement of speech and conclusion, are separated from each other.[§] One could write whole volumes on this subject. (II. 72, p. 127, cf. Cassel p. 171 sq.) Salomon Ibn Parchon says in connection with the discussions on Arabic prosody to be mentioned in the following paragraph and quite in the spirit of the above explanation: "We have in our language a means by which the reader can distinguish surprise, threat, entreaty, confusion, question, act. For example compare the

^{*} The words of Ibn Parchon **ראיות נכוחים בכמה** **יחזקו** **ר'** יהודה בזה המעשה are in need of a little correction, either **יחזקו** means 'he confirmed the African Jews in their pronunciation' or **יחזקו** **ר'** is object, and the subject of **יחזקו** would be **כמה ראיות** (not **בכמה**) that is: 'several reasons confirmed R. Jehuda in this.'

[†] See Abraham Ibn Esra als *Grammatiker*, p. 65.

[‡] The words **ענהא אלעבארה אלכארנה** (Ibn Tibbon המליצה הפשוטה) **תקצר ענהא אלעבארה** Cassel translates "By which ordinary speech can be shortened." Hirschfeld "without which the external visible speech would not be sufficient." Both are incorrect.

[§] **אכתרא** and **זכר** (הגדרה and התחלה) really mean subject and predicate in the nominal sentence.

question in Ex. 17:7; the perplexity indicated by the accent on וַיִּתְמַהֲמַה, Gen. 19:16; the entreaty in Ex. 5:15; rebuke Num. 23:19, and thus thou recognizest the rest of these modes of speech by the accent of the Bible passages, as if the prophet stood before thee and spake to thee face to face."

10. THE ARABIC METER AND THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

A language in which the manifold feelings and affections are to be expressed by the means mentioned in the above paragraph, must without doubt refuse the metrical form. For metrical speech can only be recited in one way (fixed by the proper meter) and has to be connected where according to the sentiment, a separation ought to take place; interrupted, where the speech should continue; hence, if the expression be metrical, great care is necessary to avoid such offenses against the sense. (p. 128, Cassel, 173 sq.)*

The use of the meter in the Hebrew not only destroys the manner of expression which adapts itself to the contents and is founded on the nature of the language, but also breaks the fundamental phonetic laws on which rests its fitness for producing unity (see above).

The use of the foreign meter is an act of sinful deviation from the truth and of the opposition to the laws of the holy language. The foreign meter transgresses in the first place the law of the Hebrew language, in accordance with which two "resting" letters can stand together; the difference between the accentuation of the ultima and the penultima would be obliterated; † אָכְלָה is pronounced like אֹמֶר, אֹמֶר occupies the same rank as אָכְלָה, אֹמֶר would be like אֹמֶר. In the meter one does not distinguish between שְׁבִתִּי (שְׁבִתִּי) the perfect tense and the future consecutive (וְשָׁבִתִּי). In the Pijut (i. e. the older synagogical poetry with rhyme but without meter), there is sufficient opportunity for the use of a poetical form without the transgression of the laws of the language.

Yet with the adoption of meter the same thing has happened to us, as happened to our fathers when the words of censure in Ps. 106:35 were uttered. "They were mingled among the heathens and learned their works." (II. 74, 78, pp. 128, 130, Cassel, p. 175, 179). This condemnation of the new Hebrew prosody derived from the Arabic, sounds forth as a confession of sin. Indeed we learn from Salomon Ibn Parchon, ‡ that Jehuda Halevi vowed never to write any more metrical poems; he said that the metrical poet only follows the meter and makes equivalent, words like שְׁבִתִּי and שְׁבִתִּי, אֹמֶר and אֹמֶר. What Ibn Parchon

* The king remarks on this subject "In reality the preference granted to euphony ought to be displaced by that founded on the contents of the speech. For prosody delights the ear, but the Massoretic system pleases the mind.

† מלעיל. מלעיל.

‡ l. c. p. 5b.

says just above on this subject, seems likewise to be derived from the remarks of Jehuda Halevi. Some of it is also to be found in the passage of Kuzari just reproduced. He says: for this reason (on account of the law mentioned in the first part by Jehuda Halevi, that in Hebrew, three "active" consonants can follow each other only exceptionally); the Israelites, before they mingled with the Arabs and learned their works,* had no artistic poetry† with rhyme and meter; for the holy language is not like the other languages. If rhyme and meter had been appropriate to Hebrew, it would have been used by the old writers of the Psalms. What we are able to do with our little capacity and knowledge of the language, David and Solomon would certainly have done, yet in the Bible we find no rhymed or metrical verse. If the Hebrew language had been adapted to the forms of poetry, the old poets of Israel would certainly have used them earlier than any other nation of the world.‡

Already more than a century and a half before Jehuda Halevi's criticism of the new Hebrew meter, it had been made the object of a similar attack based on practical reasons. The pupils of Menaḥem b. Sarūk in a written controversy with Dūnasch b. Labrāt, devoted their first chapter to a very elaborate proof of this thesis, that it is not allowable to use the Arabic meter in the Hebrew language.§ Dūnasch, if not the first who introduced Arabic prosody into Hebrew poetry was without doubt the one who introduced it into Spain. How little success the protest of the pupils of Menaḥem had against this innovation they themselves furnish evidence in their written controversy. They use in the poetical parts of their work the meter they repudiate and, indeed, as they themselves say, to show their opponent that they understood the easy art of verse meter as well as he. It is a tragical fact that he who had raised this art to the pinnacle of perfection, pronounced at the end of his brilliant career the same condemnation against it, with which the introduction of the metrical art into Hebrew poetry had been accompanied.

January, 1892.

* קודם שיתערבו בערביים וילמדו ממעשיהם is an application of the Psalm verses quoted by Jehuda Halevi as well as a play upon the verb "to mingle" and the name of the Arabians.

† Ibn Parchon here makes use of the expression פיוט in a larger sense than Jehuda Halevi in the above passage פיוט.

‡ That Jehuda Halevi did not completely abstain from the use of the artistic medium in his later poems, Kaufmann tries to prove. See his paper (Breslau, 1877) p. 46.

§ S. G. Stern *Liber Responsum* (Vienna, 1870) p. 19-29.

[Translated by A. S. Carrier.]

THE VOWEL-POINTS CONTROVERSY IN THE XVI. AND XVII. CENTURIES.

BY REV. B. PICK, PH. D.,

Allegheny, Pa.

The Old Testament was originally written in Hebrew, but the Hebrew character which appears in all existing Hebrew MSS. and printed editions, is not that which was always used. Another character was employed before the present. A change was made in the forms of the letters. They were wholly altered from their first condition. The so-called square character—such as we have it now—was introduced by Ezra as tradition has it, and the text prepared in these characters consisted only of consonants and had nothing of those ornaments of the letters as we now find them in our editions. These ornaments of the letters consisting of signs, points and strokes, partly below, partly above, partly within the text were the work of the so-called Massorites, and our text is therefore called the Massoretic text. The preparation of the Massoretic, or standard text, was commenced at a very early period and was finally settled in the eleventh century, and thus it happens that all extant MSS. and printed editions present one and the same text. But it was not always so. A comparison of our present Hebrew text with the Samaritan Pentateuch and with the Alexandrian version shows that other versions were current in the pre-Christian period, for otherwise we cannot account for the variations found in the Samaritan when compared with the Hebrew, in the Greek when compared with the Samaritan, in the Hebrew when compared with both. “And these variations” as Dillman observes, “are not to be set down to the charge of carelessness or willfulness on the part of the Hellenistic Jews and Samaritans, as was the old opinion, but are explained by the less weight then put upon exact uniformity of the text, and the existence of the mistakes in current copies. And when the Septuagint and the Samaritan Pentateuch agree in good readings, and still oftener in bad ones, against the Massoretic text, we are to conclude that these readings were spread by many copies current among the Palestine Jews, and are therefore not to look upon them as offensive, or thoroughly unreliable.” The Massoretic text was not known to the Talmud, i. e. as far as vowels and accents are concerned, nor to Jerome who translated from an unvowelled text; and the unpointed synagogue rolls of the present day are survivals of ancient custom. Upon what principles the work of the Massorites was done, we are not able to say, but it must be admitted that the text which they present is the best and most reliable, although not absolutely correct. The similarity of letters

would easily lead to a mistaken reading, and the Talmud (*Shabbath* fol. 103, col. 2) calls attention to a number of letters which must not be interchanged. From the Talmud we also learn many other things which are interesting in other respects. According to the Talmud, the Pentateuch contains 5,888 verses, the Psalms 8 more, and Chronicles 8 less. We call this computation the Babylonian, because the Talmud was the outcome of the learning of the Babylonian Jews. But the Massoretic work *Dikduke ha-Teamim* (ed. by Baer and Strack, Leipzig 1879) counts the verses in the Pentateuch 5,845, in the Prophets 9,294 and in the Hagiographa 8,064, so that the famous Jewish critic Norzi in his commentary on Levit. viii. 8 expresses his surprise at the difference between the Talmud and the Massorah, and hopes that Elijah the Tishbite will make everything clear.

The various readings so frequently found in the margins and footnotes of our Hebrew Bibles known as K'ri and K'thibh i. e. read and written; K'thibh w'lo K'ri i. e. written but not read; K'ri w'lo K'thibh i. e. read but not written, the Talmud (*Nedarim* fol. 37, col. 2) traces back to Moses on Sinai. According to the Massorah as printed in the first Rabbinic Bible, the sum total of K'ris and K'thibhs, occurring in the Bible, is 1,359; but the number is larger, as may be seen from table VIII. appended to the several parts of the Hebrew Bible edited by Baer and Delitzsch.

The Talmud mentions instances in which the scribes removed a superfluous *v'* which has crept into the text and which e. g. has been erroneously prefixed to *achar* in Gen. xviii. 5; xxiv. 55; Num. xxxi. 2. But upon examining the ancient versions we find that the Samaritan, Syriac, Septuagint and the Jerusalem Targum still have the ancient reading *v'achar*. This removal is called 'ittur Soferim.'

In the most ancient Jewish writings, such as *Mechilta* (a commentary on Exodus, first probably compiled about 90 A. D.), *Sifri* (a commentary on Numbers and Deuteronomy, compiled by Rab 219-247 A. D.), *Tanchuma* (a commentary on the Pentateuch, compiled by Tanchuma ben-Abha, who flourished about 440 A. D.) mention is made of the *tikkune Soferim* or "emendations of the scribes," according to which eighteen alterations were introduced into the text, in order to remove anthropomorphisms and other infelicities of expression.

From these few statements it will be evident that our Massoretic text can neither claim absolute completeness nor infallibility, as was held by the Buxtorfs and their party, in the interest of the then prevalent views of inspiration. In order to ascertain the true text, we must make use of such critical helps which lead to that end, for as Canon Cheyne (*Prophecies of Isaiah* (3d ed.) vol. II., p. 240) observes: "the true spiritual meaning of the Scriptures can only be reached through the door of the letter, and the nearer we approach to a correct reading of the text, the more vivid will be our apprehension of the sacred truths which it conveys." The controversy whose history we give in the following pages has

yielded good fruits. It was a hard struggle, but the truth prevailed. And says the late Prof. Delitzsch in the introduction to his last edition of Genesis: "to give up traditional views which cannot stand the test of truth, is a sacred duty, a part of the fear of God."

After these introductory remarks we proceed to give the history of the controversy.

The study of Hebrew was cultivated but very little in the Christian Church in the centuries preceding the Reformation. Of the earlier writers "the name of Jerome stands out conspicuously, alike upon the roll of his predecessors and of his successors, until the time of the Reformation, as by far the most distinguished, perhaps the only Christian, writer of antiquity who was qualified to make an independent use of his Hebrew acquirements, and to whom the whole Christian Church will ever owe an inestimable debt of gratitude for the preservation of so large a portion of the results of Origen's labors and still more for that unrivalled and imperishable work which has been not inaptly described as having 'remained for eight centuries the bulwark of Western Christianity.'"¹ Since Jerome studied the Hebrew *ex professo*, he is the most important witness as to the state of the Hebrew text during the fourth and fifth centuries. From his writings it is obvious that Jerome was unacquainted with the present vowel-signs, for he never mentions them, and whenever he has occasion to describe words, he describes them according to the consonants alone. His usual expressions, accordingly, are *scribitur* and *scriptum*, *legitur* and *lectum*,—the former two referring to the letters, the latter two to the pronunciation—and the contrast implied indicating that while the consonants were written, the vowels were supplied by traditional usage. With this is connected the remark, that the "same word," i. e. the same letters (*idem verbum* or *sermo iisdem literis scriptus*) might be read (*legi*)—that is pronounced, and consequently understood (*intelligi*)—in various ways, according to the connection (*pro qualitate loci* or *locorum*, *pro consequentia*, *prout locus et ordo flagitaverint*), or according to the judgment of the reader (*pro arbitrio legentis*, *voluntate lectorum*), or the vernacular of the country (*pro varietate regionum*); and, on the contrary, two words (*utrumque verbum* as to signification), were written with the same letters. Such words he calls ambiguous (*ambigua*), and this peculiarity of the Hebrew mode of writing its ambiguity (*ambiguitas sermonis*).²

¹ Cf. art. *Hebrew Learning* in Smith and Wace *Dict. of Christian Biography*.

² *Epist.* 125 *ad Damasum*: "Idem sermo et iisdem literis scriptus diversas apud eos et voces et intelligentias habet, c. c. *pastores et amatores* iisdem literis scribuntur *Res Ain Jod Mem* (רע"מ): sed *pastores roim* leguntur, *amatores reim*.—Isa. ix. 7 (דבר): apud Hebraeos דבר quod per tres literas consonantes scribitur, *Daleth, Beth, Res*; pro locorum qualitate si legatur *dabar*, 'verbum' significat; si *deber*, 'mortem et pestilentiam'; and Jer. ix. 21 (דבר) verbum Hebraicum quod tribus literis, *Daleth, Beth, Res*, scribitur—'vocales' enim in medio non habet pro consequentia et legentis arbitrio si legatur *dabar* 'sermonem' significat, si *deber* 'mortem,' si *dabber* 'loquere.'—Isa. ii. 22 (בבירה) verbum Hebraicum vel בבירה dicitur i. e. *excelsum* vel certe *in quo*, et iisdem literis scribitur *Beth* etc., ac pro locorum qualitate si voluerimus legere 'in quo' dicimus *bammeh* sin autem 'excelsum' *bamah*.—Isa. xv. 7 (הערבים), xxi. 13 (ערב); Jer. xvii. 9 (אנש)

It is from such ambiguity that he mainly derives the numerous "deviations and mistakes of the older translators"—especially of the Seventy—and excuses (*ambiguitate decepti*);¹ he blames them however for inconsequence, by translating one word occurring in the same connection in two passages differently, or where their version does violence to the *letters*, or interchanges words whose letters have no similarity to one another.

In giving his own version from the Hebrew, he appears sometimes undecided which is the right reading, and gives the deviations of former translators without making known his own judgment. Occasionally he indicates his opinion by *melius* or *magis*, as if one reading were more probable than another, because better suited to the connexion. Such cases however are the exceptions, for he is usually *decided*, and where he does give the grounds of his decision, he rests his exposition on these sources: a, he is often guided by the connexion alone; b, the authority of his better predecessors, particularly *Symmachus*² and *Theodotion*,³ perhaps the majority of them in opposition to the Septuagint, determines him; c, above all, the authority of the Jewish rabbins by whom he was instructed (Jewish tradition) guided his translations.

Since Hupfeld has collected a number of passages from Jerome's writings in illustration of what has been stated above we refer to his essay l. c. p. 83 sq.

The result of our investigation, as far as Jerome is concerned, is a purely negative one.⁴

The next authority for examination is the Talmud, that Jewish cyclopædia, which contains all and everything. But in this work, also, we have no trace of written vowel-signs or accents, as some have supposed, nor does it contain even the incipient features of a written vowel system. The formulas, so frequently occurring in the Talmud "read not so but so," or "there is a reason for decision according to the mikrah and the massorah," have often been quoted as a proof that in the

enosch et anusch; Hos. xi. 10 (מִיַּם *miam* et *miam*); Mich. vii. 12 (מִצֹּר) *de Tyro* and *munitior*. The same may also be said of the letter ש, which is everywhere regarded as one letter and is pronounced either *s* or *sh*. Thus Hab. iii. 4 verbum שׁ pro qualitate loci et *posuit* (שׁ) intelligitur et ibi (שׁ); Gen. xii. 29 (שׁ) et *juramentum* (שׁ) et *septem* (שׁ) et *sattelas* et *abundantia* (שׁ) prout locus et ordo flagitaverint, potest intelligi." Cf. Hupfeld, *Kritische Beleuchtung in Studien u. Kritiken* 1830 p. 81 sq.

¹ Isa. xxiv. 23 (לְבָנָה — חֲפָה) pro.....luna et..... sol LXX. transtulerunt *laterem* et *murum*. Quae autem *erroris causa* sit sequentia, verba monstrabunt: sol lingua hebraica dicitur *hamma*, luna *lebana*. In praesente loco igitur LXX. pro luna etc. transtulerunt *laterem* hebr. *lebana* (לְבָנָה) 'verbi ambiguitate decepti;' rursum pro *hamma* posuerunt *homa* (חֲפָה).—Isa. xxv. 5 (בְּצִיֹן): quare LXX. pro 'invio' vel 'siti' verterunt *in Sion*: 'error perspicuus est ob similitudinem verbi' *Sajon* et *Sion*, quod hisdem signatur elementis (cf. xxxii. 2).—Hos. xiii. 8 quaerimus quare LXX. pro *fumarium*, quod Theodotion *καπνοδοχον*, *locustas* interpretati sunt. Apud Hebraeos 'locusta' et 'fumarium' hisdem literis scribitur Aleph etc., quod si legatur *arbe* locusta dicitur, si *arobba* fumarium. Cf. also Amos iii. 11 on צָר (LXX. and Aquila *Τυρος* = צָר) and iv. 13 on שָׁרוּן — מֶדֶה, as given by Hupfeld, l. c., p. 83.

² See my art. s. v. in McClintock and Strong's Cyclopædia.

³ See my art. s. v. *Ibidem*.

⁴ Cf. Hupfeld in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1833.

time of the Talmud the text of the Scripture had been firmly settled in respect of the vowels no less than of the consonants. But this is a mistake. The formula "read not so, but so," relates solely to fanciful and playful changes of words in the text, so that witty applications may be made of them. Thus e. g. read not בְּנֵיךָ "thy sons," but בְּנֵיךָ thy builders;" or read not וְשִׁם "and prepare," but וְשָׁם "and there," etc. It furnishes no proof that the Talmud recognizes written vowel-marks. The formula "there is a reason for decision according to the mikrah and the massorah" is used when two Talmudic doctors, disputing, base their different opinions on the same word in the text, but according to a different reading of it, the one being called mikrah, i. e. ecclesiastical or canonical reading; the other massorah, i. e. apocryphal or assumed one. The opposition between the two recorded in the Talmud shows that written vowel-signs were then unknown. Both refer to the vocalization, but in such a way as proves an unvowelled text, affording scope for interpretations deviating from the established pronunciation. Nothing can be adduced from the Talmud to prove the existence of the vowel-points; they are post-Talmudic and belong to a period posterior to the Talmud, since the treatise *Sopherim*,¹ whose redaction belongs to the ninth century, knows nothing of the vowels.

From what has been said, it is evident that Jerome knew no vowel-points, any more than the Talmud, and that the Alexandrian translators did not use a vocalized text. The Hebrew vocalization was, no doubt, suggested by the example of the Arabian, or more probably the Syriac writing; but, though it is analogous to that of the kindred languages, it is considerably richer and more elaborate. When the Hebrew vocalization was introduced, has long been a matter of uncertainty and dispute. According to a statement on a scroll of the law, which may have been in Susa from the eighth century, Moses the punctuator was the first who, in order to facilitate the reading of the Scriptures for his pupils, added vowels to the consonants, a practice in which he was followed by his son Judah, the corrector or reviser. These were the beginnings of a full system of Hebrew points, the completion of which has by tradition been associated with the name of the Karaite Acha or Achai of Irak, living about 550, and which comprised the vowels and accents, *dagesh* and *rapheh*, *K'ri* and *K'tibh*. It was, from its local origin, called the Babylonian or Assyrian system, or the Eastern system. The peculiarity of this system consists in having signs of a different shape to represent the vowels. Another peculiarity of this system is that the vowels are almost uniformly placed *above* the letters. It is therefore designated the *superlin-*

¹ *Sopherim* is the title of a Talmudic treatise, consisting of 21 chapters, and divided into three parts, the first of which has given the title *Sopherim* to the whole treatise. Part first, comprising chs. i.-v., contains directions for the copyist of the holy writings; part second, comprising chs. vi.-ix., contains the Massoretic part of the book; part third, comprising chs. x.-xxi., treats of the laws for the public reading in general and of the holy days. On the *Talmud* in general, see my art. s. v. in McClinton and Strong's Cyclopædia.

early system, and is best exhibited in the *Prophetarum Posteriorum Codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus* (ed. H. Strack, Petropoli 1876).

Almost simultaneously with these endeavors, the scholars of Palestine, especially of Tiberias, worked in the same direction, and here rabbi *Mocha*,¹ a disciple of Anan the Karaite, and his son Moses fixed upon another system of vocalization (about 570) distinguished as that of Tiberias and the Palestinian, or Western system. It is far more complete and extensive, and exhibits more sharply the niceties of the traditional pronunciation and intonation of the text than the Babylonian system, with which it competed, and was ultimately adopted by all the Jews. Even the Karaites, in spite of their antagonism to the rabbanites, at least, in 957 A. D., abandoned the older signs and adopted the Palestinian system of vocalization.

Thus much for the origin of the vowel-points, which during the 16th and 17th centuries were the cause of the fiercest controversy that agitated the republic of learning. Some centuries before, the dispute about the antiquity and origin of the Hebrew vowels commenced, and their authority was questioned. As early as the 9th century, Natronai II. ben Hilaï, who was gaon or spiritual head of the academy in Sora (859-869), in reply to the question whether it is lawful to put the points to the synagogal scrolls of the Pentateuch, distinctly declared that "since the law, as given to Moses on Sinai, had no points, and the points are non Sinaitic (i. e. sacred), having been invented by the sages, and put down as signs for the reader; and, moreover, since it is prohibited to us to make any additions from our own cogitations, lest we transgress the command 'Ye shall not add' etc. (Deut. iv. 2); hence we must not put the points to the scrolls of the law."²

Such being the historical evidence, it is indeed surprising that the antiquity of the vowel-points should have been defended not only by Jews, but also by Christians and cause one of the fiercest controversies, to which a German Jewish scholar Elias Levita († 1549) gave the greatest impulse. Up to the time of Levita, the opinion prevailed in the synagogue, that the vowel-points were either given to Adam in Paradise, or communicated to Moses on Mount Sinai,³ or were fixed by Ezra and the so-called Great Synagogue.⁴ This view was deemed all the more

¹ See Pinsker, *Likute Kadmonoth* (Vienna 1880) p. 62, appendix; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden* vol. V., p. 552; Fürst, *Geschichte des Karäerthums* I. 15 sq., 134 sq.

² The original is quoted by Luzzatto in *Kerem Chemed* III, 200 from the Vitry Machsor, or a ritual of the synagogue of Vitry, in France, compiled about 1100 by Rabbi Sincha of Vitry, a disciple of Rashi, and obtained its name from the place in which the compiler lived. It not only comprises the whole cycle of the daily and festival services, but various legal and ritual laws from ancient documents. An account of the MS. of this Machsor (Brit. Museum Add. 27,200, 27,201) has been given by W. Wright in 'Journal of Sacred Literature,' July 1886, p. 356 sq.—When the younger Buxtorf, who took an active part in the controversy, asserts that up to Levita's time the antiquity of the vowel-points was taken for granted (*Tractatus*, pt. I, cap. 2, p. 3) he is certainly wrong.

³ Fürst, l. c., p. 113.

⁴ Buxtorf, *Tractatus*, p. 312 sq.

orthodox since the famous Zohar, the sacred code of the Kabbalists, declared that "the letters are the body, and the vowel-points the soul: they move with the motion and stand still with the resting of the vowel-points, just as an army moves after its sovereign" (vol. I., fol. 15, col. 2); and that "the vowel-points proceeded from the Holy Spirit which indited the Sacred Scriptures, and that far be the thought to say that the scribes made the points, since even if all the prophets had been as great as Moses, who received the law direct from Sinai, they could not have had the authority to alter the smallest point in a single letter, though it be the most insignificant in the whole Bible" (on *Song of Songs* 57⁶ ed. Amsterdam, 1701).

Of course so long as the Kabbalah was believed to be a genuine revelation from God, and Simeon ben Jochai (of the 2d century) was believed to be the author of the Zohar, to whom God communicated all the mysteries, it was but a matter of course to believe in the antiquity and divinity of the vowel-points. But those, who implicitly followed the statement of the Zohar, did overlook the fact that there must have already existed a difference of opinion concerning the antiquity of the vowel-points, otherwise it would not have been necessary to defend the idea of the antiquity of the vowels with peculiar energy. And that such must have been the case we may infer from the fact that Christian writers before Levita, as we shall see farther on, who had Jews as teachers of Hebrew, did not believe in the antiquity of the vowel-points. But in a critical age like ours, no high authority is attached to the Zohar itself, because it has been shown that its author was not Simeon ben Jochai, but Moses de Leon¹ of the 13th century. Whatever Christian writers thought of, or wrote concerning, the vowel-points before the appearance of Levita's epoch-making work, entitled *Massoreth ha-Massoreth* was of little consequence to the Synagogue. When, however, this work was published at Venice in 1538, there was great consternation in the camp of Israel. Elias Levita (born about 1468, died 1549) was looked upon as the chief Jewish teacher of the age, and his denying the divine origin and antiquity of the vowel-points was regarded not only as heterodoxy, but as a most unpardonable sin. As Levita's book was translated into Latin by Sebastian Münster, within twelve months after its publication, it soon became known to the Christian world, and caused a controversy which lasted for two centuries. Levita's argument, which is fully developed in the third introduction, is as follows, according to Ginsburg's translation: At the very outset Levita denies the Sinaitic origin of the vowel-points. What the author of the book *Semadar*, Levi ben Joseph, says concerning the antiquity of the vowel-points (for which he refers to Deut. xxvii, 8), or what the author of the book *Horayoth ha-Kore*² says, needs either no refutation or is

¹ Cf. my art. *Moses de Leon* in McClintock and Strong's Cyclopædia.

² Ginsburg, on the authority of Steinschneider, ascribes this book to Ibn Balaam, who flourished in the 11th century; but see Wickes, *A Treatise on the Accentuation*, p. 104 sq.

vain and wrong. And when Moses the Punctuator,¹ says—that the points were given on Sinai, but were forgotten again, till Ezra came and revealed them, Levita replies that either one or the other alternative is left. We must either say that God revealed to Moses the forms of the points and accents in fire, and that Moses showed these forms to Israel, and *did not* affix them to the words,—in which case the Israelites would have derived no benefit from seeing them; or we must say, that he *did* affix them to the words, and come to the conclusion that he wrote another codex, besides our Pentateuch, with points and accents, and recited it with them till they knew it, and that, afterwards, each one who wished copied it. In this case the question arises, How could the points and accents be forgotten, unless we say that all these copies were afterwards lost, which is altogether incredible. This is also the opinion of Aben Ezra,² who, in his grammar entitled *Purity* says, “There are many commentators who maintain that those who divided the verses committed blunders; but this is not correct. But I am perfectly astonished at it, for how could the divider commit blunders if he was Ezra the scribe? In short, after the divider there were none so wise as he was, since we see that, throughout the whole of the Scriptures, he never made a pause which is not in its proper place.” Thus far his remark. But I am astonished at his speaking here of one divider: there is no doubt that there were many dividers, as I shall show hereafter, and since Aben Ezra himself speaks of them in the plural. At any rate, his words here show that he was not of opinion that the accents were given on Sinai. I have also found the following words in a book called the *Purity of the Language* (*Zach Sephataim*): “We must know that the points were given on Sinai; not that they were put on the Tables of Stone; but, when the Lord spake in the holy language, those who heard him could distinguish between the vowel-points and syllables, both short and long.” The learned author of the *Khosari*³ also remarks (III. 31) as follows: “The master replied, Doubtless the Pattach, Kametz, Sheber, Sheva, and the accents were committed to memory . . . and they put the principal vowels and the accents as marks to indicate which was received from Moses by tradition. What thinkest thou about it? that they have received the Bible first with divisions into verses, then with vowels, then with accents, then with definitions respecting the preservation of *plene* and *defective*, and even the exact number of letters?” From this we see, adds Levita, that he was not of opinion that Moses wrote them, but that it was only preserved in memory what Moses’ pronunciation was, viz. what distinction he made between the pronunciation of Kametz

¹ Flourished about the middle of the 13th century, and is the author of *Treatise embodying the Rules about the Points of Hebrew Scriptures*.

² Died about 1176.

³ I. e. Judah ha-Levi, a distinguished Spanish philosopher, died about 1180 or 1142. The work referred to is a defense of Judaism against Christians and Mohammedans. It was of late published in the Arabic original and Hebrew translation by H. Hirschfeld, Leipzig 1887, who also published a German translation, Breslau 1885.

and Pattach between Tzere and Segol, etc. Would that this sage author had explained to us whom he meant by "they put," whether the men of the Great Synagogue, or the Massorites. I think that it refers to the Massorites."¹ Levita also mentions *David Kimchi* in his favor, who speaks of "inventors of the points, who made a distinction between the singular third person preterit and the participle, as they are pronounced alike." These authorities, and the very fact that up to this day the Synagogue Scrolls have neither vowel-points nor accents, he adduced in favor of his argument that the vowel-points were not Sinaitic. He goes even farther and says that they did not exist either before Ezra or in the time of Ezra, or after Ezra till the close of the Talmud. For this theory he proffers the following arguments: In the *first* place neither the Talmud nor the Hagadah, or the Midrash mention or make any allusion whatever to the vowel-points or accents. The expression: "Do not read so, but so," and "there is a solid root for the reading of the text, and there is a solid root for the traditional pronunciation," only show that there were no vowel-points. In the *second* place, he refers to the Talmud (*Baba Bathra*, fol. 21, col. 2) where it is said, "Joab slew his teacher because he had performed the work of the Lord deceitfully in reading to him *sachar* (i. e. males), instead of *secher* (i. e. the memory, Deut. xxv. 19)." "Now is it credible," asks Levita, "that he would have attempted to read *sachar*, if they had had the points, and the word in question had been pointed *secher*?" In the *third* place, he refers to *Chagiga*, fol. 6, col. 2, where the passage "they brought burnt offerings and killed sacrifices," etc. (Exod. xxiv. 5) is discussed; Mar Sutra remarks, this discussion is necessary to know where to place the dividing accent. Proof enough that they had no accents. In the *fourth* place, he calls attention to the fact that almost all the names of both the vowel-points and the accents are not Hebrew, but Aramean and Babylonian, whereas the commandments given on Sinai were in Hebrew. To him it is undoubtedly true that the law which Moses put before the children of Israel was a plain codex, without accents and without points, and even without the division of verses, since according to the opinion of the Kabbalists, the whole law is like one verse, or as some say, like one word. And as for the K'ri and K'thibh and the variations between the Easterns and the Westerns, they have nothing to do with the points, but refer to the variations between Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali, which were unquestionably written down after the invention of the points and accents. And says Levita, if it be asked: How was it possible, before the invention of the vowel-points to teach a child the correct reading from a book which was not pointed? he would say that the sacred tongue was the language which all spoke, since they had no other language till they were led captive from their land. When, therefore, a child was being taught

¹ According to the connection, there can be no doubt that "they put" refers to the men of the Great Synagogue.

to know the letters, his teacher read with him from a book each verse two or three times, till he was familiar with it, and the child was conversant with the language; he could easily remember the words which he read, and whenever he met them again he read them without difficulty. You, therefore, see that it is possible to read without points. The same was the case among us, prior to the invention of the points, and it continued till the time after the close of the Talmud, which took place in 3989 of the creation = 436 after the destruction of the second Temple. Since then the sacred tongue began gradually to disappear, till the time of the Massorites, who are the men of Tiberias. They were great sages, and thoroughly conversant with the Scriptures and the structure of the language, more so than all the other Jews who lived in that generation, and none like them have existed since. This is also attested by Rabbi Jona (ibn Ganach), the Grammarian, in his treatise on the *Quiescent Letters*, which is as follows: "The distinction between the *resh* with and without the *dagesh* was well understood by the men of Tiberias, but not by us, for they knew better the purity of the language than all other Jews." Thus also, says Aben Ezra in the book *Purity*: "This is the manner of the sages of Tiberias, and they are the foundation, for from them were the Massorites, and from them we have received all our vowel-points." Levita comes then to this conclusion: "I have made it evident that the vowel-points and accents were neither given on Sinai, nor were they invented by the men of the Great Synagogue, but that they are the work of the Massorites, who flourished at a later period. Indeed, there were hundreds and thousands of Massorites, and they continued generation after generation for many years. No one knows the time when they commenced, nor when they will end in future." Thus far Levita.

A refutation of Levita's book was undertaken by the Jewish writer Azariah de Rossi,¹ in 1574, who in his work entitled *Meor Enayim* or "Light of the Eyes" derived the vowel-points from Adam but in such a manner that they were twice forgotten but twice restored, (once by Ezra and the Massorites). Moses did not punctuate the copy of the Law which he wrote, in order to give room to the oral tradition. The existence of the vowel-points, De Rossi thinks is indicated in the Talmud (*Nedarim*, fol. 37, col. 2),² in the cabbalistic works called *Bahir*³ and *Zohar*; he appeals to Jerome (*Epist. ad Evagrium* 126),⁴ to Deut. xxvii, 8; to the

¹ He was born at Mantua about 1514 and died 1577. The work referred to consists of three parts, which are fully described in my art. s. v. *Rossi Azariah* in McClintock and Strong's Cyclopædia.

² Here the passage Nehem. viii. 8 is thus explained: "and they read in the book, in the law of God," means the *original text*; "explaining it" means the *Chaldee paraphrase*; "and gave the same" means the *division of the verses*; "and caused them to understand the Scripture" means the *dividing accents or Massorah*.

³ This book is generally ascribed to Nehunya ben ha-Kanah of the first century, but it is a later product.

⁴ Because Jerome says: "it matters not whether it be called *salem* or *salim*, since the Hebrews very seldom (*perraro*) used the vowel letters in the middle," de Rossi deduces from *perraro* their existence and occasional use.

nature of all languages, especially the Hebrew. The high antiquity of the vowel-points was also advocated by Archevolti (of the 16th cent.) in his grammatical treatise *Arugath ha-Bosem* or *Trellis for Aromatic Plants* (Venice 1602). He believes that the vowel-points were given to Moses, who transmitted them orally till at last they were fixed by necessity. The letters are the body, the points the spiritual soul. Thus far the synagogue.

What was the attitude of the Church towards the vowel-points question? Great, it is true, was the impulse given by Levita. But long before Levita, voices were already heard which spoke of the novelty of the vowel-points, so that Buxtorf is certainly wrong when he says that before Levita no one denied the antiquity of the vowel-points.

The earliest witness against the antiquity of the vowel-points is *Raymond Martini*, member of the commission appointed by Clement IV. (1264), to examine the charges brought against the Talmud, and author of *Pugio fidei*,¹ which he completed in 1278. In this work, which was first published in 1642, then in 1687, he denies the antiquity of the vowel-points, the invention of which he ascribes to two rabbis Asher and Naphtali. The passage in question which is properly a criticism on Hosea ix. 12, runs thus: "Caeterum sciendum, quod nec Moyses punctavit legem, unde Judaei non habent eam cum punctis, i. e. cum vocalibus scriptam in votulis suis; nec aliquis ex prophetis punctavit librum suum; sed duo Judaei, quorum unus est dictus Nephtali, alter vero Ben Ascher, totum vetus Testamentum punctasse leguntur; quae quidem puncta cum quibusdam virgulis sunt loco vocalium apud eos: cumque venissent ad locum istum, et secundum orthographiam debuissent punctare בִּשְׁוֹרִי incarnatione mea, punctaverunt בְּסוֹרִי in recessu meo ut opus incarnationis removerent a Deo."²

The next writer is *Nicholaus de Lyra* († 1340), who, after quoting Raymond Martini on Hosea ix. 12, remarks that the vowel-points were not from the beginning, for this reason the synagogue scrolls are also without vowel-points; at a very late time, however, the points were invented to facilitate reading. "Secundo," such are his words, "quia puncta non sunt de substantia litterae, res a principio scripturae fuerunt, unde et rotuli; qui in synagogis eorum leguntur, sunt sine punctis; sed per magnum tempus postea inventa sunt hujus modi puncta, ad facilius legendum."³

Next to De Lyra we mention *Perez de Valencia* (born about 1420 and died August 1, 1491), author of "Expositio Psalmorum Davidis" (Leyden 1512, 1514, 1517). In his *Proleg. in Psalmos*, tract. 17, he gives the following amusing account of the origin of the vowel-points: "Post conversionem Constantini Magni videntes Rab-

¹ For another point of view on the *Pugio*, cf. Neubauer's arts. *Jewish Controversy* and the *Pugio Fidei* in the *Expositor* (Febr.-March, 1888).

² Pars III, diss. III, cap. 21, p. 895. It is to be observed that some MSS., Aquila and Vulgate read בְּסוֹרִי.

³ *Postilla ad Hoseam* 9.

binos omnes Gentiles cum tanta devotione ad fidem Christi converti per totum orbem, et ecclesiam tanto favore prosperari et etiam quod infinita multitudo Judaeorum videntes manifestam veritatem per experientiam et miracula, pariter convertebantur, et sic deficiebant quaestus et reditus et tributa Rabbiorum, hac iniquitate commotos magna multitudo congregatos fuisse apud Babyloniam Egypti; quae dicitur cayre; ibique quanto magis caute potuerunt, conatos fuisse falsificare et pervertere Scripturas a vero sensu et significatione. Inde confinxisse supra quinque vel septem puncta loco vocalium, quorum punctorum inventores fuisse Ravina et Ravasse duos doctores eorum. Addit istos Rabbinos confinxisse libros Talmud." According to De Valencia, the two Rabbis Ravina et Ravasse, the authors of the Talmud, invented about five or seven points to serve as vowels; hence he maintains that no faith is to be placed in the Holy Scriptures, as the Jews now interpret and punctuate them, or, to use his own words: "ideo nulla fides adhibenda est scripturae sacrae, sicut hodie habent (Judaei) sic interpretatam et punctuatam." (*ibid.* tract. II, fol. 23).

In his *De arcanis Catholicae Veritatis* (Ortona di Mare 1518), the Franciscan Petrus Galatinus († 1532) speaks also of the novelty of the vowel-points, by means of which the reading and understanding of certain passages has been corrupted (II, 8). To these Levitas before Levita also belongs the Oxford Professor Robert Wakefield († 1537). Twelve years before Levita published his *Massoreth*, Wakefield issued his *Syntagma de Hebraeorum codicum incorruptione* (Oxon. 1526), in which he denies most decidedly the antiquity of the vowel-points, which were invented by Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali in order to deceive the Christians in those passages which favor the Christian faith. "Fatetur" says he, "puncta esse novitia postque Hieronymi aetatem excogitata et Judaeos ex additis punctis et apicibus ansam accipere ut dictionum significantias invertant ac mutant, atque ita scripturae sensum ad suam perfidiam deploratam quandoque trahere repugnantem. Verum utrum duo inter Judaeos sui temporis doctissimi Ben Ascher et Ben Naphtali, qui ea adinvenerunt, ita per fraudem, quo nos deciperent ac illuderent de industria in locis illis, qui ad fidem nostram non spectant, ea scripturae addiderunt, et odii nostri ac suorum gratia favoreque aliam quam LXX. interpretes secuti sunt lectionem legendique modum, ut illis doctiores quoque viderentur; an ex inscitia prope sensuum obscuritatem et ignorantiam id fecerint, aliis judicandum relinquo. Hoc certe verissimum esse scio, quod in multis bene ac fideliter scripturam distinxerint ac punctaverint, eique convenientes et debitos simul ac tales, quales naturaliter exigebat addiderunt apices."

The novelty of the vowel-points was also advocated by the imperial field-chaplain Gerhard Veltwyck;¹ Augustinus Steuchus, bishop of Gubio († 1550), declared them to be a vain invention, whilst Genebrardus of Paris († 1597), as-

¹ See Neudecker in Herzog's *R. Ency.*, 1st ed., v. p. 804.

cribed them to Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali. Of the same opinion were more or less the learned Masius († 1573),¹ Bodevianus or de la Boderie († 1598), Arias Montanus († 1598), Masius' co-adjutors in the Antwerp Polyglot, Politianus, etc., all of whom are quoted by Cappellus.²

With a very few exceptions the men of the Reformation period sided with Levita, and, with all veneration for the sacred writings of the Old and New Testaments, the Reformers had a freer conception of the sacred writings and writers than was the case with many in the Post-Reformation period. Thus *Luther* remarks on Genesis XLVII. 31, where, following the Septuagint and Hebrews XI. 21 he decides in favor of reading "mattel" instead of "mittah:" at the time of Jerome, the points did not as yet exist, and the whole Bible was read without them ("absque illis tota Biblia lecta sunt"). On Isaiah ix. 6 he designates the points a new invention, which had no right to have more authority than the simple genuine meaning which was strictly conformable to grammar, as he did not care much for their (the Jews) grammatical superstition. Similar views he expressed in his "Shem ham-mephorash" where he calls the vowel-points "ein neu Menschen-Fündlein." His exact words are these: "es ist das Vortheil da, dass Moses und die Propheten nicht haben mit Puncten geschrieben, welche ein neu Menchen-Fündlein nach ihrer Zeit aufgebracht, darum nicht Noth ist dieselbe so steiff zuhalten, als die Jüden gerne wollten, sonderlich wo sie dem Neuen Testament zuwider gebraucht werden." When Pfeiffer³ says: "aliter judicasset beatissima anima, si ipsius tempestate periculosissima sententiae Cappellianae consecraria fuissent notoria," it is very questionable whether Luther would have thanked him for this compliment.

According to *Zwingli* the vowel-points were for a long time not joined to the consonants, and they were not skilfully invented by the rabbis: "Hebraeorum litterae aliquando caruerunt vocalibus notis, quas parum civiliter Rabbini sixerunt et supposuerunt; quod non tantum hinc colligitur, quod et Hieronymus nullam prorsus eorum mentionem facit et vetustissimos eorum codices, etiamsi nunc habeant eas notas aliquando tamen non habuisse."⁴

Calvin agrees in the main with *Zwingli*, but speaks highly of the labors and industry of the rabbis, who made these points, which should be used judiciously. "Scio," he says, "quanta industria veteres scribae puncta excogitarint, cum jam linguae non esset tam communis et familiaris usus: qui ergo puncta negligunt vel prorsus rejiciunt, certe carent omni judicio et ratione, sed tamen habendus est aliquis delectus."⁵

¹ Cf. his comm. on Joshua iii. 16.

² *Vindictae Arcanae Punctionis*, praef. 17-22.

³ Aug. Pfeiffer, *Critica Sacra*, (Lipsiae 1688), p. 92.

⁴ *Praefatio in Esaiam*.

⁵ *Comm. ad Zachariam*, xi. 7, 9.

Besides we mention *Olivet*, († 1538) who, in the preface to his French Bible translation, says: "La douce pronuntiation des Ebrieux est sans points, comme jadis estoit;" *Theodor Beza* († 1605), *Joseph Scaliger* († 1609), *Hugo Grotius* († 1645), *John Mercier* († 1562), *Paul Fagius* († 1549), *John Drusius* († 1616), *John Piscator* († 1625), *S. Gessner* († 1605), *L. Hutter* († 1616), *Ludov. de Dieu* († 1642), *J. G. Vossius* († 1649), *Isaac Vossius* († 1688), *Dan. Charmier* († ?), *W. Schickard* († 1635) and others.¹

But there were not wanting scholars in the Roman Catholic church, who like the Protestants rejected the antiquity of the vowel-points, as *Bellarmin* († 1621), *Genebrard* († 1597), *Pineda* († 1637), *Salmero* († 1585), *Villalpandus* († 1608), *Stapleton* († 1598), *Gregory Martin* († 1582), *Thomas Harding* († 1572);² but in doing so, the Romanists had a certain purpose in view. The Protestants, in rejecting the traditional vowel-points of the synagogue, wished to make the Bible, and the Bible alone without gloss and without tradition the rule of faith and practice. The Romanists, however, by rejecting the vowel-points, showed the uncertainty of the Hebrew text and the necessity of a certain guide to be found in the traditional interpretation transmitted by the Church of Rome. Thus the Jesuit *Thomas Harding*,³ the antagonist of bishop *Jewel* argues as follows: "Among the people of Israel, the seventy elders only could read and understand the mysteries of the holy books that we call the Bible; for, whereas the letters of the Hebrew tongue have no vocals, they only had the skill to read the Scripture by the consonants, and thereby the vulgar people were kept from reading of it by special providence of God, as it is thought that precious stones should not be cast before swine; that is to say, such as be not called thereto as being, for their unreverend curiosity and impure life, unworthy."

While Protestants and Romanists agreed as to the modern origin of the vowel-points, there were others who contended for their antiquity. In England *Fulke* († 1589) wrote against *Martin's Discovery of the Manifold Corruptions of the Holy Scriptures by the Heretics of our Days* his "Defence of the Sincere and True Translations of the Holy Scriptures into the English Tongues, against the Manifold Cavils, Fivolous Quarrels, and Impudent Slanders of Gregory Martin, one of the Readers of Popish Divinity in the Traitorous Seminary of Rheims" (London, 1583; Parker Society edition, Cambridge, 1843) in which he declares (p. 578) "that seeing our Saviour hath promised that never a particle of the law shall perish, we may understand the same also of the prophets, who have not received the vowels of the later Jews, but even of the prophets themselves, howsoever that heathenish opinion pleaseth you and other papists." *Hugh Broughton* († 1612), too, defended the antiquity of the vowel points in his *Daniel: his Chaldee visions and his Hebrew*,

¹ Cf. Pfeiffer, l. c. p. 81 sq.; Walton, *Prolegomena*, ed. Dathe (Lipsiae 1777), p. 127 sq.

² Cf. Pfeiffer, l. c. p. 81 sq.

³ See *Works of John Jewel, bishop of Salisbury*, Parker Society edition, II, 678.

London, 1597, on chap. ix. 26. On the Continent this theory was advocated by Ant. Rud. Cevalerius or Chevalier († 1572) in his *Rudimenta Ebr.* c. 4, p. 23; by Marcus Marinus Brixianus (cf. his "Praefatio thesauri linguae sanctae," 1581), Wilhelm Postellus († 1581) in his "De originibus seu de Hebraicae linguae" etc., Paris, 1538; Junicus of Leyden († 1602), Amandus Polanus († 1610 at Basle), Gomarus († 1641), more especially by Matthias Flacius and Johannes Gerhard.

Matthias Flacius, the editor of the Magdeburg Centuries, who died in 1575, felt it his duty to save the antiquity of the vowel-points, as if they were inspired and as if with their acknowledgement life and blessedness were connected. Already in his magister dissertation in 1543 he advocated the high antiquity of the vowel-points, but in his famous work, entitled *Clavis Scripturae Sacrae* (Basle, 1567), he more fully espoused the cause of the vowel-points on which he wrote a special section, entitled "On the Originality of the Hebrew Punctuation." In this section which is found in the 2nd part of his work, he traces the vowel-points back to Adam. "Mea est sententia," he says, "vocales, seu, ut vocant puncta una cum consonantibus jam olim (fortasse adhuc ab ipsomet Adamo) inventa omnesque sacrarum literarum scriptores integre dilucideque scripsisse, non solum consonantibus, sed et vocalibus eosque, qui contraria sentiunt, non solum falsa sentire sed et conscientiis ecclesiaeque, quae tantum certitudine verbi dei aedificatur, perniciose.".....

Flacius, it is true, was opposed by Nicol. Oelschlegelius, who wrote his *Tractatus de punctis contra Flacium* (1614), but the voice of the latter was soon drowned, for no less an authority than the famous dogmatist Johann Gerhard († 1637) in his *Loci Theolog.* I, cap. xiv., xv. not only supported the Flacian view, but even went a step farther and asserted the inspiration of the vowel-points as an object of faith. Gerhard's dogmatism as to the inspiration of the vowel-points, reached its climax in Switzerland as we shall see farther on.

The division among the Protestants seemed very opportune to the Romanists. Although averse to every and all innovations, the Church of Rome placed herself on the side of the anti-vowellists, not because she admitted the infallibility of the Bible, but because it suited her purposes best to use the argument as to the late origin of the vowel-points in order to confute the claims of the opponents to whom the Bible was the *norma normans* in matters of faith and practice. From the state of things she adduced the uncertainty of the Hebrew text, which can only be understood by the help of the traditional interpretation of the Church. The most influential champion of this theory was the Oratorian John Morinus (1591-1659), who in his *Exercitationes Biblicae de Hebraei Graecique textus Sinceritate* etc., (Paris, 1633),¹ argued as follows: "the reason why God ordained the Scriptures to be written in this ambiguous manner (i. e. without points), is because

¹ For a full description of the contents of this work, cf. Rich. Simon *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament*, Rotterdam, 1685, p. 464 sq.; Rosenmüller, *Handbuch* I, 489 sq.

it was his will that every man should be subject to the judgment of the Church, and not interpret the Bible in his own way. For seeing that the reading of the Bible is so difficult and so liable to various ambiguities, from the very nature of the thing, it is plain that it is not the will of God that everyone should rashly and irreverently take upon himself to explain it; nor to suffer the common people to expound it at their pleasure; but that in those things, as in other matters respecting religion, it is his will that the people should depend upon the priests."¹

To this argument Richard Simon² replies in the following manner: "On pourra dire aussi, par la même raison, que Dieu a voulu soumettre les Mahometans à leurs docteurs pour l'interprétation de l'Alcoran, parce qu'il est écrit aussi-bien, que le texte Hébreu de la Bible, dans une langue, qui n'est pas moins inconstante d'elle-même que la langue Hébraïque. Mais sans qu'il soit besoin d'avoir recours au conseil secret de Dieu, il est certain que la langue Hébraïque a cela de commun avec les langues Arabe, Chaldaïque et Syriaque, qu'elles sont de leur nature fort imparfaites, n'ayant pas assez de voyelles, pour rendre la lecture des mots qui les composent constante et tout-à-fait arrêtée."

But while the vowelists and Romanists contended for their respective dogmatic hobby, none of them took the pains of examining Levita's arguments, or of corroborating or refuting his statements. To be or not to be was the question on both sides, and, besides, neither of the two parties had sufficient Talmudical learning and critical tact. The first attempt to meet Levita's book was made, as has already been stated above, by the learned Azariah de Rossi, in 1574-75, in chap. LIX. part. iii of his work *Meor Enayim* or the *Light of the Eyes*, wherein he tried to prove the antiquity of the vowel-points from the "Zohar" and the "Talmud." But unhappily De Rossi's work was not so well-known, if known at all, as Levita's, which was translated into Latin soon after its appearance. However, the man came to the rescue of the vowelists in no less a person than the famous John Buxtorf († 1629), the author of the famous *Lexicon Chaldaicum Talmudicum Rabbinicum*, not to mention his Rabbinic Bible and especially his *Tiberias seu Commentarius Masorethicus*, published in 1620. The title *Tiberias* is rather curious, since in his work Buxtorf opposes the view according to which the vowels and accents were invented by the rabbis of Tiberias. In the preface to the "Tiberias," Buxtorf expresses his surprise how even prominent theologians could have adopted Levita's view as to the late origin of the vowels. If they were really a human invention and had only human authority, so that each could read as he pleased, where would be the certainty and authority of the text? History rather teaches that the Masorites commenced their work from the time of Ezra. If the post-talmudic rabbis at Tiberias had produced the Masora, they would have made themselves guilty of a crime and wickedness. And if it be asked: whence did

¹ *Exercitationes* iv. cap. II, sect. 8, p. 198 etc.

² *l. c.*, p. 468; Rosenmüller, *l. c.*, p. 458.

Buxtorf take his reputed historical evidence, it can only be answered : from Jewish tradition. But herein he shows his inconsistency. For the same tradition which appeared to him so absurd in points of post-biblical dogmas and institutions and which he himself so often ridiculed, the same he regards almost as holy when it concerns the conservation of the letter of the Old Testament, and this, for the sole reason, because on that point it was of the greatest necessity to him.

As to the famous controversy with Louis Cappell, Buxtorf the father had personally very little to do with it. For as we have seen from the preface to the *Tiberias*, Cappell was not the first who sided with Levita. After all it is very characteristic for the high reputation which Buxtorf enjoyed among his contemporaries, that even after the publication of his *Tiberias* none dared publicly to oppose him. Buxtorf became now the leader of the vowellists, and even the Lutherans for once forgot their *rabies theologica*, since Buxtorf's well-supplied "armory" had provided for them the weapons which they could use for their own purposes.

At the time when Buxtorf's *Tiberias* was published, Louis Cappell or Capellus, then professor at Saumur was writing his famous work the *Arcanum punctationis*, which made him the leader of the anti-vowellists. Cappellus seems to have been on very friendly terms with Buxtorf. In a letter, dated January 18, 1616, Cappellus thanks Buxtorf for the very great honor of receiving a letter from him. When the MS. of the *Arcanum* had come into Buxtorf's hands without the knowledge of its author, Capellus sent him the continuation of the Manuscript (July 10, 1622) with many excuses and with the request for his opinion. As Buxtorf kept quiet, Cappellus asked for the return of his manuscript, December 9, 1622. At last Buxtorf returned the same with a complimentary letter, requesting at the same time not to publish, as he was about to examine the matter himself. Evidently the whole business was very disgusting to him and he might have had strong reasons to believe that the position of the opponent could not so easily be shaken.

Cappellus sent his manuscript to Erpenius of Leyden, who in 1608 had publicly expressed the same opinion, as that espoused by Cappellus, and was about to treat it scientifically. When Erpenius received the manuscript, he was so convinced by its learning and arguments, that, without the sanction of the author, he published it under the title of *Arcanum Punctationis Revelatum* (i. e. "The Mystery of the Points Unveiled"), Leyden, 1624, accompanying it with a preface. The effect of the work was great.¹ The edition was soon exhausted and for 25 years none undertook to refute the anonymous work.

During this time of anxious suspense the Oratorian John Morinus, of whom we have already spoken above, had published his *Exercitationes*. Morinus as well

¹ For the contents, cf. Rosenmüller, l. c., p. 569 sq.; Diestel, *Geschichte des Alten Testaments in der christlichen Kirche*, p. 337.

as Cappellus denied the antiquity of the vowel-points, but each had a different aim in view; for while Cappellus, the Protestant professor, contended against the authority of Rabbinical tradition, Morinus, the apostate Protestant, contended in behalf of Romish tradition, placing the same above the Scriptures, which he compared "to a mere nose of wax, to be turned any way," to prove thereby the necessity of one infallible interpretation.¹

To be associated with Morinus, made Cappellus feel rather uncomfortable; and, having already been made known to the public as the author of the *Arcanum* by Coccejus, Cappellus now openly declared himself, as the author in the preface to the *Animadversio ad Novam Davidis Lyram* (of Gomarus, 1641). The cause of his preserving his anonymity was partly because he wished to hear impartial opinions, partly because he was afraid of his opponents. After, however, his work had such a success, and after having been encouraged by a man like Rivetus († 1651), he openly came forward with his name but in such a manner as to incite the younger Buxtorf. The latter was not surprised at this revelation, since from his father he had learned the name of the author. Yet he was not inclined to oppose Cappellus. His father, said the younger Buxtorf, always regarded the question as an open one, and conceded to the opposition party the right to be heard. What he was always inclined to accept, he propounded in his "Tiberias." After the publication of the *Arcanum* many of his adherents were wavering, and entreated him—among others bishop Usher²—most earnestly to examine the matter anew and to defend it. But more important work was to be done, and he declined for the present. In 1629 Buxtorf died. His adherents, surprised at his delay and inaction, now addressed Buxtorf's son and successor with regard to the father's position in the matter and he apologized for his father in the best possible manner. But when asked to come forward and to take his father's place in the matter, he delayed for a very long time. At last he promised to defend the antiquity of the vowels not against Cappellus, but against Levita and his adherents. This he did on account of the friendly relation existing between his family and Cappellus. In this sense, avoiding to mention his opponent's name, Buxtorf, the son, prepared his "Tractatus de punctorum." When, however, Cappellus severely criticised two writings of Buxtorf *De literis Hebraeorum* and *De primae coenae dominicae ritibus et forma*, and handled the author's name without gloves, Buxtorf changed the form and mode of expression in his polemical work, and in this altered form, he published it, twenty-four years after the appearance of the "Arcanum" under the title *Tractatus de punctorum vocalium et accentuum in libris*

¹ Albert Pighius, a mathematician and controversialist (born 1490 and died 1542), in his *Hierarch. Eccles. Aspertio*, 1538, III, 3, 80, makes a similar statement: "Sunt enim illae (Scripturae), ut non minus vere quam festive dixit quidam, velut nasus cereus, qui seorsum, illorsum, et in quam volueris partem, trahi, retrahi, fingique facile permittit."

² Cf. Rosenmüller, l. c., p. 573.

Veteris Testamenti hebraicis origine, antiquitate et auctoritate, oppositus Arcano revelato Ludovici Cappelli, Basle, 1648. Cappellus answered in a rejoinder entitled *Vindiciae Arcani punctuationis*, which, however, was not published during the lifetime of the two opponents.¹ The latter work is found in *Commentarii et notae criticae* published in 1689.

As Buxtorf's *Tractatus* and Cappellus' *Arcanum* and *Vindiciae* are the main works in the controversy, it will be worth the while to look at them a little more closely. In favor of the late antiquity of the vowel-points, Cappellus adduces the fact of the absence of the vowel-points from the synagogue scrolls.² The ancient various readings of the sacred text called K'rî and K'thibh, have nothing to do with the vowel-points but with the letters.³ The ancient Cabbalists drew none of their mysteries from the vowel-points, but all from the letters; for had they already existed in their time, these triflers would certainly have made the most extended use of them and discovered new mysteries.⁴ Had the vowel-points really existed from the beginning, why is it that the Septuagint, the Chaldee paraphrases, Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion, or even Jerome read in so many places differently than according to the present punctuation.⁵ Neither Mishna nor Gemara,⁶ nor even Philo or Josephus⁷ make the least mention of the vowel-points. And surely, Jerome and Origen who had Jewish teachers would have heard something of them if they had existed.

These are some of the salient points in favor against the antiquity of the vowel-points.⁸ As to Buxtorf's arguments, Cappellus divides them into *argumenta artificialia* and *inartificialia*, which he endeavors to refute in the second book of his "Arcanum." To the *argumenta inartificialia*, Cappellus reckons the testimony from Jewish writings, which Buxtorf the father derives from the Talmud, Buxtorf, the son, from the *Zohar* and *Bahir*.⁹ But to this Cappellus attaches little or no value, since the correctness of an opinion is not to be established by testimonies but by valid reasons. As to the *argumenta artificialia* of Buxtorf, the same may be divided into grammatical, historical and theological. As to the *grammatical* arguments, Buxtorf lays great stress upon the fact that it would be very difficult to read Hebrew without vowels. But to this it can be replied that these difficulties did not exist before the exile, and even to this day it is not impossible to read and to understand unvowelled Hebrew writing. If, however, Buxtorf can prove that before the completion of the Babylonian Talmud vowelled copies already existed, he (Cappellus) will be satisfied; but the proof will never be given.¹⁰ The *historical* arguments which Buxtorf derived from Jew-

¹ Buxtorf the son died Aug. 16, 1664, and Cappellus, June 15, 1658.

² *Arcanum* I, 4.

³ *Ibid.* cap. 7.

⁴ *Ibid.* cap. 5.

⁵ *Ibid.* cap. 8-10.

⁶ *Ibid.* cap. 5.

⁷ *Ibid.* cap. 10.

⁸ Cf. Schnedermann, *Die Controverse des L. Cappellus mit den Buxtorfen* (Leipzig, 1879), p. 58 sq.; Diestel, l. c. p. 337; Prideaux, *Historical Connection* (Wheeler's edition, 1865), vol., I. p. 303 sq.

⁹ *Therias*, cap. 9; *Tractatus de punctorum* I. 5.

¹⁰ *Vindiciae* II. 5; *Arcanum* II.

ish history, which knows nothing of the work of the Masorites, are as an *argumentum e silentio* of no consideration whatever. And as to the *theological* arguments, they are very poor and superficial and without any value whatever. Equally worthless he regards the assertion of Buxtorf, as if no one before Levita had asserted the novelty of the vowel-points; since long before him Jewish and Christian writers have often expressed the same opinion. And it is rash and inconsiderate, when Buxtorf exclaims: *Eliam esse sententiae istius de novitate punctorum parentem*. Equally as foolish, Cappellus thinks it to be, when Buxtorf calls him a *revelator* or *novus propheta*, as if he were the first to make the discovery concerning the novelty of the vowel-points.

The result at which Cappellus had arrived may be summed up thus: 1) The Hebrew vowels and accents were invented by learned Jews in order that even unlearned Jews might be enabled to read and understand the sacred writings, in case good and intelligible translations should have perished. 2) Although the historical notices regarding the time in which the work of punctuation originated are scanty, it cannot be doubtful that the Masorites were the originators of the same, and this work came about *not at once*, but before and after (*per gradus ac momenta et plura saecula*) the 5th or 6th down to the 11th and 12th centuries with the help of Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali, who probably were the last redactors. 3) With such a view the authority of sacred Writ is not in the least affected; on the contrary its sense remains firm and intact and sacred Writ itself preserved from corruption.¹

¹ Schnedermann l. c., p. 60 sq.—It is very interesting to learn the view of Richard Simon concerning the Buxtorf-Cappellus controversial writing. In his *Histoire Critique* (p. 477) he remarks as follows: "Cappellus has also published an excellent writing, entitled *Arcanum Punctionis*, in which he tries to prove the novelty of the Hebrew vowel-points. This first work of Cappellus, which was published in Holland, made a great sensation among the Protestants. They looked at the appearance of the same with great sorrow, because it is entirely contrary to the principles of their faith. *Alexander Morus*, who saw it before its publication, speaks in his *De Causa Dei seu exercit. de Script. Sacra* of Cappellus as of 'limatissimo vir iudicio et undecumque doctissimus,' and of his work as 'opus quantivis pretil, sed a multis zelo Dei flagrantibus etiam hie Genevae reformidatam.' But he shows at the same time that this zeal of the Geneva Protestants had no just cause, since he admits that Cappellus agrees with Luther, Calvin, Zwingli, Fagius, Merdler, Drusius, Casaubon, Scaliger, Erpenius, Saumaise, Grotius and Heinsius; hence Cappellus cannot be accused of introducing a new opinion, since he only proves with stronger arguments what has been already accepted by the most learned and intelligent Protestants. 'Nec dubitem,' says Morus, 'quin ejus causa vicerit, si res Doctorum suffragiis et auctoritate transigatur.' But most of the Geneva theologians were too narrow-minded and too ignorant. Had they read the preface to the first French translation of the Old Testament made from the Hebrew, they would have found that its author, *Robert Olivetan*, had fully treated this matter, and that Cappellus had only more fully established his opinion.

The cause of this prejudice which is at present found so much among the German and Geneva Protestants is to be sought in the fact that they blindly follow the opinion of the two Buxtorfs concerning the correctness of the Hebrew text. Buxtorf the father, who had entirely devoted himself to the study of the Hebrew language and the rabbis, endeavored by all means to preserve the authority of the Hebrew text. Since Buxtorf was regarded as the oracle of the modern Hebrew philologists, most of them followed his opinion; since, however, they were not able to investigate themselves such a complicated matter, they abided more by his authority than by his arguments. What also helped his opinion to find favor among the Protestants

The consequence of this controversy was that Protestant Christendom everywhere was divided into two hostile camps. On the Continent as well as in England both parties had their adherents. In England Cappellus was represented by Brian Walton, while the Buxtorfs were especially represented by Lightfoot († 1675), not to speak of Fulke and Broughton whom we have already mentioned above. Lightfoot, the learned Hebraist, gives the following as his opinion: "There are some who believe that the Holy Bible was printed by wise men of Tiberias. I do not wonder at the impudence of the Jews who invented the story, but I wonder at the credulity of Christians who applaud it.... And if you can believe the Bible was printed in such a school, believe also all that the Talmud says. The pointing of the Bible savors the work of the Holy Spirit, not the work of lost, blinded, besotted men."¹ "These rabbinical scholars" (i. e. Fulke, Broughton and Lightfoot), as a modern scholar says, "exerted a disastrous influence upon the study of the Old Testament."²

As has been already stated, Cappellus was represented by Brian Walton, the editor of the London Polyglot. In his *Prolegomena* he speaks at great length of the vowel-points and concludes by saying: *vix quisquam sit solidae in Hebraico doctrinae, qui a Cappello differt*³ and *Cappello consentiunt Theologi plerique, alique doctrina et eruditione Hebraica clari*.⁴ For this and other assertions he was attacked by John Owen († 1683), who in his *Of the Integrity and Purity of the Hebrew and Greek Text of the Scriptures with Considerations of the Prolegomena and Appendix to the late "Biblia Polyglotta."* (Oxford, 1659) declared that he "had rather that this work of the Biblia Polyglotta, and all works of the kind were out of the world, than that this one opinion should be received with the consequences that unavoidably attend it." To this Walton replied in *The Considerator Considered* (London, 1659), p. 220 sq., as follows:⁵ "For when at the beginning of the Reformation, divers questions arose about the Scriptures and the Church; the Romanists observing that the punctuation of the Hebrew text was an invention

was the fact that it flattered the principles of the new reformation. Divine providence was admired, which, according to their opinion preserved the holy writings even from the smallest mistakes. But it was not understood that this so much admired providence had only its foundation in the superstition and in the chimeras of the rabbis, with which the two Buxtorfs filled their books. Cappellus, combining with the study of the rabbins also that of the ancient translators, went in an entirely opposite direction and proved clearly that the opinion of the elder Buxtorf, which was also defended by his son, was only based upon the void imaginations of the rabbis. In fact, Buxtorf's refutation of Cappellus' work contains nothing but a vain Jewish erudition, from which no inferences can be drawn."

¹ These are his words: "Sunt qui punctata Biblia Sacra credunt a Sapientibus Tiberiensibus. Ego impudentiam Judaeorum qui fabulam invenerunt, non miror; Christianorum credulitatem miror qui applaudunt.... et si punctata fuisse Biblia in istius modi schola potes credere, crede et omnia Talmudica. Opus Spiritus sancti sapit punctatio Bibliorum, non opus hominum perditorum, excoecatorum, amentium." *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae in quatuor Evangelistas cum tractatibus chorographis singulis evangelistae suo praemisit*, ed. Carpov, Lipsiae, 1743, p. 142 sq.

² Briggs, *Biblical Study*, p. 142.

³ *Prolegomena* edidit Dathe, Lipsiae, 1777, p. 130.

⁴ l. c., p. 207.

⁵ Quoted from Briggs, l. c., p. 145 sq.

of the Massorites, they thereupon inferred that the text without the points might be taken in divers senses, and that none were tyed to the reading of the Rabbins, and therefore concluded that the Scripture is ambiguous and doubtful without the interpretation and testimony of the Church, so that all must flee to the authority of the Church and depend upon her for the true sense and meaning of the Scriptures. On the other side, some Protestants, fearing that some advantage might be given to the *Romanists* by this *concession* and not considering how the *certainly* of the *Scriptures* might well be maintained though the Text were *unpointed*, instead of denying the *consequence*, which they might well have done, thought fit rather to deny the *assumption* and to maintain that the *points* were of *divine original*, whereby they involved themselves in extreme labyrinths, engaging themselves in defence of that which might be easily proved to be false, and thereby wronged the cause which they seemed to defend. Others, therefore, of more *learning* and *judgment*, knowing that this *position of the divine original* of the *points* could not be made good; and that the truth needed not the patronage for an *untruth*, would not engage themselves therein, but granted it to be true, that the *points* were invented by the *Rabbins*, yet denied the *consequence*, maintaining, notwithstanding, that the reading and sense of the text might be *certain* without *punctuation*, and that therefore the *Scriptures* did not at all depend upon the authority of the *Church*; and of this judgment were the chief *Protestant Divines*, and greatest *linguists* that then were, or have been since in the *Christian world*, such as I named before; Luther, Zwinglius, Calvin, Beza, Musculus, Brentius, Pellicane, Oecolampadius, Mercer, Piscator, P. Phagius, Drusius, Schindler, Martinius, Scaliger, De Dieu, Casaubon, Erpenius, Sixt. Amana, Jac. and Ludov. Cappellus, Grotius, etc.—among ourselves, Archbishop Usher, Bishop Prideaux, Mr. Mead, Mr. Seldon, and innumerable others, whom I forbear to name, who conceived it would nothing disadvantage the cause, to yield that proposition, for that they could still make it good, that the Scripture was in itself a *sufficient* and *certain* rule for faith and life, not depending upon any human authority to support it."

There were still not wanting some who defended the antiquity of the vowel-points, as Joseph Cooper,¹ Samuel Clarke,² Whitefeld,³ John Gill,⁴ who wrote in defence of Owen and against Walton, and James Robertson,⁵ but it must be

¹ *Domus Mosaeae clavis, sive legis septimentum in quo punctorum Hebraeorum adstruitur antiquitas* etc. Londini, 1673. For the full title see Rosenmüller, l. c., p. 583.

² *An Exercitation concerning the Original of the Chapters and Verses in the Bible wherein the divine authority of the Points in the Hebrew Text is clearly proved by new and intrinsic arguments*, London, 1698.

³ *A Dissertation on the Hebrew vowel-points*, etc., Liverpool, 1748.

⁴ *A dissertation concerning the antiquity of the Hebrew language*, etc., London, 1767.

⁵ *Dissertatio de genuina Punctum Vocalium Hebraeorum Antiquitate, contra Cappellum, Waltonum*, etc., prefixed to his "*Clavis Pentateuchi*," Edinburgh, 1770.

admitted that Walton's work decided the battle in England in favor of the anti-vowellists.

On the Continent the Buxtorfs were followed by *Wasmuth*,¹ *Aug. Pfeiffer*,² *Loescher*,³ *J. G. Carpzov*,⁴ and others.⁵ The latter like Gerhard made it a matter of faith to believe in the inspiration of the vowel-points. All these—with very few exceptions⁶—had entered the lists in support of Buxtorf, whose adherents in Switzerland exalted his views to a confessional article of belief in the *Formula Consensus*,⁷ so that a law was enacted in 1678 that no person should be licensed to preach the gospel in their churches unless he publicly declared that he believed in the integrity of the Hebrew text and in the divinity of the vowel-points and accents. This was the first and only time in the symbols of the church that the doctrine of *verbal* inspiration, together with the inspiration of accents and points, had been asserted, thus making the Old Testament dependent on the synagogue.⁸ The vindication of the antiquity of the vowel-points shows a great dependence on rabbinic traditions which had entered with the seemingly Christian interest into an alliance, which is still existing. In general it may be said that criticism and research had confirmed the arguments of Levita-Cappellus against the antiquity of the present vowel-points. This view was also held during the 18th century by *Cotta*,⁹ *Vater*,¹⁰ and others, whereas the efforts of *Spitzner*,¹¹ *Bucher*,¹² *Clemm*,¹³ *Tychsen*,¹⁴ *Ibenthal*,¹⁵ etc.¹⁶ to prove the antiquity of the vowels and accents, appear like anachronisms at the threshold of the 19th century.

An intermediate course, proceeding on the assumption that there had been a simpler system of vowel-marks, either by three original vowels or by diacritic

¹ *Vindictae Sacrae Scripturae* (being the third part of *Hebraeus facillit et integritat suas restitutus*), Kiel, 1664, against Walton.

² *Critica Sacra*, Lipsiae, 1688, against Helmont, *Delineatio Alphabeti naturalis Ebr.*, Sulzbach, 1667; cf. Pfeiffer, p. 95 sq.

³ *De causis linguae Ebraeae*, Lipsiae, 1706 against Stephen Morinus (*Exercitationes de lingua primæva ejusque appendicibus*, Utrecht, 1694), p. 293. Loescher devotes also an entire chapter to the "hostes Ebraismi" (p. 173-185).

⁴ He wrote against Wilh. Goerée *Antiquitates Jud.* I c. 8 in his *Critica Sacra* (Lipsiae, 1748), p. 286 sq.

⁵ Mich. Walther, Leusden, Leydecker, Vitringa; cf. also Rosenmüller, l. c., p. 584 sq.

⁶ Theodor Hackspan († 1659) makes an honorable exception among Lutheran theologians.

⁷ Art. iv. can. II: "Hebraicum Vet. Test. codicem tum quod consonas, tum quoad vocalia, sive puncta ipsa sive punctorum saltem potestatem θεόπνευστον esse."

⁸ Briggs, l. c., p. 144.

⁹ *Exercitatio Historico-Critica de Origine Masorae Punctorumque Vet. Test. Hebraicorum*, Tübing. 1728.

¹⁰ *Hebräische Sprachlehre*, Leipzig, 1797.

¹¹ *Vindictae originis et auctoritatis divinae punctorum vocalium et accentuum in libris Vet. Test.*, Lipsiae, 1791; cf. Rosenmüller, l. c., p. 582.

¹² *Beweis des Glaubensartikels*, Jene, 1769.

¹³ *Theologische Untersuchung*, Tübingen, 1758.

¹⁴ *Ueber das hohe Alter des hebräischen Puncte* in Eichhorn's *Repertorium* III, p. 102 sq.

¹⁵ *Beweis dass der Ursprung der Selbstlauter u. Tonzeichen in der hebräischen Sprache göttlich*, Hamburg, 1771.

¹⁶ See Rosenmüller, l. c., 580-587.

points was opened up by *Rivet*¹ and was pursued by *Schultens*,² *Joh. Day. Michaelis*,³ *Dupuy*,⁴ *Matth. Norberg*,⁵ *Trendelenburg*,⁶ *Eichhorn*,⁷ and others. But modern research and criticism have confirmed the arguments of *Levitae Cappellus* against the antiquity of the present vowel-signs, and "so far as the Old Testament is concerned, the theory of *Buxtorf*, *Heidegger*, *Turretine*, *Voetius*, *Owen*, and the *Zurich Consensus*, as to vowel-points and accents, has been so utterly disproved that no biblical scholar of the present day would venture to defend them."⁸

¹ *Isagoge seu Introductio Generalis Vet. et Novi Test.*, Leyden, 1627, viii, 15, 104.

² *Institut. Linguae Hebr.*, Leyden, 1737, praef. p. 48, 62 sq.

³ *Vermischte Schriften*, Frankfort, 1769, pars 2.

⁴ *Dissertation philologique et critique sur les voyelles de la langue Hebraïque* in "Histoire de l'academie royale des inscriptions et belles lettres" etc. Tome 36, Paris 1776, p. 230-291 (German translation in *Eichhorn's "Repertorium für biblische und morgenländische Literatur,"* vol. II. no. xi, p. 270 sq. under the title *Von den Vocalen in der hebräischen Handschrift des Hieronymus*).

⁵ *Dissertatio de Hebraeorum vocalibus*, Lund. 1784.

⁶ *Einige aus dem Hebräischen selbst hergenommene Gründe für das ehemalige Daseyn dreier Vocale* in *Eichhorn's Repertorium*, xviii, no. II, p. 78-117.

⁷ *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Göttingen, 1823, vol. I, p. 243.

⁸ *Briggs*, l. c., p. 156.

THE PENTATEUCHAL QUESTION. IV. EX. 13-DEUT. 34.

BY PROFESSOR W. HENRY GREEN,

Princeton Theological Seminary.

B. Num. 10-Deut. 34.

SECTION XVII. NUMBERS 10:29-17:28.

1. Chapter 10:29-36.

The divisive critics tell us that 10:29-36 cannot be by the same writer as the preceding part of the chapter, which they assign to P; but they are not agreed whether these verses are themselves all from one pen. Schrader and Kayser refer them indistinguishably to J. Knobel separates vs. 29-32 from vs. 33-36, assigning these paragraphs respectively to the two distinct sources, from which he supposes that J drew his materials. Vatke and Kittel give vs. 29-32 to J and vs. 33-36 to E; Kuenen does the same, though with some hesitation as to the latter paragraph which he pronounces of uncertain origin, though more or less probably belonging to E. According to Dillman v. 33a is from E, v. 34 has been worked over by R, the rest is from J. Wellhausen, Kautsch, and Driver give the whole to JE, supposing that J and E are here so blended that it is vain to attempt to separate them.

The complaint is made that the paragraphs above mentioned are disconnected, having no necessary connection with each other or with what precedes and follows. One contains a statement about Hobab, the other about the ark, neither of which is indispensable to the current of the narrative. But the fact that a statement might be omitted without sensibly impairing the continuity of a narrative is no proof that it is a later insertion and not an original constituent of the passage. Nothing is subsequently said of the people being guided by Hobab or the ark in their journey through the wilderness. But that is no reason why they should not be mentioned here. On the contrary, if the writer wished his readers to understand once for all how this march was conducted, this is the appropriate place at which to introduce them, just as the march from Sinai was beginning.

And so far from there being a lack of connection, as is charged, these verses stand in an intimate relation to the preceding and following context, as well as to one another. Verse 28a sums up the antecedent paragraph, vs. 12-27 (see Dill.); what follows is introductory to v. 29 and formally links it to that which goes before. Strictly rendered it reads as in R. V. "And they set forward and Moses said unto Hobab." Kautsch correctly paraphrases it "When they set forward

Moses said etc." The preceding verses are occupied by a statement in detail of the "setting forward"* of the host, the same word being used throughout of the movement of the entire people and of each separate division. Now it is stated that when they "set forward," Moses requested Hobab to accompany them. It is difficult to see how this incident could be more directly linked to what precedes. Dillman admits that v. 29 is thus attached to v. 12a, but he claims that this connection was formed by R because he was about to introduce another account of the march from Sinai. His view is that all that P says of the journey from Sinai to Paran is contained in vs. 11,12. J has a fuller and more detailed account 10:29-12:16, which R inserts in immediate connection with it, 10:13-28 being a later interpolation. But there is not the slightest reason for assuming two separate accounts from distinct sources, or any interpolation. The writer first states at the outset in a summary way, v. 12, as he is in the habit of doing, cf. Gen. 31:18, 23 sqq., Ex. 4:20 sqq., the destination as well as the starting point of the journey, making mention at the same time of the orderly way in which it was conducted, and then proceeds to give in detail the particulars of note, which occurred on the route.

The reason alleged for regarding 10:14-28 as an interpolation is that it is a needless repetition of what has already been said in ch. 2, and that there are remarkable deviations from it in certain particulars. The arrangements for the march are prescribed in detail in ch. 2; it is declared in ch. 10 that these directions were punctually obeyed when the time came for carrying them into effect. Moreover it is to be observed that the tense of the verbs throughout this passage, vs. 17-28, is suggestive of habitual action, showing that the order here described was observed not only when they first broke up from Sinai, but on all subsequent occasions likewise. Like repetitions abound in similar cases cf. Ex. 25 sqq. with 35 sqq. The alleged discrepancy is no discrepancy at all, but only the introduction of a particular not before referred to. In 2:17 the Levites are spoken of in general, and their place assigned them in the line of march. In ch. 4 the special functions of the three several families of Levites in the transportation of the Sanctuary are more minutely described. In precise correspondence with this the two families of Gershon and Merari, charged with the transportation of the various parts of the structure itself, set forward bearing the Tabernacle, 10:17, precisely in that part of the line, which is indicated for it in 2:17. The family of Kohath entrusted with the carriage of the sacred vessels followed in a later portion of the line for the reason given 10:21. This could not have been mentioned in

* The English reader will see in the R. V. as close an approximation as our idiom will permit to the unvarying repetition, with which "set forward" is used throughout this entire passage. This is obscured in the A. V. by the substitution of "took their journey" vs. 12,13, "went" v. 14, "journeying" v. 29, "departed," "went" v. 33, "went" v. 34.

the comprehensive statement 2:17 without anticipating directions, which were first given in ch. 4.*

It is charged that the request here made of Hobab, that he would accompany Israel because of his superior knowledge of the wilderness is inconsistent with 9:17 sqq., according to which all their movements were directed by the supernatural cloud. Here it is said are two different conceptions; one, that they were immediately guided by the Lord himself; another, that they were dependent upon human knowledge and skill for direction. But the divine help afforded did not supersede the use of such means as were within reach. Though led by the cloud, Hobab's eyes might be of real service in selecting the best path by which to follow it through mountain defiles or over rough and broken ground in the trackless waste which they were to traverse, and in ordering the encampment to the best advantage in respect of wood and water and their various necessities, where the cloud bid them halt. This combination of divine agency with second causes affords a frequent pretext to the critics for a partition of the text, which is as groundless in every other instance of the sort, as it is here. The author of the Pentateuch in its present form plainly saw no contrariety in conceptions, which he so frequently conjoins. It is a wholly unfounded assumption that they must have originated separately in different minds, and have been subsequently brought together as we now find them by a Redactor. Moreover, if 10:29-32 is so at variance with 9:17 sqq., that these cannot be by the same writer, does it accord any better with Ex. 18:21,22, Num. 14:14, to the writer of which it is proposed to assign this paragraph? If the critics see no discordance in the latter case, such as to infer diversity of authorship, they surely need not complain of any in the former.

Neither is any difficulty created by the mention of "Hobab the son of Reuel the Midianite Moses' father-in-law," who had been previously spoken of both by his proper name Reuel Ex. 2:18, and by his priestly title Jethro = His Excellency Ex. 3:1, 18:1. The only apparent difficulty arises from the ambiguity of the Hebrew term here used to denote affinity or relationship by marriage, which may be rendered indifferently father-in-law or brother-in-law. In the former sense it is applied to Jethro (or Reuel) Ex. 3:1, and in the latter to his son Hobab Judg. 4:11. It has been alleged that J here gave a different version of Jethro's visit to Moses recorded Ex. 18, making it occur at the time of Israel's departure from Sinai instead of their arrival there, and stating that at its close instead of returning home he was persuaded by Moses to accompany him through the desert; and that this paragraph is an extract from J's account. It seems to be easy enough for the critics to create contradictions, which have no foundation whatever in the

* Dillman further urges בְּרֵאשִׁית vs. 13,14, alleging that P uniformly writes רֵאשִׁית instead, as Lev. 5:8, Num. 2:9, Josh. 21:10. But if J can write both בְּרֵאשִׁית Gen. 13:4, Josh. 8:5,6, and רֵאשִׁית Gen. 23:2, 28:28, why may not a similar liberty be accorded to P?

sacred text, and rest only on their own gratuitous assumptions. Even if Jethro and Hobab were the same person, his return home a year before, as is distinctly stated Ex. 18:27, would be no bar to his being in Israel's vicinity again at this time, being, as he was, the head of a roving tribe. But if, as we have seen reason to believe, (see HEBRAICA; VII. 2, p. 119) Jethro was Hobab's father, the critical assumption becomes not only baseless but absurd. That such an interview as is here recorded actually took place and issued in Hobab and his clan going with Israel to Canaan, is confirmed by Judg. 1:1; 44:11.

The allegation that J's account has been curtailed by R, who omitted Hobab's affirmative answer, as Dillman suggests, because it was incompatible with 9:17 sqq., is another instance of a discrepancy which exists only in the critic's imagination. He conjectures that if we were only in possession of J's document in full, we might have found something there, which did not agree with P. We need be in no haste to offer an explanation, however, until the missing passage is produced. It will be enough to say that if R thought that Hobab's acquiescence in the proposal was sufficiently plain from the fact that he does not repeat his original declinature, why may not J or whoever it was who wrote this passage in the first instance, have thought the same? There is no need, consequently, of supposing that anything has been omitted.*

With the next paragraph vs. 33-36 the journey from Sinai properly begins, and the first station is reached after a three days' march. This is necessary to explain their arrival at Taberah 11:1-8, of which no other account is given. The name of the station is not mentioned v. 33 as that was given in consequence of what took place after they came there. The intimacy of the connection is confessed by the critics who would sunder v. 33a from its immediate context and attach it directly to 11:1. But vs. 33b-36, though somewhat parenthetical, contain statements which are quite appropriate in this place. The position regularly assigned to the sacred vessels in the line of march is stated 10:21, but here an exception is made in the case of the ark, which as the symbol of the divine presence preceded the host at this time. "The people went forward a three days' journey, and the ark went before them a three days' journey." The absence of the definite article in the concluding phrase has been gravely commented upon, as though it evinced that these clauses did not originally belong together, or that "three days' journey" had been interpolated in the second. It is plain enough that neither inference is warranted. As an illustration of the extraordinary con-

* It has been said that *וְהָיָה* vs. 29, 32, *וּמוֹלֶרֶתִי* v. 30, *כִּי עַל כֵּן* v. 31 are characteristic of J; but when it is considered that these expressions have been constituted marks of J, and the critical partition conducted on this basis, and further that the great bulk of the narrative is given to J or E, it is not difficult to account for the absence of these terms from P. It might with as much propriety be argued that, inasmuch as the phrase *וְהָיָה עִינֵיכֶם לַיהוָה* is only found here and in Job 29:15 in the whole Old Testament, therefore this passage was written by the author of the book of Job.

clusions which critics are capable of drawing from the simplest expressions it may be mentioned that Nöldeke here remarks that the ark to all appearance was not carried but went forward by a miraculous movement of its own, and Wellhausen adds that no Tabernacle is spoken of in these verses, whence he infers that none existed then.

When the ark is spoken of in connection with the Tabernacle or its contents, it is commonly called the ark of the testimony, as the Tabernacle is sometimes called the Tabernacle of the testimony. But here and elsewhere when separate from the other sacred vessels it is called by a title suggestive of its relation to the people at large, the ark of the covenant. That these designations are not indicative of diversity of authorship appears from their occurring together in the same connection Josh. 4:16,18. In v. 34 we find "cloud" instead of "pillar of cloud" which J is supposed to prefer; Dillman explains that R has here tampered with the text and substituted an expression of P for that of J; but why this should be done in this particular instance he does not inform us.

2. Chapter 11.

This chapter records the occurrence at Taberah, the sending of the quails and the plague at Kibroth-hattaavah, and the setting apart of the seventy elders. The critics complain of a want of connection in its several parts, but are widely at variance in their attempts to remedy it. Driver gives up the critical partition as hopeless, and says "Chapter 11 appears to show marks of composition, though, as is often the case in JE, the data do not exist for separating the sources employed with confidence." Knobel assigns vs. 1-3 and vs. 4-35 severally to the two primary sources, from which he supposes J to have drawn. The majority of subsequent critics agree with him in sundering vs. 1-3 from its immediate context, but while he concedes the unity of the rest of the chapter, others carve it up each in his own peculiar fashion.

It is objected that 11:1 does not connect directly with 10:36, which is obvious enough, and for the simple reason that 10:33b-36 is not indeed an extract from a different source, but a parenthesis which it is entirely natural and proper for the writer to introduce in this place, while the direct line of the narrative begun in 10:33a is continued in 11:1. This is what took place at the end of the three days' journey there spoken of. It is not stated why the people complained, but this is no proof that the passage has been mutilated. It may have been purposely left indefinite, or it may have been the writer's design to intimate that the ground of complaint was the same that is dwelt upon in the next paragraph. That these verses cannot be sundered from those that follow is plain, because "among them" v. 4 finds its only antecedent in "the people" vs. 1,2, and "wept again" is only explicable as an allusion to the preceding complaint. The fact that vs. 1-3 occurred at Taberah and vs. 4-34 at Kibroth-hattaavah, whereas there is no mention

of the people journeying from one to the other, and that in 88:16 Kibroth-hattaavah is the first station after Sinai, does not require the assumption that two different narratives are here pieced together, in one of which Taberah was the first station reached, and in the other Kibroth-hattaavah. The explanation is simple. These are not two different stations, but the very same. One extremity of the encampment where the fire broke out v. 1 bore the one name v. 3; the plague which raged throughout the camp, was commemorated in the other name given to the entire station. It is confessed that it was so understood by the author of the narrative in its present form, and there is no reason to depart from his view of the case.

The complaint that there was nothing to eat but "this manna" v. 6 implies that it had been before spoken of, as it is in Ex. 16. But as it had been described on its first appearance Ex. 16:14,³¹ Dillmann maintains that another description here is quite unnecessary, so that vs. 7-9 cannot be by J the author of v. 6, but must have been taken from E's narrative* of the original gift of manna, which R inserted here because he could find no other suitable place for it. But if R thought fit to introduce this passage in this place, it is difficult to see why it may not have been originally written for this connection. Kuenen has no difficulty in ascribing vs. 7-9 to the writer of the preceding verses. And indeed the ingratitude of the people for this divine gift furnished a fit occasion for bringing freshly and more fully before his readers the character and excellency of that which was so shamefully despised.

A more serious critical contention, however, is that the narrative of the quails and that of the appointment of the seventy elders were originally quite independent of each other. Wellhausen plumply says that famine among the people could not awaken in Moses the wish for assistants in his public duties. And to rid himself of the explicit statement in the text that it was this emergency which gave occasion to the selection of these coadjutors he tears asunder Moses' earnest petition forced from him by his crushing burden, as though vs. 11-13 stood in no relation to vs. 14,15. Kuenen more shrewdly still sunders out v. 14 from the rest of the petition and makes it the sole preliminary to the choice of the seventy elders which follows. But the cry for relief runs through the entire prayer and is as obvious in vs. 11,12 as in v. 14 itself. The "narrow interpretation" of vs. 11,12, to which Wellhausen attributes the blending of incongruous narratives is the only interpretation which the words will admit, or the logic of the situation allow. Accordingly Dillmann concedes that the appointment of the seventy elders is called for by vs. 11-15 and is an appropriate answer to Moses' prayer, but he insists that this is loosely connected with the subsequent narrative of the actual gift of the quails and the resulting plague vs. 31-34, because in it the elders are not mentioned. And he might have added, neither is Moses mentioned

* The account of the manna in Ex. 16 is divided between P and J; vs. 7-9 is assumed to be a fragment from another hypothetical account by E.

in those verses. They were to assist Moses; and that they rendered him efficient aid in upholding his hands and easing his burdens then and afterwards cannot be doubted; though the historian has not thought it necessary to record the particulars.

In the beginning of this century DeWette ventured the supposition (*Beiträge*, II., p. 345) that the setting apart of the seventy elders and the appointment of judges to relieve Moses in Ex. 18 might perhaps be only variant traditions of the same thing. More recent critics treat this identification as if it were an established fact. And this notwithstanding the total disparity of the two cases. The only point that they have in common is that both were designed to assist Moses, but in entirely distinct matters. One was for the settlement of judicial strifes between individuals; the other to support Moses in his influence over the people at large and his endeavors to uphold the divine authority among them. In the one case heads were appointed over each subdivision of the people, rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens, making in the aggregate a vast number of subordinate officials; in the other there was only a delegation of 70 men. The positions taken by the critics make it difficult for them to decide to whom to assign this narrative. The reference to the elders is held to be sufficient of itself to exclude P. E is the reputed author of its variant in Ex. 18. Though blended with the account of the quails, which is referred to J, it stands in no relation to it. Wellhausen alleges that vs. 14-17, 24b-29, which record the institution of the seventy elders, are not by P, J, or E, but are an interpolation subsequent to the time of Isaiah, since in the development of religious thought the notion that civil rulers must have the spirit of prophecy could only have arisen at a very late period. But this hypothesis of interpolations, to which Wellhausen is prone to resort, is regarded by other critics as purely evasive and tending too strongly toward the antiquated fragmentary hypothesis to be admissible. Kuenen assigns these verses with a slight modification of their limits not to E in its original form, but to a Judæan edition of E, the Judæan editor being so intent on exalting the spirit of prophecy as to be regardless of the consistency of the document, and to introduce a variant story of what had already been related in another place. Dillmann scouts the idea of successive editions of the documents as merely the product of embarrassment, and holds that the entire paragraph vs. 11-29, embracing both the quails and the elders, is from J; only these were quite separate when originally written and belonged to different portions of the history and they have been improperly combined by R. But as there is not the slightest proof that the seventy elders were appointed on any other occasion than that to which they are here referred, he suggests as an alternative that perhaps the stories of the quails and the elders belonged together after all, only R has omitted the statement of what was done by the elders at and after the quails were sent. But if R thought the narrative complete without the statement

that Dillmann misses, why may not the original writer have been of the same opinion? So that after all this critical pother, the reasons given for sundering this closely connected narrative prove to be of no account.

The critics still further urge that the narrative of the quails, even after the separation of the elders from it, is still composite and incoherent. It is said that vs. 18-20 do not agree with vs. 31-33. Direction is given to the people to sanctify themselves, but it is not stated that this was done. They are told that they shall have flesh for a whole month, until they loathe it, but it might seem as though the plague overtook them before such a period had passed, or they had time to weary of this food. But the author of the Pentateuch like every other writer is entitled to presume upon the intelligence of his readers, and to leave some things unsaid which are sufficiently obvious without remark. Thus 10:29 he introduces Moses speaking to Hobab without any previous statement that the latter had come to the camp; so too Hobab's assent to Moses' proposal is left to be inferred. In 11:24 Moses is said to have gathered the seventy elders with no suggestion that two were missing, which, however, was the case as we learn from a subsequent verse. Gen. 35:2 Jacob bids his family to purify themselves and change their garments; it is to be presumed that they did so, though it is not so stated. There is the same presumption in the present instance. The immense number of the quails is remarked upon vs. 31,32, which was sufficient to satisfy the conditions of vs. 19,20. And v. 33 does not mean that the plague came upon them when they first began to partake of the quails, as the English Version might be understood to imply "while the flesh was yet between their teeth, ere it was chewed;" the proper rendering is "ere it was finished," see Dillmann *in loc.* The supply was not exhausted, when the penalty came. There is nothing to hinder us from believing that all was accomplished which had been foretold; that they had fed on this provision for a month to repletion and disgust.

Kuenen is so far from seeing any discrepancy between vs. 18-24a and vs. 31, 32, that he ascribes all these verses alike to Rj who enlarged and embellished the primitive narrative by this addition. This is falling back upon DeWette's early notion that the miracles in Numbers are simply exaggerations of those recorded in Exodus. P's account of the quails Ex. 16:13 is very simple, whereas here it is enormously enlarged. But the whole situation is different. All the transactions at Sinai had taken place in the interval. God had given Israel his law amid the grandest manifestations of his majesty and greatness, had ratified his covenant with them, established his dwelling in the midst of them, and instituted the ordinances of worship. Prior to the arrival at Sinai the Lord manifested the utmost forbearance in the murmurings of the people, and granted a gracious supply to all their wants. But now after a year's pupilage their murmurings assumed a very different aspect and were dealt with in a summary manner. When they complained of the lack of food on first leaving Egypt, manna and

quails were mercifully sent; but now quails are sent in anger to an ungrateful and rebellious people, until they are gorged to repletion and the plague ensues. The total change of conditions shows that these cannot possibly be variant accounts of the same event, the one merely an exaggeration of the other. Moreover, as Ranke pertinently asks, in what respect does this oversupply of quails on a single occasion exceed in marvellousness a daily supply of manna for forty years? Ex. 16:35.

The close correspondence between the middle clause of v. 32 and Ex. 16:18 leads Dillmann to suspect that it has been incorporated here from P. "The cloud" 11:25 instead of "pillar of cloud" is explained by the supposition that R has here again inserted a phrase of P, see also 12:5,10, where these phrases are interchanged. "According to their families" is elsewhere claimed as a P phrase, but is evidently here in place; *לָקַט* *gather*, v. 8, *מִשָּׁא* *burden*, vs. 11,17, *בָּלָא* *forbid*, v. 28, *מְעַט* *be little* are regarded as P words; and the number 600,000 v. 21 is drawn from P, see Ex. 12:37, Num. 2:32. Such interminglings of expressions which the critics are in the habit of ascribing to distinct writers are no proof that R has been tampering with the text, nor that something has been inserted from other parallel accounts. They simply show that these critical criteria of different writers are not really such.

3. Chapter 12.

The critics affect to doubt where the events of this chapter took place. The locality is clearly fixed by the immediately preceding and following statements, 11:35, 12:16. If the narrative is sundered from these, of course it hangs in mid-air; but this fact of itself shows that the critical severance is unjustifiable. For as a rule those places only are mentioned in the narrative where some noticeable event occurred; so that the arrival at a station is introductory to the recital of what took place there. And in this case the peculiarity in the form of expression—"they were in Hazeroth" instead of the current phrase "they pitched there"—is induced by an allusion to the delay to which they were subjected 12:15. Wellhausen objects that this event stood in no special relation to Hazeroth, and might as well have occurred anywhere else. This station did not indeed like the preceding derive its name from what was transacted there; but there is not the slightest ground for separating what the historian has joined together.

Dillmann, who undertakes to discriminate between the diction of J and E with a sharpness, that other critics admit to be impracticable, finds the peculiar terms of both in this chapter, and hence infers as usual that two accounts have been blended together; which he further seeks to fortify by alleging a doublet in vs. 4,5, which however are not parallel but successive; and that v. 9a is inappropriately placed and should immediately follow v. 9, whereas it is exactly in

place as the antecedent of v. 9; and the unusual combination rendered "only" v. 2, which nevertheless is justified by the special stress thrown upon that particle. He further imagines that, while in J's account Aaron and Miriam were associated in opposition to Moses, E represented Miriam alone as guilty, and that hence the penalty fell exclusively upon her. This shows how easy it is for a critic to invent his facts. That Miriam was the chief aggressor is intimated by the precedence given to her v. 1, instead of the natural and customary order vs. 4,5. Aaron's guilt is betrayed both by his confession and the apprehension awakened by the fate of his sister vs. 10,11.

Wellhausen charges that the reference to Zipporah v. 1 is apocryphal; that in the first place it is inconsistent with the more natural reason assigned for their conduct v. 2; but why may not a pretext have been added to another and more serious ground? And secondly that only a very late age could have taken offence at Moses' having a foreign wife; the older sources never spoke of Zipporah as a Cushite and they regarded Moses' alliance with the priest of Sinai as a high honor. But, apart from the question which might be raised whether Zipporah is the wife here intended, Dillman aptly shows the futility of the objection to what can be no other than genuinely ancient. For how could a later writer, who knew Zipporah only from statements in other passages, have converted her into a Cushite or have introduced this censure upon intermarriage with a foreigner only to be repelled as foolish by the Lord?

In v. 4 Moses, Aaron and Miriam are bidden to come out unto the Tabernacle; in 11:26 those who remained in the camp are contrasted with those who went out to the Tabernacle, and in v. 30 Moses returning from the Tabernacle is said to have re-entered the camp, cf. 12:14,15. It is claimed that in the conception of these passages the Tabernacle was located altogether outside of the camp, contrary to ch. 2 which places it in the center of the host. But this is an unwarranted inference from expressions which readily admit a different interpretation, and one in harmony with the uniform representation of all other passages relating to the subject. The camp was a vast hollow square with the Tabernacle in the centre and the tribes arranged about it, leaving of course a respectful distance between the house of God and the tents of men. In approaching the Sanctuary it was necessary to go out from the place occupied by the tents and traverse the open space which intervened between them and the Tabernacle. Only once, when God was alienated from Israel by the sin of the golden calf, was this estrangement indicated by putting the (provisional) Tabernacle on the outside of the camp and at a great distance from it Ex. 33:7. But the narrative of this transaction clearly shows its exceptional character. And the attempt to make it appear that this is a variant representation of the customary location of the Tabernacle throughout the journeyings in the wilderness is in acknowledged contradiction to the explicit statements of the passage in which it is found.

Knobel fancies that he discovers an additional departure from Levitical requirements in 12:5, which he interprets to mean that Miriam had been in the Tabernacle, which only priests were permitted to enter, and that she now came out. But as Dillmann correctly explains, she and Aaron came from the camp to the Tabernacle in obedience to the Lord's repeated summons.

The question that is raised by v. 3 is not one of critical partition but of Mosaic authorship. Can such self-laudation be attributed to Moses? In the first place it is very remarkable that this is the only passage in the Pentateuch, that is open to such an objection. Ex. 11:3 simply records a notorious fact. Deut. 34:10 written after Moses' death suggests how admirably he would have been spoken of on various occasions by another than himself. It is also pertinent to observe that the sacred writers were so profoundly impressed with the thought that all that was good in them was due to God's almighty grace, that they speak of what God has wrought in them or done by them with no feeling of vain glory or self-exaltation. So that Paul who counted himself the least of the apostles and not meet to be called an apostle, could yet say without the least rising of pride "I labored more abundantly than they all; yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me," 1 Cor. 15:9,10. And when false and disparaging charges were made in order to weaken the apostolic authority, with which the Lord had invested him, he did not hesitate to claim in his own defence that he was not a whit behind the very chiefest apostles, 1 Cor. 11:5, and to recite with no intent of self-glorification his labors and sacrifices and the visions and revelations with which he had been favored. The inspired penmen are as far from depreciating themselves with false modesty, as from arrogating to themselves more than their due. They speak of their faults and of their good qualities with equal impartiality and frankness. Why may not Moses in like manner under the extreme provocations to which he was subjected again and again not by the refractory people merely, but by those from whom such conduct was least to be expected, say here once for all in his own defence that such treatment was utterly unprovoked by him, and that it was borne with extraordinary patience; that he was in fact the meekest of living men. But if it seems to anyone that there is in this more self-assertion than can be imputed to such a man even under such circumstances, why may it not have been added at a later time as a just tribute to the unexampled forbearance of Israel's great leader? Those, whose entire critical scheme involves the assumption of an unlimited number of additions, subtractions, inversions, and transpositions, should be the last to object.

Dillmann strangely says of the claim of Miriam and Aaron that God had spoken with them as well as with Moses, that while Miriam is called a prophetess, nothing of the sort is affirmed of Aaron in the present Pentateuch except in P Ex. 28:30, where he is entrusted with the Urim and Thummim. In a multitude of passages the Lord is said to have spoken to Moses and Aaron. Ex. 6:13; 7:8, etc.

4. Chapters 13,14.

Vater (1805) began the critical onslaught upon these chapters in the interest of the fragmentary hypothesis, observing that while Joshua and Caleb are both spoken of 14:6,30,38, Caleb alone is mentioned 18:30; 14:24. He accordingly inferred that 14:1-10,26 sqq. was a distinct fragment, containing a separate account of the same occurrence that is recorded in the rest of these chapters. Bleek (1861) follows substantially in the same track, only modified into accordance with the supplementary hypothesis, of which he was a zealous advocate. He regards 14:5-10a, 26-38 as an addition to the original narrative by the Jehovist editor, vs. 26-38 being conceived to be parallel and an enlargement of vs. 11-25.

F. H. Ranke's reply* to this proposed partition is complete. The Biblical narrative unfolds itself regularly in five successive sections.

1. 18:1-25 The mission of the spies.
2. 18:26-33 Their evil report, which Caleb vainly opposes.
3. 14:1-10 The rebellion of the people; Joshua and Caleb remonstrate and are threatened with stoning, but rescued by a manifestation of the divine glory.
4. 14:11-25 Jehovah speaks to Moses of destroying the entire people; Moses intercedes on their behalf; Jehovah spares them, but declares that the rebellious people shall not enter Canaan, but Caleb shall.
5. 14:26-35 Moses is bidden to announce to the people that all who were twenty years old at the enumeration, except Caleb and Joshua, shall die in 40 years' wandering in the wilderness.

All is closely connected and proceeds naturally from first to last. But the critical proposal to parcel it between distinct writers and annex No. 3 to 5, and No. 4 to 2 introduces confusion and destroys the proper coherence of the parts. No. 2 deals exclusively with the behavior of the spies. It records no uproar of the people. It contains no justification of the threatening in No. 4 to destroy not the spies but the entire people. No. 5 is intimately related to 3, but still more intimately to 4, inasmuch as it specifies more particularly what is there stated in general, and that in three respects. (1) How the exclusion from Canaan should be effected, viz. by dying in the wilderness. (2) To whom this penalty applies, and to whom not. (3) The duration of the abode in the wilderness. No. 4 is general because its purpose is simply to record Moses' mediation and its effect in mitigating the severity of the punishment of the people. No. 5 is specific because it is the sentence formally pronounced upon the people.

It is plain that if a cleavage of these chapters is to be effected, it must be by a keener and more minute analysis. This Knobel undertook to make, and his determination of P has been followed in the main by critics since. It is an ingenious scheme of cross-readings made out by cutting apart closely connected state-

* *Untersuchungen über den Pentateuch*, II., pp. 190-208.

ments and splicing them together in new combinations with a view of producing two tolerably continuous but discordant narratives.

The selection of the spies 13:1-16, and the general statement that Moses sent them to search the land of Canaan v. 17a, is assigned to P, but the directions which he gave them in so doing vs. 17b-20 are given to the other account, which we may here call JE. JE's account begins abruptly with these directions but with nothing to indicate to whom or on what occasion they were given. The spies traversed the land to its northern limit, noting particularly the Anakim at Hebron and the grapes of Eschol, vs. 21-24. This is sundered by giving v. 21 to P, and vs. 22-24 to JE, thus producing variant accounts, one that they searched the land throughout its entire extent, the other that they advanced no further than Hebron and Eschol; a variance which is wholly due to the severance of what is quite harmonious taken together. The return of the spies vs. 25, 26 is given to P, their report vs. 27-31 to JE, with the result that JE makes no mention of their return, and P has only a partial statement of the report v. 32 instead of the report itself. Later critics have tried with only indifferent success to patch up the former of these difficulties by shreds torn from v. 26. They take out of this verse for JE the words "and they came . . . to Kadesh" (it should be "came back" to meet the requirements of the case) "and brought back word to them" ("them" has no antecedent except in the former part of the verse from which it is here sundered, and moreover it involves a reference to Aaron, which is alleged to be a characteristic of P) "and unto all the congregation" (this too is a word that is always claimed for P). It is quite as impossible to evade the second of the difficulties above alluded to. The proposed division completely mars the structure of the chapter. The report of the spies as a body, and in which all united is first stated vs. 27-29. Then follow the diverse representations, first the quieting assurances of Caleb v. 30, then the discouraging declarations of the others vs. 31-32. But, if v. 32 is linked directly with v. 26 and the intervening verses omitted, "they" must mean the whole number of the spies, which is palpably false and cannot be the meaning of P on the critics' own showing. So that Knobel is obliged to assume that something has been omitted restricting the subject just as is done in the verses which the critics themselves throw out, see v. 31.

Nöldeke proposes a still sharper division by sundering v. 32 and giving the first part to P and the last clause to the other account; in this he is followed by Wellhausen, Dillmann, and Kittel. The effect of this is to introduce a variance between the statements respecting the evil report of the spies; according to P they said that "the land eateth up the inhabitants thereof," which is interpreted to mean that it is unhealthy and breeds fatal diseases; according to JE that the inhabitants were so strong that Israel could not cope with them. It will be observed how completely the narrator is in the power of the critics. By limiting him to a partial statement and shifting the lines of division the representation

which he makes can be varied at will, and divergences can be created where none whatever exist. Moreover it is very doubtful whether this partition, even were it allowed, would have the effect which the critics claim. The interpretation put upon this figurative expression conflicts with its obvious sense in Lev. 26:38, where "the land of your enemies shall eat you up" plainly means that they shall be destroyed by powerful foes. And the context in which it here stands seems to require the same sense. There is no intimation in what follows that the unhealthiness of the region awakened apprehension; it is the conflict with mighty nations that the people dread.

In 14:1-4 the documents are in the opinion of the critics inextricably mixed. In the judgment of Dillmann vs. 1,2 have been worked over by R, and it cannot be determined to whom vs. 2b-4 belong. The trouble is that these verses are needed in any connected account of the transaction. Several conflicting attempts have been made to partition the clauses but it can only be done in defiance of critical tests. "All the congregation" v. 2 is a characteristic phrase of P, but the predicates of the clause are those of JE; v. 2 has several marks of P, but explicit reference is made to its language in vs. 28,29, in which Jehovah swears by his own life, which is a mark of J; and "all the children of Israel" is a mark of E. In this confusion of criteria, instead of acknowledging that these imaginary criteria of distinct writers are not really such, since they are indiscriminately blended in the same paragraph, the critics take refuge as usual in the assumption that R has here meddled with the text instead of leaving it in its original form.

Vs. 5-7 are assigned to P, and vs. 8,9, which continue the words of Joshua and Caleb are torn from their connection and given to JE. This is done partly on the score of diction; "search" vs. 6,7 is a P word, "flowing with milk and honey" is a phrase of JE. The word "search" חָנַן occurs 12 times in these two chapters, and every time it is found in P; but the reason simply is that this is one of the test words, by which the partition was made. Every verse in which it is found is for that reason assigned to P. And this though there is no other word in the chapters which describes the function of the spies. In 10:33 it suited the critics to decide differently and there this word is given to JE. But v. 7 cannot be separated from what follows. It is not sufficient for Joshua and Caleb in this exigency to say "The land is an exceedingly good land." This is no more than all the spies had said, 13:27. It does not touch the point about which the people were agitated. They were afraid of the Anakim and the other enemies which they would have to meet. Hence Joshua and Caleb point them to Jehovah, who will give them the land and who is with them, so that they need not fear the people of the land, who were but "bread" for them, a precise reversal of the figure in 18:32. This distinct allusion of itself annuls a partition, which would refer that verse to P and the verses before us to JE. If Joshua and Caleb do not say what is contained in vs. 8,9 they say nothing to the purpose.

From v. 10 according to Knobel P springs at once to v. 34, which is not only an abrupt transition, but leaves v. 30 in the domain of JE, thus annulling the distinction previously maintained that in P Joshua was one of the spies, but in JE he was not. Nöldeke sought to correct these infelicities by shortening P's leap and assigning to him vs. 10,26-38, with the single exception of v. 31, whose language decides that it must belong to JE. This partition had a show of plausibility in the apparent parallelism between vs. 11 sqq. and vs. 26 sqq., which subsequent critics likewise insist upon, though it is fallacious; the former passage details a strictly private interview between Jehovah and Moses, while the latter is a communication to be made to the people. Wellhausen, however, corrects in one particular the analysis of Nöldeke, by drawing attention to the fact that v. 31 necessarily carries vs. 30 and 32 with it; the emphatic pronoun "ye" in these verses finds its only explanation in the contrast of the "little ones" v. 31, and v. 33 cannot be separated from the preceding; so that vs. 30-33 must be remanded to JE in spite of the circumstance that both Caleb and Joshua occur in v. 30. A fresh discrepancy, however, is created by the severance of vs. 26-29,34-38 P from the preceding paragraph vs. 11-25 JE, viz. that P assigns the term of forty years for the abode in the wilderness while JE does not. The separation of contiguous paragraphs which were intended by the writer to supplement each other, and treating them as though they were independent productions of different writers and hence wholly unrelated, is constantly used by the critics to convert a continuous and harmonious record into discordant and conflicting statements and so to destroy its trustworthiness and historical truth.

The critical partition of ch. 13,14 is thus encumbered with difficulties throughout. And the discrepancies which are urged are without foundation. These concern

(1) the locality from which the spies were sent; (2) the portion of the land which was traversed by them; (3) the presence of Joshua with the spies; (4) the period of wandering in the desert.

(1) It is said that in P the spies were sent from the wilderness of Paran, 13:3; but in JE from Kadesh, 13:26; 32:8, which was in the wilderness of Zin, 20:1; 27:14; 33:36; Deut. 32:51. It is argued, therefore, that according to P the people had not yet reached the wilderness of Zin, but the spies passed through this wilderness, which lay north of Paran and formed the southern boundary of Canaan, on their way to spy out the promised land, v. 21. But Kadesh is explicitly stated to have been that place in the wilderness of Paran, to which the spies returned v. 26; and even if the critics are allowed to sunder this clause as they propose, still we have the authority of R for putting them together, as they here stand. And this there is nothing to contradict. Zin formed the northern border of Paran, so that Kadesh might be indifferently said to be in either.

(2) That the spies did not limit themselves to Hebron and Eschol,* but went through the entire land, is apparent even from the verses assigned to JE. They are directed to enter by the south and go up into the mountain, which is a designation of the mountain land or hill country extending through Palestine from north to south Josh. 11:3, and ascertain about the land and the cities. Such directions respect the land in general, and not merely the trifling district south of Hebron. And in their report vs. 27-29 they give an account of the land and the people and the cities (not one city but many) and the various populations which occupy different sections of the country. Such a report implies that they had acquainted themselves with the land at large, and that they had done precisely what the verses assigned to P declare that they did.

(3) The alleged discrepancy respecting Joshua is frankly given up by Kayser as untenable, because Caleb and Joshua are introduced together in passages which plainly belong to J 14:8,9,30 and 82:12. The only distinction which he recognizes is that P names Joshua before Caleb and J reverses the order. Other critics struggle to fasten this inconsistency upon the text either by including 14:30 in P, as is done by Nöldeke, Schrader, Kuenen, and Vatke notwithstanding Wellhausen's demonstration that this is impracticable; or the same end is accomplished by assigning 14:30 to JE, but insisting that JE is itself composite, and that one of its constituents includes Joshua among the spies and the other does not. Ranke's question is here pertinent, would the critics have us believe that according to one form of Israelitish tradition Joshua was not permitted to enter Canaan, and that this tradition found a place in the very book which records his appointment to be Moses' successor and to effect the conquest and division of Canaan? The critics try to evade this absurd conclusion by saying that Joshua the minister of Moses was held to be too exalted a personage to have been commissioned as one of the spies, too exalted also to be included in the sweep of the sentence which was passed on the mass of the nation. But a sentence which did not spare even Moses and Aaron, would not have spared Joshua if he had not been explicitly exempted.

There is no discrepancy, however, in relation to Joshua being one of the spies. The old maxim *Distingue tempora et concordabit scriptura* finds its application here. The fallacy lies in the critical assumption that 18:30 is parallel to 14:6,7, and is a variant account of the same thing. But this requires a fresh assumption either that R has omitted an account of the popular outbreak which originally preceded 18:30, or else that this verse has been transposed from its true position after 14:4, no one can tell why. But none of these assumptions is necessary. There has been neither omission nor transposition. In the first rendition of the

* Köhler, *Geschichte A. T.*, I., p. 301, needlessly assumes that they only went as far as Hebron and there informed themselves by inquiry respecting the rest of the land as far as Lebanon.

report Caleb alone was the spokesman in opposition to those that discouraged the people, whether from a native boldness and impetuosity like Peter among the apostles, which impelled him to take the lead, or as Matthew Henry suggests, Joshua may have prudently left it to Caleb's management at first, who was of the tribe of Judah, the leading tribe, and therefore fittest to be heard, whereas he would himself have been suspected of partiality to Moses whose minister he was. But whatever was the actuating motive Caleb took the initiative and stood alone against those who brought an evil report. When, however, the people broke out in open rebellion, Joshua and Caleb both did their utmost to quell it. When in answer to Moses' intercession the Lord so far reprieved the people as not to destroy them immediately but to exclude them from Canaan instead, he passed the commendation upon Caleb that he had followed him fully and promised him a possession in the land whither he had gone. And finally when the sentence of wandering in the wilderness till all who were over twenty years of age had perished, the two who had stood bravely for the right were exempted, precedence being accorded to Caleb who had been the first to speak out in opposition to the rest.*

(4) Knobel finds all the narrators in agreement in respect to the forty years' wandering. Dillmann thinks that they seriously disagree, and consequently R was led to modify them materially in his attempt to combine them. That Israel was forty years in the wilderness is attested, as he admits, by the prophet Amos 2:10; 5:25, and was certainly found in P, Num. 26:64; 33:38, and in various passages in Deuteronomy 1:3; 2:7,14; 8:2,4; 29:4, besides being confirmed by Ex. 16:35, Josh. 5:6, Neh. 9:21, Ps. 95:10. But, he says, we have no testimony from E and J except 14:33; 32:13 J; Josh. 14:7,10 E and it is not certain how far these have been worked over, though there is no reason to attribute to them a different view regarding the forty years, the period of a generation, during which a new race grew up in the desert. Nevertheless connecting these forty years with the sentence of God after the spying out of the land seems to have been first worked into

* Dillmann understands the sentence of exclusion from Canaan in a general not in an absolute sense. Knobel says it is altogether improbable that all who came out of Egypt except two perished in the wilderness, and that upon the entry into Canaan no men above sixty years of age were to be found among the Israelites but Joshua and Caleb. And he refers particularly to Eleazar the son of Aaron, who was made a priest in the second year of the exodus Ex. 28:1, Num. 8:3,4 and advanced to a high position Num. 8:32; 4:16. At his consecration he must have been more than twenty years old, for his father was already eighty-four Ex. 7:7, and the Levites did not enter upon their functions till they were thirty Num. 4:3. It is possible that the Levites were not contemplated in the sentence pronounced upon the people at large, which in its terms respected those who were included in the preceding census, 14:29, which the Levites were not, 2:33. Their position was peculiar. Each of the other tribes was represented in the spies, but Levi was not, 13:4 sqq. Nevertheless there is no proof that Eleazar was above the specified age. His older brothers accompanied their father and the elders of Israel upon an occasion in which Eleazar might have been expected also to take part, if he had been of age, Ex. 24:1. The burdens allotted to the Levites made it essential that they should be of full age, but the service of the priests was not onerous. No age is fixed for the priests in the Pentateuch; at a much later time it was twenty.

E and J by R and Rd in imitation of P and D. E. Meyer* is much more thoroughgoing. He limits J to 18:17b,19,22,28,29. And from this partition he concludes that J knows of no forty years' wandering nor of any pusillanimity on the part of the people or alarm at the giants. Immediately after sending the spies they depart to undertake the conquest. The only object of the story of the spies is to explain why Caleb settled in Hebron; he received Hebron for the service which he rendered as a spy, not because he remained steadfast. E's narrative is dependent on that of J. He retains Caleb, but substitutes the brook Eshcol for Hebron; most of the spies were afraid, Caleb alone remained faithful and was rewarded by outliving his generation, while Moses must die and hand over the government to Joshua. This is what he reads in 18:18,20,23,24,26c,27,30,31,32c,33, which he attributes to E. Furthermore P calculates from Josh. 24:29 that Joshua also must have been born in Egypt, wherefore he adds him to the spies and makes him faithful like Caleb. By picking out what he pleases from a narrative and ignoring the rest a critic can create as many different versions of the story as there are possible combinations of its several parts.

After the portion of P has been separated from ch. 18,14, it is claimed that the remainder is still composite. Dillmann affirms that almost everything is duplicated; the instructions to the spies 18:17b-20; the distance to which they went vs. 22-24; their report vs. 27-29,31,32c,33; the murmuring of the people 14:1 sqq.; the attempts to quiet them 18:30; 14:8,9; the sentence 14:23,24,30-33; and even the unsuccessful attack on Amalek is not a unit.

Knobel, Kayser, Kuenen, Schrader see no cause for dividing the instructions given to the spies. Wellhausen, who has a keen eye for doublets, discovers one in vs. 19,20, in which he is followed by Dillmann. But v. 20a is not a repetition of v. 19. Moses charges them to investigate three things, which are quite distinct; the robustness and numbers of the people v. 18; whether the land was attractive and the population nomadic or dwelling in fortified towns v. 19; and whether the land was fertile and well wooded v. 20. Each verse begins in the same terms, but if this is to be made a ground of division, it is not duplicated but triplicated, which is more than the critics want.

The critics divide as before in respect to the point reached by the spies. Why they could not have gone both to Hebron and to Eshcol and why the same writer could not have recorded their visit to both places, it is difficult to see. There seems to be no reason in the case but a disposition to splinter the text to the utmost limit of divisibility.

And there is no duplication in the report of the spies. The writer first mentions the statements in which they all concurred vs. 27-29, then the diverse representations of Caleb and the others vs. 30-33. The perplexity in which the critics

* In Stade's *Zeitschrift* for 1881, pp. 139, 140.

find themselves in attempting to partition 14:1-4 have already been referred to. It has also been shown that 18:30 is not the duplicate of 14:8,9. And 14:23,24 is not the duplicate of vs. 30-33; the former is what the Lord says to Moses, the latter is what he directs Moses and Aaron to say to the people. What to do with vs. 11-25 is a puzzle for the critics. It cannot be given to E on account of its striking resemblance to Ex. 32:10-14 and its citation of Ex. 34:6,7 passages of J. Nor can it be given to J, inasmuch as its duplicate vs. 28,30-33 is assigned to it, and moreover v. 14 has ideas from P. There is no resource, consequently, but to assume that R has been meddling here again, and has expanded some simple indeterminate statements of E at his own free will. In vs. 40-45 the criteria of J and E are inextricably blended. Wellhausen shifts the difficulty by referring them to some independent source different from both J and E. Dillmann denies the existence of such a source, but confesses that the passage is a critical tangle.

It may be worth while to observe that the ark is here v. 44 in JE in the midst of the camp, as it elsewhere is in P; the same thing is also implied in 10:36, in spite of the attempt to draw an opposite conclusion from 11:26.

It is said 13:16 that Moses changed the name of Hoshea to Joshua. There is no discrepancy and no intimation of a difference of writers that Joshua is so called previous to this time Ex. 17:9,13; 24:13; 32:17; 33:11; Num. 11:28, and that he is once subsequently called Hoshea Deut. 32:44. Whether the change of name was made at this time, as is most probable, or some time previous, is of small account. As Joshua is the name by which from this time forth at least he was most familiarly known, it was altogether natural to use it afterwards even in relating what had taken place previously. But in such a list of names as that of the spies, in which the parentage of each is regularly given, the original family name seems especially appropriate. And there is nothing strange in the fact that this name was once again revived on a later occasion.

Haevernick's remark on v. 22 may be worth repeating. The founding of Hebron is there defined by a reference to that of Zoan in Egypt, implying that the latter was more familiar and better known; which is an incidental indication of Mosaic authorship.

5. Chapters 16,17.

As the present stage of the discussion is only concerned with the historical portion of the Pentateuch, we pass over ch. 15 and such other chapters as are exclusively occupied with legislation.

Ch. 16 contains an account of the insurrection of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. The grounds of discontent were various. Korah seems to have been the chief instigator of the rebellion from his discontent at the exclusive priesthood of Aaron, and the subordinate position assigned to ordinary Levites. Dathan and Abiram descended from Reuben the first born of Jacob were indignant that Moses and

Aaron of the tribe of Levi were exalted above them. Some two hundred and fifty of the disaffected of different tribes attached themselves to them contending for the equal rights of all Israelites in opposition at once to the leadership of Moses and the priesthood of Aaron. The rebellion was quelled by immediate divine interference and the awful fate that befell those concerned in it. And the divine right of the Aaronic priesthood was settled for all time by the miraculous budding of Aaron's rod.

The early antagonists of the unity and credibility of the Pentateuch seem not to have suspected that this closely connected and continuous narrative was capable of division. Staehelin* has the credit of having made the discovery. He undertook to sunder the account of Korah and his two hundred and fifty associates, mostly Levites, as he supposed, who laid claim to the priesthood and perished by fire, from that of the insurrection against the authority of Moses by Dathan and Abiram, who were swallowed up by the earth. The former he regarded as the primitive form of the narrative and attributed it to the author of what he denominates the author of the first legislation, the P of more recent critics; the latter was subsequently interwoven with it by J the author of the second legislation, either because of the similarity of the two incidents or because he knew that they occurred contemporaneously. The confession contained in this second alternative is of itself destructive of the hypothesis. If all took place together, why should it not have been so narrated from the first?

Staehelin had been obliged to alter the text in vs. 1,24,27,32 in order to sunder what each of these verses binds fast together. Knobel† attempted a division, which should require no textual changes. He finds three separate narratives combined in this chapter. That of P speaks of all the conspirators; the two hundred and fifty present themselves with censers before the Lord; the arch-conspirators are swallowed up by the earth, while the two hundred and fifty are consumed by fire. In that of J's first source the only conspirators are Levites and these had not yet been charged with any sacred functions; but they demand elevation to the priesthood, and are punished by the earth opening and swallowing them up. In J's second source Levites who have already been separated to the service of the Sanctuary, aspire to equality with Aaron; and Dathan and Abiram rebel against the leadership of Moses. Their fate is not directly stated, but is implied in the despairing cry of those who witnessed it.

* *Kritische Untersuchungen*, 1843. He divides as follows:

First Legislation 16:1 (in part) 2, 4-11, 16-23, 35.

Second Legislation 16:1 (in part), 12-15, 25-34.

In v. 24 he erases the three names and reads לְמִשְׁכַּן for לְמִשְׁכַּן or proposes as an alternative to omit מִשְׁכַּן and read לְקִרְחָה: in v. 27 he erases "Korah," and in v. 32 "all the men that appertained unto Korah."

† His division is

P 16:1,2,4,16-24,27a,32-35; 17:1-28.

J's 1st Source 16:3,5-7,28-31.

J's 2nd Source 16:8-15,25,26,27b; 17:27,28.

*6

The awkwardness and ill success of Knobel's partition seem to have satisfied the critics that nothing can be effected here without doing violence to the text. Accordingly Nöldeke fell back on Staehelin's division with some slight modifications designed to remedy its more glaring infelicities. He frankly confesses that the story of Dathan and Abiram is so closely involved with that of Korah that it can scarcely be separated; that 26:9-11 expressly asserts that Dathan and Abiram were engaged in the same conspiracy with Korah; and that if these stories were originally separate, they are quite distinct in their tendency, one having relation to the superiority of priests over Levites, and the other to that of Moses over the heads of the several tribes. With these concessions the question naturally arises how R ever came to consider two such heterogeneous events as one, and to combine them as he has done. But overleaping all obstacles Nöldeke proceeds with his work of division.

The opening sentence vs. 1,2, in which the combination of the conspirators is expressly affirmed, is torn to pieces in order to separate them. He gives to P "Korah the son etc. took certain of the children of Israel, 250 princes of the congregation, called to the assembly, and they gathered themselves together against Moses and against Aaron;" and to J "Dathan and Abiram, the sons etc. were men of renown;" he throws out of the text "and they rose up before Moses" as an unsuitable addition by R, for how could they have risen up before Moses, when he had to send for them v. 12? But on this division of the passage there is nothing to indicate their participation in the insurrection. Hence Schrader, Kayser, Kittel and Driver disregard the imaginary difficulty above alluded to, and connect these words with Dathan and Abiram, in which case "men of renown," though a J phrase, must be surrendered to P.* Kuenen, Wellhausen, and Dillmann content themselves with saying that the two sources are here inextricably blended, the original text of neither having been completely preserved. The complaint of the critics that the imperfect form of the sentence betrays a corruption of the text, which they attempt to remedy by emendation and which justifies their assumption that incongruous clauses have been put together, is sufficiently answered by Gesenius.† It is simply an anacoluthon; Korah, Dathan and Abiram took and rose up against Moses with 250 men, for "took 250 men and rose up with them against Moses."

On is not mentioned after v. 1 either because of the subordinate part which he took in the conspiracy or because he withdrew from it before the final catastrophe. Peleth is not otherwise known, unless possibly this may be another form for Pallu Gen. 46:9, Num. 26:5, see Josephus *Ant.* 4,2,2. It is not necessary with

* Schrader alone seeks to retain it for J, though this is forbidden by the structure of the sentence when so divided; and oddly enough he makes it an appendage to a clause of E.

† *Theaurus*, p. 700a.

several recent critics to adopt the conjectural reading* "Eliab the son of Pallu, the son of Reuben."

Then vs. 3-11, 16-24, as relating to Korah and his company, is given to P; and vs. 12-15 concerning Dathan and Abiram to JE. But as Nöldeke perceived v. 13 cannot be separated from v. 9. The correspondence in the opening words cannot be casual. Moses reminding the sons of Levi of the special favors accorded to them says Is it a small thing to you? Dathan and Abiram retort upon Moses his own words, Is it a small thing that thou hast done to us? So that he felt constrained to give vs. 13, 14b to R, though in so doing he mutilated their reply and sacrificed a J phrase "a land flowing with milk and honey." As the combination "fields and vineyards" is elsewhere found only in E, Dillmann parcels 14a between J and E, and assumes on this ground and that of some similar criteria that there are traces of a duplicate account of Dathan and Abiram; others confess that they cannot discover them. V. 15a is an additional source of trouble. Vatke, Kuenen† and Kittel tear it out of its connection and give it to P, as though this clause related to Korah. Other critics admit that it must have reference to Dathan and Abiram. Kayser thinks it a prayer that God would not regard with favor offerings that they might at any time present. Dillmann concedes that it implies that Dathan and Abiram were not merely in rebellion against the leadership of Moses, but that they had designs likewise upon the priesthood; this plainly shows that they were making common cause with Korah and that there was no such divergence between their designs as the critics allege. Moses' protestation v. 15b is called out by their assault upon him, as his petition v. 15a by their assault upon Aaron. So that the same twofold aim is attributed to them as v. 3 to the company of Korah. Parcelling these clauses between two writers (Dill., Well.) as though they represented different views of the designs of Dathan and Abiram is altogether arbitrary and without justification. It seems therefore from all these considerations that vs. 12-15 are too closely linked with the rest of the narrative to be separated from it.

But the critics encounter still more formidable obstacles in carrying their partition through vs. 24sq. The three ringleaders are here combined; and every device is used to annul the explicit statement of the passage. Nöldeke says that inasmuch as the people in v. 19 were standing with Korah at the door of the Tabernacle, there is no sense in saying that those who would not perish must get away from the dwelling of Korah, Dathan and Abiram. The command of God, which Moses repeats and the people obey, must be that they must remove from the neighborhood of Korah and his company. V. 24 must originally have read "Separate yourselves from Korah;" in v. 26 "tents" must be expunged; v. 27a can only describe obedience to the injunction of v. 24 in its original form. With

* First proposed in Eichhorn's *Repertorium*, II., p. 261.

† Kuenen *Hez.*, p. 96, gives vs. 13, 14 as well as 15a to P, though p. 164 vs. 12-14 are assigned to E; is this an oversight or a misprint?

this connects immediately the catastrophe v. 35. In the other narrative, he tells us, v. 24 probably read "The people stood about the tabernacle of Dathan and Abiram." Then v. 25 follows appropriately. Moses to whom they would not go, goes himself to them accompanied by the elders of Israel. In v. 27a may be fragments of the continuation. And vs. 27b-34 completes the story. This is an enlargement upon the original conclusion, which was simply vs. 28,32 (without the last clause), 34. This is based on the critical assumption, which would make havoc of any composition to which it was applied, that everything which can be removed from a passage without destroying its continuity, is to be reckoned an interpolation.

The critics divide upon the question what they are to do with v. 24 to rid themselves of its testimony. Schrader and Wellhausen simply erase "Dathan and Abiram." Vatke in addition erases "Korah" and reads "the Tabernacle;" Kayser "the Tabernacle of witness;" Dillmann "the Tabernacle of Jehovah." All proceed on the assumption that the only thing to be desired was the safety of those who were gathered at the sacred Tent. This results from the arbitrary partition of the narrative, which the critics have themselves made, and is directly counter to the express statements of the record. The supreme moment had now arrived, when the rebellion was to be quelled by immediate divine interposition, and the awful overthrow of those by whom it had been initiated and fomented. The rebels who were present with their censers at the door of the Tabernacle were but a part of the conspirators; Dathan and Abiram with all that adhered to them, were likewise to be involved in the destruction that was to ensue. The appearance of the divine glory, v. 19, had already spread consternation among the crowd of spectators and malcontents at the sanctuary. It was necessary that ample warning should likewise be given to the rest of the congregation, that they should escape with all haste from the vicinity of the dwelling-place of Korah, Dathan and Abiram. And it is one of the undesigned coincidences, which give incidental confirmation to the truth of this narrative, that the Levitical family of Kohath, to which Korah belonged and the tribe of Reuben to which Dathan and Abiram belonged were encamped alike on the south side of the Tabernacle, Num. 2:10, 3:29, so that their dwellings were contiguous, which both gave them opportunity to concoct their plans, and is the reason why the singular term is used v. 24, since they had one common dwelling place.*

* It is objected by Dr. Driver that *סֹכֵךְ* is never *in prose* applied to a human habitation. But this very passage proves that it may be so applied legitimately, even if it were conceded to be from B. The objection is only advanced in the interest of a precarious critical hypothesis and is disregarded by critics like Knobel, Schrader and Wellhausen, whose hypothesis does not require it. The word is freely used both in a sacred and secular sense in poetry (see in this very book Num. 24:5 where it is parallel to *מִדְּבַר* as here v. 26) and even in prophets who approximate ordinary prose as Jeremiah and Ezekiel. A precisely similar instance is afforded by *עֵרָה* which, apart from its application to the company of Korah, is uniformly and exclusively used of the congregation of Israel throughout the Hexateuch and in all the rest of the prose of the Old Testament save Judg. 14:8.

The narrative is strictly consistent. The people are warned to leave and do leave the dwelling place of Korah, Dathan and Abiram. Dathan and Abiram were in their tents, vs. 25,27, but Korah was not, vs. 16-19. He must, however, have left the tabernacle and gone to his tent in bold defiance of the warning given, since he was swallowed up by the earth (with which 17:5 [A.V. 16:40] does not disagree) with all the men that appertained to him i. e. his servants and retainers but not his children 26:9-11, from whom the noted family of psalmists and temple-singers of a later period was descended. Here is again an incidental proof, as Haevernick justly remarks, of the historical reality of this transaction. No one could have invented such a story about the ancestor of so eminent a family.

Nöldeke is alone in assigning v. 26 to P, and converting it into an exhortation to the crowd at the Tabernacle to separate themselves from those that were offering incense. Others admit that it must mean what both its language and its connection require, separation from Dathan and Abiram; and they accordingly give it to E (or JE), in spite of "congregation" עֵדָה a word that is with the greatest confidence declared to belong to P. This same word occurs again v. 24, which in consequence of its correspondence with v. 27 Wellhausen confesses must belong to JE, and cannot even by "a right bold cut" be saved for P. So also "congregation" קָהָל v. 33, and "create" בָּרָא v. 30.

Dr. Driver argues the composite character of this narrative from

"the inequality of the manner in which Korah, Dathan, and Abiram appear in it; whereas in v. 1 sq. they are represented as taking part in a *common* conspiracy, they afterwards continually act separately; Moses speaks to Korah without Dathan and Abiram, and to Dathan and Abiram without Korah (vs. 4-11; 12-14; 16-22; 25 sq.); Dathan and Abiram do not act in concert with Korah vs. 16-22, but remain in their tents at a distance vs. 26,27; finally, their fate is different. In other words, Korah is united with Dathan and Abiram, not in reality, but *only in the narrative*; he represents different interests, and acts throughout independently of them."

The fallacy in this reasoning lies in the primal assumption that men with different aspirations and different personal interests and aims cannot be united in the same uprising against the constituted civil and ecclesiastical authorities; and that different parties so combined cannot be dealt with separately. That Korah, Dathan, and Abiram were joint conspirators is expressly affirmed; that to a certain extent at least they had common aims comes out, as we have seen, in the narrative itself. Moses showed his wisdom in dealing with these parties separately; his appeal addressed to the Levites ought to have shamed them into a surrender. That those who would usurp the priesthood were forward to accept the offered test by actually engaging in a priestly function is as natural as that Dathan and Abiram who would not recognize Moses' authority refused to obey his summons. The diversity of fate also grew naturally out of the circumstances. They who presumed to intrude on priestly functions unbidden, perished at the Sanctuary, which they had profaned. They who contumaciously remained aloof, perished by an infliction which rid the camp of Israel of their presence. There is nothing in all this surely to justify any one in setting aside the explicit asser-

tion of the sacred writer, that all were jointly engaged in the same rebellion, and that the different scenes depicted were but distinct parts of the same transaction.

That Korah is not mentioned along with Dathan and Abiram, Deut. 11:8, is no proof that he was not associated with them any more than the omission of his name Ps. 106:17,18; neither is Aaron spoken of in connection with the golden calf v. 19. In singling out this one from all the judgments inflicted in the wilderness because of its peculiarly awful nature, Moses makes no special reference to Korah because in this address to the people there was no need of emphasizing the fate of usurpers of the priestly prerogative, which no one was disposed to contest.

It is claimed, however, that this narrative is capable of yet further dissection. Wellhausen discovered that not only two but three narratives are here combined. These are, he tells us, only preserved fragmentarily, nevertheless their distinctive points can be readily recognized. 1. In J Dathan and Abiram rebel against Moses as ruler v. 13 and judge v. 15b. Cited by Moses they refuse to appear and he goes himself with the elders to their tents. God decides in his favor, the earth opens and they go down alive. 2. According to another source in JE, Korah a secular chief, probably of the tribe of Judah, and others with him contend for the priestly prerogative of all Israelites and against the limitation of it to the sons of Levi i. e. Moses and Aaron. They exercise their supposed right by bringing an offering v. 15a. All Israel at God's command separate themselves from the dwelling of Korah; the earth opens and swallows them up. 3. In P Korah a Levite and 250 of his tribesmen rise up against Aaron, and demand that the inferior clergy should be made equal with the higher. They come before the Tabernacle with their censers and offer incense, but are consumed by the sacred fire.

Wellhausen thinks that this discovery solves the puzzle which previous critics had proposed, but had not attempted to resolve, viz. how R came to combine two stories which had nothing in common. The solution he finds in the intermediate account, which touches J on the one side and P on the other. It agrees with J in being a revolt of the laity, and the offenders with their dwellings are swallowed up in the earth. It differs in that the uprising is not against Moses alone as a political leader, but against Moses and Aaron as invested with the priesthood (with which is connected the fact that they present an offering), and that instead of Reubenites, Korah of Judah is the leader. Now it is just in these points of difference that it approaches P. In P it is opposition against the spiritual prerogative (of Aaron), and it comes from Korah; but the third account diverges yet more widely from the first than the second and in the same direction. In 1 nothing is said of a spiritual order, but only of the prominent influence of a person in the commonwealth, against which opposition is roused. In 2 a hereditary priesthood is growing up, which meets strong resistance from the excluded laity. In 3 the clergy is an uncontested fact, but a separation was forming within it between

priests and ordinary Levites, which is as yet no fait accompli, but calls forth lively protests. In 1 Moses is attacked because of his personal position ; in 2 Moses and Aaron, because of their caste-like elevation above the laity ; in 3 Aaron, because of his elevation above the other Levites. In 1 the bringing of offerings is not the forbidden good for which the rebels strive ; in 2 they bring a *mincha* but do not perish precisely on that occasion ; in 3 they are consumed by sacred fire before the Tabernacle in the act of offering incense.

This view of Wellhausen, which has been stated almost in his own words, is based on his peculiar division of the chapter. He sunders vs. 8-5 from all that immediately follows, claiming that in these verses Korah (who is not a Levite) and other laymen affirm the holiness of the entire congregation against the prerogatives of individuals, they are zealous not for the Levites against Aaron, but for a universal priesthood against any clergy. This, he insists is quite distinct from the conception of vs. 8-11, which contemplates Levites not content with their existing privileges and desirous of more ; they are zealous not for the congregation but for their order ; as inferior clergy they claim equality with the superior. And he lays great stress upon the fact that "causing to come near" is the thing for which the rebels contend in v. 5, whereas in vs. 9,10 it is already possessed. But there are different grades of approach ; those who had been brought near as Levites aspired to the greater nearness of priests. That Moses singles out the Levites from the rest of the conspirators vs. 7b-11, in order to remind them of the special favor conferred upon them is no warrant for the severance of these verses from the preceding. Still further he arbitrarily throws vs. 6,7 out of the text as an insertion by R, intended to bridge the chasm ; and he intimates that "ye take too much upon you, ye sons of Levi" 7b may have been addressed to Moses and Aaron by the rebels, and originally stood in v. 3 ; whereas it is Moses' retort upon them of their own language, thus indissolubly binding v. 7 to v. 3, as we have already seen that v. 13 is tied to v. 9.

The fragmentary character of this imaginary source, which Wellhausen himself confesses, is shown by its springing at once from v. 5 to 15a, and from that to the final catastrophe, which he finds by separating v. 32 from vs. 30,31,33, as though the former speaks only of the earth swallowing up Korah and his company and the latter only of Dathan and Abiram.

Kuenen followed by Dillmann repudiates Wellhausen's assumption of a Judæan Korah, who with his 250 partisans was swallowed up in the earth. He claims (*Hexateuch*, p. 334), as is his frequent habit elsewhere, that the original account of P is to be distinguished from additions subsequently made to it. In P's narrative "Korah and his band were represented not as Levites, but as Israelites sprung from different tribes. A later diaskeuast made Korah and his followers Levites and transformed their contest with Levi for a share in the ritual into a contest with Aaron and his descendants for the priestly dignity. He gave the

narrative this new turn by describing Korah in v. 1 as the 'son of Izhar the son of Kohath the son of Levi,' by adding vs. 8-11 and by working over vs. 16-18. The section 17:1-5 (16:36-40) was also added by him or at least in his spirit."

But in order to make out that Korah was not a Levite, it is necessary not only to strike vs. 7b and 8 from the text, but also his pedigree explicitly given, v. 1. This Dillmann shrinks from doing; and he makes the following frank confession, which overturns the whole hypothesis: "As in P Korah the leader of the company was a Levite, and among the 250 were probably found some other Levites, and the rights of the Levites were then already ordained, ch. 3 sq. and 8, these verses might be defended as the original text of P." The only considerations adduced to the contrary are the expression "God of Israel" occurring v. 9, which is not a P phrase, and which might be a reason in the critics' eyes for referring it to E, but certainly not to a diaskeuast of the school of P; also marked prominence given to the "sons of Levi" who are addressed and identified with the company of Korah and set in antagonism to Aaron, vs. 7b-11, instead of Moses and Aaron, v. 3. But in specially addressing Korah and the Levites who were with him in the conspiracy, Moses neither alleges nor implies that the entire band consisted exclusively of Levites. And in failing to go the whole length with Kuenen in his eliminations from the text, Dillmann completely emasculates the hypothesis. A critic must be thoroughgoing, who would foist new meanings upon the text at variance with its plain intent. In admitting that Korah is a Levite, and yet supposing him to head an insurrection designed to annihilate the privileges and prerogatives of his own tribe, he involves himself in an inconsistency that wrecks his theory. An additional argument of Dillmann is thus voiced by Dr. Driver: "Observe, further, the threefold speech of Moses to Korah, vs. 5-7, 8-11, 16 sq., the third in part repeating simply the substance of the first." To this Nöldeke long since made reply. It certainly is surprising, he says, that Moses begins to speak three times, but the importance of the subject accounts for this. In the first address he tells them how they can learn God's will; in the second he makes earnest representations to them; in the third he gives more exact directions what to do on the following day. These words of Nöldeke meet the case exactly. Moses first speaks to Korah and his entire company, bidding them test the question on the morrow by presenting themselves at the Sanctuary with their censers. At the close he turns to the Levites amongst them, to whom he makes a special appeal. Finally, after Dathan and Abiram had refused to obey his summons, he turns once more to the entire company of Korah, renewing his demand that they should without fail present themselves at the Sanctuary on the morrow each with his censor, and Aaron too should bring his censor. There is nothing superfluous; all falls properly into its place.

Kittel apparently tries to combine Kuenen's view with that of Wellhausen, by making the earth swallow up P's Korah and his company, while those of the

later diaskeuast are consumed by fire. It is difficult to say what Dr. Driver intended by assigning v. 32b to P. This is quite intelligible in Kittel, who gives P vs. 32-34 and attributes v. 35 to the diaskeuast; but not in Driver who gives all the rest of vs. 27b-34 to JE and v. 35 to P, and who strikes out "Korah" from vs. 24 and 27a.*

It is urged in favor of assigning 17:1-5† to a later diaskeuast, that vs. 3,4 contradict Ex. 27:2, 38:2 according to which the altar was already overlaid with brass. The contradiction is altogether imaginary. What was to prevent putting an additional covering of brass upon the altar, or substituting another covering for that which was upon it? Besides the partition of ch. 17 between P and a supposed diaskeuast falls with the failure to establish a like partition in ch. 16.

The remainder of ch. 17 is unanimously given to P, and it is claimed that the matter decided was the priestly rights of the tribe of Levi, not of Aaron and his house. But the priesthood of Levi centered in Aaron; his name was to be written on the rod of Levi; the tribe had no claim to priestly prerogatives except as its most distinguished son had been set apart to exercise them, and was now confirmed in their possession. The failure of the critics to establish any partition in the account of Korah in ch. 16, or to eject any portion of it from the text settles the meaning of ch. 17 beyond further controversy.

Knobel in the interest of his peculiar partition, in which he has had no following, claimed that the last two verses of ch. 17 were out of place, and that they must be linked back to 16:27b as an outcry of terror on the part of those who witnessed the fate of Dathan and Abiram, which is presupposed in the source from which this is taken, but not explicitly recorded. But, as Dillmann remarks, it is the peril of approach to the Tabernacle, which is emphasized. It is a wail of terror occasioned not only by the destruction of those who were swallowed up in the earth, but by that also of the 250 who were consumed by fire and those who perished in the succeeding plague. And the proper place to insert it is just here at the close of the entire narrative, to mark the impression which the entire transaction left upon those who had passed through those awful scenes.

6) THE LANGUAGE OF P.‡

There is not the space at present to point out in detail the factitious nature of these tabulated words and phrases, and to show how they are dependent upon critical manipulation and minute subdivision of the text. All that is now possible is to refer the reader to the intimations upon this point, which occur in the general course of the discussion.

* Dr. Driver says that Wellhausen has receded from his former position and adopted that of Kuenen. I have no doubt of the correctness of the statement, though I have not been able to verify the reference.

† In the Hebrew text; the English Bible 16:36-40.

‡ The numbers are those of *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 285. The references are to former articles in this series, where the proper explanations are given.

OLD WORDS.

(1) יהוה (2) ארץ כנען VI., p. 117. (3) נשיא Sect. 15, Lang. of P. (4) על פי יהוה always assigned to P. (5) ערת בני ישראל Sect. 14, Lang. of P. (6) מאד מאד V., p. 174 (7:19). (7) כבוד יהוה Sect. 15, Lang. of P. (8) ערה נשיא Sect. 15, Lang. of P. (9) נתן (for שים) V., p.

152 (12). (10) עריות (= the law) Sect. 15, Lang. of P. (11) שכך V., p. 174 (8:1). (12) משמרת Sect. 14, Lang. of P. (13) עשה כן V., p. 174 (6:22). (14) גוע V., p. 174 (6:17).

NEW WORDS.

None.

7) THE LANGUAGE OF J.*

OLD WORDS.

(1) יהוה (2) מולדת V., p. 177. (3) נא Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (4) כי על-כן Sect. 10, Lang. of J. (5) רע בעיני Sect. 13, Lang. of E. (6) מציא חן Sect. 10, Lang. of J. (7) מציא חן V., p. 175. (8) שים V., p. 154. (9) חרה Sect. 2, Lang. of J. (10) אנהי Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (11) ארמה V., p. 153. (12) מאין Sect. 8, Lang. of J. (13) הרג Sect. 13, Lang. of J. (14) שטר Sect. 13, Lang. of E. (15) אהל Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (16) ירד (of God) V., p. 176. (17) מצל Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (18) למה-זה Sect. 6, Lang. of J. (19) עתה V., p. 155. (20) קרה Sect. 11, Lang. of J. (21) יסף V., p. 163. (22) ושמ...שם also in P Gen. 26:37; Num. 25:14,15. (23) רק V., p. 175. (24) הבית Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (25) מדוע Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (26) טף Sect. 11, Lang. of J. (27) איש אל

אחי V., p. 176. (28) השכם בבקר Sect. 6, Lang. of J. (29) מוש Sect. 15, Lang. of J. (30) פן V., p. 155. (31) פצה V., p. 163. (32) שאול Sect. 10, Lang. of E.

NEW WORDS.

(1) משנאים Num. 10:35 J; besides in Hex. only Deut. 32:41; 33:1.
(2) אספסף Num. 11:4 J; all in O. T.
(3) אמן Num. 11:12 J; all in Hex.
(4) ורא Num. 11:20 J; all in O. T.
(5) אפס Num. 13:28; 22:35 J; 23:13 E; Deut. 15:4; 32:36; 33:17; all in O. T.
(6) נאין Num. 14:11 E; v. 23 E; 16:30 J; Deut. 31:20; 32:19; all in Hex.
(7) יפל Num. 14:44 J; besides in O. T. only Hab. 2:4.

8) THE LANGUAGE OF E.†

OLD WORDS.

(1) חרה אף V., p. 163. (2) צעק V., p. 163. (3) התפלל Sect. 6, Lang. of E. (4) טחן Ex. 32:20 J; Num. 11:8 E; Deut. 9:21; all in Hex. (5) ירד Sect. 16, Lang. of J. (6) טרם V., p. 156. (7) על אודות VI., p. 166. (8) אהל Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (9) שלן Sect. 13, Lang. of J. (10) כי (= I beseech thee) Sect. 11, Lang. of J. (11) נא Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (12) סגר V., p. 154. (13) אשכל Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (14) שית Sect. 8, Lang. of J.

NEW WORDS.

(1) מתאונן Num. 11:1 E; besides in O. T. only Lam. 3:30.
(2) שקע Num. 11:2 E; all in Hex.
(3) שוט Num. 11:3 E; all in Hex.

(4) דוך Num. 11:8 E; all in O. T.
(5) פרוך Num. 11:8 E; all in Hex.
(6) לשד Num. 11:8 E; besides in O. T. only Ps. 32:4.
(7) שטח Num. 11:32 E; all in Hex.
(8) רבר ב (= speak against) Num. 12:1,8; 21:5,7 E.
(9) כשית Num. 12:1 E; all in Hex.
(10) ענן Num. 12:3 E; all in Hex.
(11) ואל (= to act foolishly) Num. 12:11 E; all in Hex.
(12) ירק (= to spit) Num. 12:14 E; Deut. 25:9;
(13) חלא אחר Num. 14:24; Josh. 14:8,9,14 E; all in O. T.
(14) כלם Num. 12:14 E; all in Hex.
(15) חסד Num. 18:30 E; all in Hex.
Num. 32:11,12 J; Deut. 1:36; all in Hex.

* The numbers are those of *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 269.

† The numbers are those of *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 273.

SECTION XVIII. NUMBERS 20:1-27:11.

1. Chapters 20,21.

In 20:1-13 water is brought from the rock at Kadesh. The critics are here again in great perplexity. The assumed criteria of the different documents are so intermingled that it is impossible to separate them without absolute disintegration of the entire paragraph. The first verse is alleged to be made up of either two or three constituents. The first clause, which notes the arrival of the congregation at the wilderness of Zin, belongs to P; the last clause recording the death of Miriam is from E; and the abode in Kadesh in the second clause is by Wellhausen referred to J; Dillmann is in doubt whether it is drawn from J or from E. The mention of the month but not the year in the first clause has given rise to a great amount of needless speculation. It is gravely asserted that the year must have been stated in the document from which the clause was extracted, but the divergence between the documents on this point was so serious and irreconcilable that R felt constrained to omit it. It is said that according to P the people now first arrived at Kadesh, by proceeding from the wilderness of Paran, in which they had hitherto been, to that of Zin in which Kadesh was situated. The spies were sent in the second year of the exodus from some indeterminate place in the wilderness of Paran, 18:3, whence they were condemned to go southward to wander in the desert, and they do not reach Kadesh until the first month of the fortieth year. In E the spies were sent from Kadesh, and the people wandered from thence back toward the Red Sea until finally after compassing the land of Edom they came back to the land east of the Jordan, Num. 14:25; Deut. 1:40,45; 2:1. According to J after sending the spies from Kadesh the people abode there "many days," Deut. 1:46, which Wellhausen interprets to mean "long years," i. e. the entire interval between the mission of the spies and their march to the land east of the Jordan. As Kadesh Gen. 14:7 bears the name En-mishpat, Fountain of Judgment, he infers that it was in Israelitish tradition a place of equal importance with Sinai as a place of legislation; or rather, he is inclined to believe that in the original form of this tradition the people were not at Sinai at all, but marched at once from the Red Sea to Kadesh and received their laws there. His reasons are that Judg. 11:16 makes no mention of Sinai, and in Ex. 17, which he takes to be another version of what occurred at Kadesh, the bringing of water from the rock was just before the giving of the law. And as Wellhausen thus easily gets rid of Sinai, Meyer* with equal ease expunges Joshua from the history. He tells us that in J Israel, after gaining full information at Kadesh from the spies, moved forward at once to the conquest of the land, the true account of which is to be found not in the book of Joshua but in Judges ch. 1, when purged from interpolations. It is the easiest thing in the

* Stade's *Zeitschrift*, I., pp. 136 sqq.

world for a critic by this process to eliminate any feature from a narrative that he pleases. All that is requisite is to partition the documents so that it shall be absent from one or more of them, and then to insist that the tradition therein represented knew nothing of such an occurrence.

That there is no discrepancy in regard to the place from which the spies were sent, was shown when ch. 13 was under consideration. As the children of Israel were at Kadesh at that time and now arrive again 37 years later, it is plain that this is a second visit. But this the critics strenuously deny. Because the people were at Kadesh, 20:14 JE, it is inferred that they had remained there ever since their first arrival, because no second coming is spoken of in this document. It lies plainly enough in the narrative to be sure, 20:1, but this has been assigned to the other document, and hence they will not suffer it to be taken into the account. And yet in innumerable instances they are obliged to assume that a given matter must have been stated in all the documents, though R has only preserved what was found in one, deeming this sufficient. And Dillmann (on Num. 14:34) argues that the silence of one or even two of the documents in respect to the forty years wandering in the desert involves no disagreement and does not discredit the fact. He also sets aside Meyer's preposterous conclusion from similar premises that the war against Sihon king of the Amorites 21:21 sqq. was a figment of later times. It is expressly stated that they were at Kadesh in the second year of the exodus, Num. 13:26; that they were bidden to leave Kadesh, 14:25; and that they came to Kadesh in the fortieth year. The critics assign the first statement to J, the second to E, and the third to P, and then claim that here is a serious contradiction. Whereas there is no contrariety in these statements, even if their partition were allowed. The contradiction lies merely in the utterly baseless conjectural narratives which they frame for these supposititious documents, and by which they undertake by creations of their own to fill the void produced by sundering paragraphs from the connection in which they stand. The fact that the name Kadesh occurs but once in the list of stations ch. 33 occasions no difficulty.* It is not unlikely that it is to be found there under some other name, perhaps Rithmah, v. 18, cf. 12:16; 18:26. Nor is it any objection that no record has been preserved of what took place during the years that intervened between the two visits to Kadesh. The period of wandering was barren of incidents appropriate to the sacred history. The rebellion of Korah and his associates and a few ritual laws are noted; all the rest is blank. The only other fact of importance, by which this long and weary sojourn in the

* The occurrence of Ezion-geber 33:35 after a long series of stations otherwise unknown shows that the children of Israel had retraced their steps and gone back to the Red Sea, whence they proceed once more to Kadesh, v. 36. And on Dillmann's analysis the same thing appears from E. In 14:25 E the people are at Kadesh and are bidden to march back toward the Red Sea; and yet after this 20:1-14 they are again at Kadesh. This can only be escaped by arbitrarily assuming that R has transposed these narratives.

desert was characterized was the dying out of the old generation, and the growing up of the new.

The complication of the succeeding paragraph from a critical point of view is such that Kuenen abandons the attempt to unravel it as hopeless. He says (*Hex.*, p. 100), "With regard to Num. 20:1-13 opinions differ much." Then after stating the divergent partitions of the passage severally proposed by Colenso, Schrader, Nöldeke, Kayser, Wellhausen, and Knobel he adds in conclusion, "I should prefer to abstain from any decisive opinion on the details." The following is the analysis of Dillmann, which he has adopted mainly from Kayser. V. 2 is from P, 3a from E (E's account lacks a beginning, which makes it necessary to assume that something like 2a had preceded), 3b from P (because of the allusion to 16:35; 17:11-14), 4,5 from E (but the plural "ye" referring to Moses and Aaron is due to R, for E would not join Aaron with Moses), 6 from P, 7,8 "Take the rod" from E, (since Moses' rod is meant, v. 11), "and assemble the congregation, thou and Aaron thy brother, and speak ye unto the rock before their eyes, that it give forth its water" from P; "and thou shalt bring forth to them water out of the rock, so shalt thou give the congregation and their cattle drink" from E (only "rock" and "congregation" are P words, and have been inserted by R), 9,10a from P, (on the assumption that "the rod from before Jehovah" means Aaron's rod, 17:25), 10b mainly from E (but modified by R with words from P), 11 from E (only "congregation" is a P word), 12 from P (though one clause was inserted by R), 13 doubtful whether it is from P or E.

It is certainly a very extraordinary procedure to attribute to R that he should make up his narrative by selecting clauses alternately from two different documents, and that a narrative so constituted should nevertheless read smoothly and continuously. It is no commendation of the critical hypothesis that such questionable expedients must be resorted to in order to carry it successfully through; that it requires such minute splitting of sentences, and such frequent assumptions of manipulation by R.

It is alleged that v. 24; 27:14; Deut. 32:51 imply a different view of this transaction from that which is yielded by the existing form of the narrative. Moses and Aaron are there declared to have been excluded from Canaan because they rebelled against God's word and trespassed against him; and it is said that this is not borne out by either the language or the conduct attributed to them. The inference is thence drawn that R has materially altered the words ascribed to Moses v. 10 so as to soften down the expressions used in the document from which he drew, which seemed to reflect too severely upon the great leaders of the people. In the original story as given in P Moses and Aaron were themselves the "rebels," and not the people; and the question "shall we bring them water out of the rock?" was addressed not to the people but to the Lord, and implied a refusal to do his bidding for the relief of the thirsty multitudes. But

the charge of falsification is gratuitous and unfounded; and the proposed emendation is utterly at variance with all that we know of Moses. That he could have been guilty of gross and contumacious resistance to an explicit divine command is inconceivable; nor is such a supposition required by any of the passages that relate to this matter. That the patience of Moses was exhausted so that he lost his temper and failed to control himself and "spake unadvisably with his lips," Ps. 106:32,33, we can easily understand. He had borne with their repeated provocations and murmurings through many long years, he had again and again interceded for them and saved them from deserved destruction; and now that after all the experience they had had of God's goodness and mercy and power exerted on their behalf, the warnings and instructions they had received and the inflictions sent upon them for their correction, they should here on the very borders of the promised land and on the very spot where their fathers had been doomed to perish in the wilderness, repeat their offence, demonstrate that this protracted discipline had been without avail, and incur the risk of a similar sentence once more, was more than he could bear and he failed to demean himself as he should have done on the occasion. The petulance displayed both in the address to the people and in smiting the rock twice, the distrust implied if not of the power yet of the grace of God to his transgressing people, and the self-exaltation in referring to their own agency in bringing forth the water rather than the immediate power of God, of which they were but the instruments, were seriously unbecoming their sacred office, and a betrayal of their trust as the accredited representatives of the Most High, and amply justify the censure from the mouth of the Lord, v. 12, "ye believed me not to sanctify me in the eyes of the children of Israel," and v. 24, "ye rebelled against my word." They were themselves implicated in rebellion which they had charged upon the people; for they too were guilty of distrusting God, and that even after he had announced to them his purpose, and of dishonoring him before the people even while yielding formal compliance to the divine direction.

There is quite as little reason for the charge that R has tampered with the text of v. 12, and that "because ye believed me not" is a mollifying phrase substituted for a hypothetical original couched in severer terms. Faith in God is the only true principle of obedience, and want of faith is rebellion against him. The fact that "because" and "believe" are not P words in the critics' esteem is unfortunate for them, but cannot unsettle the integrity of the text.

The allegation that this paragraph and Ex. 17:1-7 are different versions of the same story is well answered by Ranke* in reply to a like suggestion of Vater, and more fully by Hengstenberg.† One event occurred in the first, the other in the fortieth year of the exodus; one took place at Rephidim, the

* *Untersuchungen*, II., p. 226.

† *Authenticité des Pentateuques*, II., p. 378.

other at Kadesh. It is not true that both places received the same name; one was called Massah and Meribah there is not a word about giving a new name to the other and calling it Meribah. It is simply said, v. 13, "this is the water of strife;" and the allusions elsewhere are to "the water of strife at Kadesh," Num. 27:14, Deut. 32:51, suggesting a distinction from water of strife elsewhere. It is not surprising that there should be a want of water in both localities, and that the same cause should lead to similar murmuring and a like supply. They were journeying in a desert, and there were doubtless frequent occasions of murmuring for lack of water, cf. Ex. 15:22-24; Num. 21:5. But the principal point in the present narrative and the chief reason for recording it is neither the necessity of the people nor the miraculous provision that was made for it, but the sin of Moses and Aaron and their consequent exclusion from Canaan, which left its impress on the entire future course of the history.

Wellhausen looks upon this narrative as a legend respecting the origin of the spring at Kadesh. And probably Dillmann's view is not materially different, since he remarks upon the digging of the well, 21:16-18, "This well was afterwards held in remembrance as a gift of God to the thirsty people, like that in 20:13, but the song connected with it has also kept in memory the natural means by which it was opened; and this case is so far instructive in relation to others."

In his farewell address to the people Moses makes repeated and touching allusion to the sentence passed upon him at Kadesh, Deut. 1:37; 8:26; 4:21. However he does not expressly say that it occurred at the bringing of water from the rock; and he once speaks of it along with the exception in favor of Caleb and Joshua. Thereupon Dillmann makes this comment: "It may be inferred that E also had something respecting Moses' being condemned not to enter the promised land, but from the connection in which it is mentioned it was probably there referred to a different occasion." The critics have a great horror of harmonizing Scripture narratives; but they are ever ready with their conjectures for setting them at variance, where no variance exists.

The negotiations with Edom 20:14-21* and the similar passage relating to the Amorites 21:21-31 are by Wellhausen assigned to J, by Dillmann to E; and Aaron's death 20:22-29 is given to P. The remainder of ch. 21 is in the esteem of the critics, to use a term applied to it by Wellhausen, quite "variegated." Dillmann gives 21:1-3 to J, and vs. 4-9 to E; only it is unfortunate for this view

* According to Num. 20:14-21 Edom (and Judg. 11:17 Moab) refused Israel's request for a free passage and their offer to pay for bread and water; while in Deut. 2:29 Edom and Moab are credited with having sold Israel food and drink while passing through their land. Kurtz (*Geschichte des Alten Bundes*, II. p. 419) shows how readily both statements are explicable from a difference of time and place. The mountains of Edom on the west rise steep and rugged from the Arabah, and only a few passes easily garrisoned are accessible on that side, but on the east they fall off gradually into an elevated region. On this side their land was open, and there was good reason why they should there make no hostile demonstration against the warriors of Israel. And the offence, which they had given Israel by their hostile attitude at the west, would of itself dispose them to greater care to avoid every provocation on the east.

of the case that v. 4 speaks of journeying from Mount Hor, to which Israel came 20:22, a verse assigned to P. But R is on hand to remedy the evil. Dillmann tells us that R has here substituted "Mount Hor" for "Kadesh," where Israel was in the last E passage. He further gives vs. 10,11 to P, because they correspond with the station list 33:43,44; but by the same test 21:1-3 should be given to P on account of its correspondence with 33:40; but as this does not suit the critical sense, R is called upon again, and charged with having interpolated 33:40. The stations in vs. 12-20 have no equivalents in ch. 33, and for that reason are held not to belong to P, to whom the two preceding verses are attributed; they must, it is said, have been taken from some list of different origin. And as this has seven stations where ch. 33 has but four, it must in Knobel's opinion have represented Israel as journeying by a more circuitous route. But this neither argues diversity of authorship nor difference of representation. It has simply been prepared with a different purpose. Ch. 33 does not pretend to note every stopping-place, but merely marks enough of the principal points to indicate the general route. This is plain from v. 9, and particularly from v. 36, where the entire distance from a port on the Red Sea to Kadesh on the southern border of Canaan is passed over without recording a single intervening station. On the contrary 21:12-20 notes several minor stations for the sake of introducing something in relation to them, or of preparing the way for something that is to follow, cf. v. 20 with 22:41; 23:14,28.

The slight variation in the form of the itinerary in the verses under consideration is also made a pretext for division. V. 11 "They journeyed from Oboto and pitched in Iye-abarim." V. 12, instead of continuing on this exact model, that is almost invariably maintained throughout ch. 33, does not repeat the name of the last station, but simply says: "From thence they journeyed and pitched in the valley of Zered." In like manner v. 13. Vs. 16,18-20 abbreviate still further by omitting both the verbs. If, now, exactness of form is essential to identity of authorship, there is as much reason for sundering vs. 12,13 from the verses that follow as from those that precede them. And, notwithstanding the general fixity of form in ch. 33, v. 9 departs from it quite as much as 21:12,13. Instead of "They journeyed from Marah and pitched in Elim," it reads "They journeyed from Marah and came unto Elim...and pitched there."

That the entire itinerary vs. 10-20 is a unit also appears from the fact that 22:1, which the critics assign to P, connects not with v. 11 P, but with v. 20, which it thus appears they are mistaken in attributing to a different source. For in 33:44-48 the station immediately preceding "the plains of Moab" is not "Iye-abarim" but "the mountains of Abarim" which corresponds to "Pisgah," 21:20. Moreover "thence" in v. 12 has nothing to refer to, if it is severed from v. 11.

It is also argued that vs. 21-31 cannot be by the author of the preceding itinerary, because in v. 20 Israel is already beyond the place at which we find

them in v. 21. But this affords no reason for division. The writer simply saw fit to complete his itinerary as far as Pisgah before recommencing his narrative.

It appears, consequently, that this chapter is not quite so "variegated" as the critics represent it to be. Their grounds of partition are altogether invalid. And their assaults upon its historical accuracy are equally futile. It is charged that in v. 3 an event which took place at a much later period, Judg. 1:17, is erroneously transferred to the time of Moses. To this it has been replied that the fact is simply mentioned here by anticipation, but it is not said that it occurred at this time. The charge is without foundation, and the apology is unnecessary. Israel gained a victory over the king of Arad in retaliation for the attack which he had made upon them, and devoted some of his cities, calling one of them Hormah. This is not, as some have alleged, a parallel to Num. 14:45, in which Israel is said to have suffered defeat. The events are quite distinct and separated by an interval of 37 years. Hormah is in 14:45 called not by the name which it bore at the time, but by that which was given to it 21:3. After Israel's departure v. 4 the Canaanites again occupied the place and continued to use its ancient name. The king of Hormah is included Josh. 12:14 in the enumeration of the kings smitten by Joshua; and in the division of the land, Josh. 19:4, Hormah fell to the portion of Simeon, and when finally captured by that tribe in conjunction with Judah, Judg. 1:17, its Canaanitish name was abolished, and that by which Israel had known it ever since the time of Moses reimposed.*

The eagerness, with which a certain class of critics seize upon every opportunity to discredit the religion of Israel, finds illustration in Kuenen's treatment of the narrative in vs. 6-9. He conceives that the brazen serpent was set up by Moses as an object of worship, and discredits the account here given as an attempt in later times to free the great legislator from complicity in idolatry. He says (*Hex.*, p. 245):

"Num. 21:4b-9 must be brought into connection with 2 Kings 18:4. The author of this latter was acquainted with the story in Numbers, as we see from his words 'the brazen serpent, which Moses made.' But it is very doubtful whether Hezekiah and his advisers likewise knew it. The breaking of the Nehushtan seems rather to indicate that they regarded it not as a venerable and ancient symbol, but as an idol, or at any rate an image of Yahwe, on which it was their duty to execute the sentence pronounced by Isaiah. To that extent the writer of Num. 21:4-9 and Isaiah differ, but on the main issue they are at one, since even the former does not defend the idol or Yahwe-image, and only rescues the brazen serpent by making it an innocent symbol of Yahwe's healing power."

It is scarcely necessary to say that the gross misrepresentation is utterly without foundation, and is purely a figment of his own imagination. The purpose for which the brazen serpent was set up is distinctly stated in the narrative and is entirely free from idolatrous taint. Hezekiah put an end to the perversion of this ancient relic to purposes of idolatry by breaking it to pieces.

* Hengstenberg, *Authenticité des Pentateuches*, II., p. 220.

Meyer's extraordinary hypothesis endorsed by Stade held that the war against Sihon vs. 21-31 is a fiction of later times, invented to rebut the claims of Moab, the real fact being that there was no Amorite kingdom east of the Jordan, and Israel intruded there into Moabitish territory, contrary to the representations here made and repeated by Jephthah Judg. 11:15-23. This is refuted in detail by Kuenen (*Hex.*, p. 236) and by Dillmann in his comments on this passage. It is not worth while to reproduce their discussion of so absurd a position. Kuenen very aptly says "Israel surely never waged a paper war. It is one thing to make apologetic use of such a fact as Israel's respect of Moab's frontier, and quite another to invent it for polemical purposes." It is interesting and curious to observe how in condemning this critical extravagance they censure methods which upon occasion they adopt themselves, and urge arguments at variance with their own positions elsewhere. Kuenen repels in this instance his favorite argument from silence, claiming that it does not follow from vs. 18b-20 that the author knew of no Amorite kingdom; for he had no occasion to mention it. And he adduces it in evidence of the weakness of Meyer's position that he is obliged to strike out certain words as a gloss from v. 29. Dillmann makes his strong point that the positive statements of one document should not be rejected, and an opposite conclusion drawn from the indirect data of other documents which are capable of being variously understood.

Kuenen (*Hex.*, p. 253) says that vs. 33-35 recording the conquest of Og king of Bashan "is a later addition rounding off the conception of the conquest of the whole Transjordanic district in the time of Moses." What makes it so evident to him he does not explain. This leaks out, however, two pages after, where he speaks of the "wholly unhistorical conception of the unity of Israel in the time of Moses, and the conquest of Canaan as an act accomplished simul et semel." This statement is at variance with his a priori conception of the history; therefore it is not true and the passage which contains it is not genuine. Wellhausen argues that this passage is an interpolation on four grounds. 1. Israel continued to dwell in the land of the Amorites v. 31. But how their occupation of this conquered territory prevented them from making additional conquests does not appear. 2. Nothing is said of the subjugation of the king of Bashan 22:2. But that verse speaks of "all that Israel had done to the Amorites;" and both Sihon and Og were kings of the Amorites, Deut. 4:46,47. 3. The silence of Judg. 11:22. But Dillmann admits in repeating these arguments that there was no occasion for any allusion to Bashan in this passage. 4. The language of vs. 33-35 differs from that of the preceding paragraph. Of this he gives but a single illustration, which has no significance whatever.* Dillmann adds another argument which he says is the decisive one, viz., that these verses agree verbatim with Deut.

* The only instance given of what he seems to regard as a characteristic diversity of the language is that v. 35 has *וְיָרֶם* while v. 24 has *וְיָרָם*.

8:1-3 and are Deuteronomic in language and thought. He hence infers that they have been interpolated here from Deuteronomy. But the borrowing may quite as easily have been the other way.

2. Chapters 22-24.

It is charged that 22:22-35 does not agree with the preceding part of the chapter, and must be attributed to a different source. Balaam had consulted the Lord and the Lord had told him to go, and yet here God is said to have been displeased with him for going. And when Balaam was stopped by the angel, he does not once allude to the fact that he was going by divine permission. The injunction laid upon him by the angel, v. 35, is precisely the same that the Lord had given him before starting, v. 20. So that the appearance of the angel in the one form of the story simply served the same purpose with the nocturnal revelations granted to Balaam in the other. According to v. 21 he went with the princes of Moab, but in v. 22 he was only attended by his two servants.

Kuenen regards vs. 22-35 as a fragment of an older Balaam-legend. He says (*Hex.*, p. 235), "The Balaam who sets out without consulting Yahwe, or perhaps against his orders, and is then opposed by the angel, seems to me to have an antique flavor, in keeping with the introduction of the speaking ass, and to be more primitive than the Balaam who is determined from the first to submit to God's command in spite of his wish to comply with Balak's proposal."

Wellhausen is keen-eyed enough to see that the verbal correspondence of v. 35 with vs. 20,21 is such that it cannot be from an independent source. He therefore refers it to R, who has introduced it for the sake of harmonizing the two accounts. He must consequently find another termination to this episode, which he does by attaching vs. 37 and 39 to vs. 22-34 and filling the intervals with his own imagination. He thus makes out that Balaam after the encounter with the angel returned home; whereupon Balak went personally for him and then Balaam came. How he dared venture after being so summarily sent back, and why the angel interposed no further hindrance, Wellhausen does not tell us.

Disposed as he was to the partition of Pentateuchal narratives Knobel annuls the entire basis for it here by showing what is obvious to every unprejudiced mind, that the narrative is consistent throughout, and that there is no such variance as others have alleged. In v. 12 God had forbidden Balaam to go, because he must not curse the people. In v. 20 the imperative is not a command, but permissive as in Gen. 16:6; 2 Sam. 18:23; 2 Kgs. 2:17. The Lord permits Balaam to go as he desires to do, but imposes the condition that he must govern himself entirely by divine direction. Balaam goes assuming that God would not insist on prohibiting the curse, as he had not continued to forbid his going. -Balaam accepts Balak's invitation and goes with his ambassadors for the purpose of cursing. This displeased the Lord, and the angel was sent to reiterate and emphasize the divine

command in a manner that should secure obedience. That Balaam with his servants might for a time be separated by a short distance from the company with which he was travelling, especially when passing along a narrow and winding path, v. 24, is not difficult to imagine; that he was travelling with the princes of Moab is expressly said, v. 35.

The critics give vs. 22-35 to J, and the rest of the chapter to E, and appeal in justification to the interchange of divine names, though Wellhausen apologetically adds that they have not been accurately preserved. The occurrence of Elohim four times in vs. 2-21 is urged as determining it to belong to E; but Jehovah also occurs four times where it is assumed that the word was originally Elohim, but it has been changed by R. Jehovah predominates in vs. 22-35 J, but Elohim is found in v. 22, for which R is again held responsible. The next two chapters are divided between the same two documents, but with some uncertainty to which each should belong. Wellhausen assigns ch. 23 to J, and ch. 24 to E; Dillmann reverses it, giving ch. 23 to E, and ch. 24 to J. But however they dispose of them, the divine names will not suit, and R must be supposed to have manipulated them here again.

But now if instead of applying this mechanical rule which will not match the facts, we examine into the real state of the case, it will appear that there is no great mystery in the use of these names. There is an obvious design that runs through the whole, and a manifest significance in the manner of their employment. In all the utterances of Balaam throughout these chapters, he constantly uses the name Jehovah with the single exception of 22:38, where in speaking to Balak he says, "Have I any power at all to say anything? The word that God putteth in my mouth that shall I speak." Here the contrast is between the divine and that which is merely human. Apart from this he invariably uses the name Jehovah, whether he is speaking to Balak's messengers, 22:8,13,18,19; to Balak, 23:3,12,26; 24:13; or uttering his prophecies,* 23:8,21; 24:6. He thus indicates that it was Jehovah whom he professed to consult, and whose will he undertook to declare. And it was doubtless because of his supposed power with the God of Israel, that Balak particularly desired his aid in this emergency. Hence, too, Balak uses Jehovah in addressing Balaam, 23:17; 24:11; only once Elohim, 23:27, as non-Israelites commonly do. When the writer himself in the course of his narrative speaks of God in connection with this heathen seer he steadfastly uses Elohim at the outset. Balaam regularly proposes to tell the messengers of Balak what Jehovah will say to him, but the writer with equal uniformity says that Elohim came to him and spoke to him, 22:9,10,12,20,22. He is not recognized as an accredited prophet of Jehovah; he is a soothsayer, Josh. 13:22, who used the

* In these he likewise uses the poetical epithets El, Elyon, and Shaddai, but never Elohim: of course Jehovah my God, 22:18, and Jehovah his God, 23:21, are not to be regarded as exceptions to the statements made above.

arts of divination, Num. 24:1, and to whom the rewards of divination were offered, 22:7. But while it is only Elohim, the general term denoting the deity, which is put by the sacred writer in relation to Balaam considered as a heathen seer, it is the Angel of Jehovah who comes forth to confront him on his unhal- lowed errand, and Jehovah the guardian and defender of Israel who constrains him to pronounce a blessing instead of the curse which it was in his heart to utter. It is thus made evident that this chosen dependence of Israel's foes was after all in the hands of Israel's God, and under his absolute control and guidance in every step that he took and every word that he uttered. Hence from 22:22 onward, wherever the writer speaks, he uses the name Jehovah, not only in the encounter by the way but after his arrival in determining what he shall say. To this there are but two exceptions; in 23:4 when Balaam had gone to a summit to look out for auguries, we are reminded by the phrase 'And God (Elohim) met Balaam' that he was but a heathen seer at last; yet it was Jehovah, vs. 5, 16, who put the word in his mouth. In 24:2 the thought to be expressed is that he was divinely inspired, that he spoke by an impulse from above and from no promptings of his own; a thought which is further emphasized by Balaam him- self in the opening of his discourse, vs. 3, 4. To indicate this contrast of the human and divine it is said that 'the Spirit of God (Elohim) came upon him;' but it was the conviction forced upon him that it was Jehovah's purpose to bless Israel which kept him from going to meet auguries as at other times, v. 1. A striking feature in the narrative is lost sight of, if this significant employment of the divine names is overlooked. No account can be given of this nice discrimina- tion by the partition hypothesis, which obliterates it entirely, and sees nothing but the unmeaning usage of different writers coupled with R's arbitrary distur- bance of the text for no imaginable reason.*

Wellhausen further attempts to bolster up the partition of ch. 22 by the dis- covery of doublets. These are adopted and the number increased by Dillmann, who accordingly finds several scraps of J worked into E's portion of the narra- tive. V. 3a is cut out for J as an unmeaning tautology along side of 3b, as though nothing could be conceded to a writer but the baldest expression of his thought. V. 4 comes under the condemnation of suggesting a different ground of apprehension from that in v. 6, not fear of military power but concern lest such large masses of people would use up all the surrounding pasture grounds. This would contain no allusion to the previous wars of Israel, while v. 6 goes with E, who has just recounted the victory over Sihon. And yet J had told how they had dealt with the king of Arad 21:1-3; and the "sore afraid" of v. 3a points to something more than Dillmann finds in v. 4. Moreover, the statement v. 4b

* A like alternation of divine names with its profound significance, where the partition hypothesis is similarly at fault, occurs in Gen. 22, where Elohim the generic name for the Deity is used in the temptation of Abraham, and it is Jehovah and the Angel of Jehovah who appears for the rescue of the patriarch and his child. See HEBRAICA VI., p. 162.

"Balak was king of Moab" is declared superfluous after v. 2, in which we are told that the words "king of Moab" must originally have been attached to the name of Balak and R struck them out because of this clause which he was about to insert from J. But if R thought it best to reserve this statement for v. 4, why may not the original writer have done the same? Hypothetical emendations of the text form a slender ground for a critical partition otherwise uncalled for. The critics further find "the elders of Midian" in v. 4 and again v. 7 embarrassing. Moab and Midian are connected again ch. 25, where the critics sunder them by slicing the chapter into two parts, each of which is incomplete without the other. Wellhausen suspects that Midian has been introduced here by R to prepare the way for the subsequent junction, which the critics will not allow. But this conjecture is too far fetched, particularly as Moab and Midian are also brought together in Gen. 36:35. These incidental indications of the intimate association of Midian and Moab are confirmed by Josh. 13:21, where the chiefs of Midian are called princes of Sihon, who had founded an Amorite kingdom in Moabite territory. Dillmann contents himself with assigning vs. 4 and 7a to J, and noting that Moab and Ammon act in concert in J but not in E. Of course if a critic may erase what he pleases from a passage he can limit its contents accordingly.

Offence is taken at the clause in v. 5, "the land of the children of his people," and by the addition of a single letter in Hebrew it is converted into "the land of the children of Ammon." This is then sundered from the context which in this new form it palpably contradicts, and assigned to J and thus an additional contrariety is established between J and E. In E Balaam was from Mesopotamia, in J he was a Midianite residing in Ammonite territory. How easy it is to find corroboration for a foregone conclusion may be seen from the fact that 22:24 sq. is actually pressed into the support of this conjecture, which is directly in the face of all historical testimony. These verses, we are told, presuppose a cultivated region, not the way from Pethor through the Syrian desert.

The plain reference to 22:18 in 24:11-13, which Dillmann attributes to J, makes it necessary for him to cut 22:17,18 out of its connection and give it to J likewise. Hence arises a fresh diversity. In J but not in E Balak's messengers take Balaam the rewards of divination, and when these prove insufficient, they promise him great treasures. A new diversity of diction follows also. J has, v. 18, "servants of Balak," whereas E calls them "princes of Moab," vs. 14,15,21. Dillmann escapes from the admission that J calls them the same in v. 35 by referring the last clause of the verse to R. But if "servants of Balak" may be by the same hand as "elders of Moab," J v. 7, why not "princes of Moab" also?

Both Wellhausen and Dillmann admit that the narrative of Balaam and his prophecies has the appearance of unity and completeness, which however they attribute not to the original author, but to the compiler. As if artful adjustment of pieces independently prepared could supply the lack of true inward conformity. Wellhausen says:

"Ch. 23 and 24 have been put together by a third hand. It must be confessed that this has been well done. The narrative appears to be all of one casting, and has really been cast anew by the Jehovist (RJ)."

Dillmann exhibits the orderly arrangement of the narrative and its adaptation to its place in the Pentateuchal history in the following admirable and striking manner :

"The uneasy dread which heathendom felt of the people of Jahve when come upon the scene, its foolish conceit that it could check Israel's career of conquest by its magical powers, the superior might of Jahve, who uses the heathen seer as his instrument for the advantage of his people, and transforms the curse which the seer sought to obtain by all the methods of his art into a blessing, comes very vividly out in this narrative, which thus far stands alongside of the narrative of Israel's success in arms in ch. 22. But the main stress falls upon the contents of the discourses of Balaam, the ideal presentation of the greatness and glory of Israel, and the light thrown upon his victorious might, which is ultimately to vanquish all heathendom ; in this respect it attaches itself to the glimpses of the final goal of history scattered through Genesis and Exodus 19. Corresponding to these points of view the narrative is very artistically framed in general and in particular. God does not allow permission for the undertaking of Balak and Balaam, which in itself is contrary to his will, to be, so to speak, wrung from him all at once, but only in three gradations or stages, in order then to convert it into its opposite by his superior might. And it is only gradually and by successive stages that the insight into the will of God dawns upon the seer ; it is only after a second trial that he gives up looking for omens and his inclination to curse, and thenceforward becomes the willing organ of the Spirit of God, who opens for him clear glances into the present and the future. And the divine oracles which he is obliged to announce, become progressively more full of meaning and more definite. They culminate in the fourth ; and the last three, which complete the number seven, take the form of brief supplementary words of the already exhausted seer to illuminate the remotest future. So that all is manifestly firmly fitted and well ordered, and there is no doubt that one hand has put the whole together in this manner."

These critics, nevertheless, maintain that ch. 23 and 24 are from different sources, one from J and the other from E ; but which is to be referred to J, and which to E, they cannot agree. Driver is unable to make up his mind. He says : "It is uncertain whether ch. 23,24 belong to J or E, or whether they are the work of the compiler who has made use of both sources ; critics differ, and it is wisest to leave the question undetermined." What, then, are the reasons for setting aside all the marks of unity, which seem at least to be so decisive ?

Wellhausen alleges that in 24:2 Balaam appears to be looking down for the first time upon Israel encamped at the foot of the mountain, but in ch. 23 he had had the same view twice already. But there is not the slightest intimation that this was his first view of the camp of Israel. Balak was taking him from point to point in the hope that the ill success of his former endeavors might be remedied by surveying them from another station and under another aspect.

He further claims that the spot indicated 23:28 as the one from which the view is taken, is precisely the same as that in v. 14, for Peor must be identical with Pisgah, since both are said to "look down upon the desert," see 21:20 ; as if the outlook from two different peaks might not be in the same direction.

As Wellhausen's attempt to prove the existence of a "seam" in 23:25-24:1 is ineffectual, Dillmann tries to accomplish the same end in a different way. He admits that the author of ch. 23 may have had more than two discourses of Balaam, and that vs. 27,28 may be from his pen and introductory to a third discourse, but they have been transposed with v. 25, and the hand of R is apparent in vs. 28-30. The suggestion of a transposition is quite uncalled for; v. 25 does not close the transaction. Balak expresses the wish that if Balaam found that he could not curse, he would at least refrain from blessing. Balaam reminds the king that, as he had already told him, he was obliged to speak whatever Jehovah bade him. This naturally leads Balak to seek to nullify the blessings thus far pronounced by another effort to obtain the wished for curse. The interference of R with the text is thought to be seen in two particulars. "Looketh down upon the desert," v. 28, is alleged to have been inserted by R, and copied by him from 21:20, which is simply an inference from the critical partition which assigns these verses to distinct sources, and moreover does not explain why R should here attach a statement to Peor that is there annexed to Pishgah; and if the allegation were true, it would only be an additional reason for disputing Wellhausen's use of this clause based on the assumption of its genuineness. The actual fact is that the itinerary in 21:19,20, cannot be dis severed from the narrative before us, for it was introduced as preparatory to the mention of the stations selected by Balak.

The second allegation and the principal one is that R inserted vs. 29,30, the proof being that they are identical with vs. 1,2, whereas in the intervening instance v. 14, the same thing is more briefly stated. But the grounds of the conclusion are not very obvious. Why should not the writer spread out in full detail the preparations for this last ineffectual attempt, even if he had not dwelt at equal length upon the one that immediately preceded? After the sacrifices had been offered, Balaam sought no further auguries, since the conviction was now riveted upon him, that it pleased Jehovah to bless Israel. In spite of what he had said, 18:19,20, he had not until this moment abandoned the secret hope, that by renewed sacrifices Jehovah might yet be propitiated and induced to favor their designs against his people. He now saw that this was hopeless, and accordingly surrendered himself without prosecuting the arts of divination further to the influence of the Spirit of God, which came upon him as he lifted up his eyes and gazed upon the hosts of Israel spread out before him.

"The wilderness," 24:1, is the plains of Moab, in which Israel was then encamped, 22:1. The expression does not justify the assumption of a difference of view as to the location of the people.

According to the narrative the first two views obtained of the people were partial, 22:41; 23:13. Balak rested his hope of a different result on taking Balaam to another spot, whence a full view of the entire encampment could be gained, 24:2.

This evident progression, which presupposes a third discourse additional to the two preceding, Dillmann seeks to set aside by the unfounded assertion that the limiting clause in 23:13 is an interpolation by R; and that the meaning of v. 13a is that a complete view of the people was gained from that point. But this arbitrary reversal of the explicit statement of the verse writes the condemnation of the critical hypothesis which requires it.

It is said still further that it would not be surprising if Balaam had introduced himself by an appropriate description in the first and second discourses and omitted to do this in those that followed, but that he should thus announce himself as the speaker for the first time in the third and fourth discourses, 24:3,4,15,16, is insupposable. The explanation is not difficult, however. It is from the increased emphasis with which he would affirm the greatness and the future triumphs of Israel in language transcending any he had hitherto used that he prefaces these discourses with explicit and reiterated declarations of the inspiration by which he spoke. He now for the first time abandons auguries, and surrenders himself wholly to the Spirit of God, that has come upon him with new power. Wellhausen argues that the author of 23:21,22,24 cannot have plagiarized from himself, and hence cannot have written 24:7-9; the two chapters are therefore not from the same hand. But why may not the same essential thought be repeated in different discourses by the same speaker, when dealing with the same general theme? Ch. 23:22 is repeated in almost identical terms in 24:8a, but the figure is developed in the latter passage and not in the former. And this is the only repetition. Israel's king is twice spoken of, but in 23:21 it is Jehovah, in 24:7 an earthly monarch. In 24:9 as in 23:24 the people are compared to a lion, but differently conceived; in the one case he is seeking his prey, in the other he is in repose. There is no mere copying, or tame repetition. A kindred thought is presented, or a like image with a varied application; suggestive of the free movement of the same vigorous mind, not of the servile imitator. The further assertion that 23:23 must be regarded as an interpolation thrust in between v. 22 and 24, because there is nothing corresponding to it between 24:8 and 9, is based on the gratuitous and false assumption that one passage is borrowed from the other or modelled after it. That it is a marginal gloss derived from a misinterpretation of "iniquity," 23:21 is without foundation. The verse is appropriate in the connection in which it stands, and as Dillmann observes may be regarded as preparatory to 24:1.

The denial of the reality of predictive prophecy leads the critics to affirm on the basis of Balaam's fourth discourse that the prophecies attributed to him cannot be dated prior to the reign of David,* whose victories they find here

* This, too, is Dillmann's principal reason for assigning ch. 24 to the Judæan J, rather than the Ephraimite E.

described, and the last three discourses must belong to a much later period still, when the events there foreshown had taken place.*

The fact is, however, as Hävernicks† has clearly shown, that the prophecies of Balaam are appropriate to the Mosaic age, and to no other. He speaks of the tents of Jacob, of the people as brought forth out of Egypt, of Moab, Edom, Amalek, and the Kenites, but makes no mention of the Philistines. It is said of Amalek that Israel's king shall be greater than Agag 24:7, that Amalek shall perish forever, v. 20, and of Edom, that he shall come under the dominion of Israel, v. 18. This has been said to refer to the reign of Saul, who took Agag captive. But he did not destroy the Amalekites nor take possession of Edom. This was first done by David, and then it would not have occurred to anyone to exalt the greatness of Israel's king by a comparison with Amalek, or to make particular mention of Agag in such a connection. Still further, why should Asshur be said to waste the Kenites in particular, if this was written from the standpoint of the Assyrian period? And where was there even then anything answering to ships from Chittim afflicting Asshur and afflicting Eber? The terms of the prophecy carry us forward to the Greek and Roman empires; and that this should be written *post eventum* is quite impossible.

It is likewise alleged that a totally different representation of Balaam from that in the narrative before us is implied in 31:8,16, Josh. 13:22, according to which it was by his crafty counsel that the Midianitish women seduced the Israelites to idolatry and fornication, and he was slain in the war against Midian, by which the crime was avenged. It is said that this is quite another Balaam from the one who governed himself so constantly in his words and actions by the bidding of Jehovah. But his inclination to gratify Balak by cursing Israel appears throughout, and was only held in check by the constraint divinely laid upon him. But when Jehovah had accomplished his purpose of making him bless Israel against his will, and the divine constraint was taken off, what was to prevent his native inclination from resuming its sway, and that with the greater violence from the temporary check to which it had been subjected? He knew that the secret of Israel's strength, and of their future predominance lay in the blessing and favor of Jehovah. If they could only be persuaded to be unfaithful to him, their ruin would be effected. Hence his malicious suggestion. That Balaam's connection with the criminality of Baal-Peor is not intimated in ch. 25, but only brought out

* Vatke, who gives the whole of ch. 22-24 without exception to E, remarks (*Einleitung in d. A. T.*, p. 373): "The criticism of the Pentateuch is essentially fixed by this section; for by it alone are we able to determine the age of the sources. Balaam prophesies that Israel's king, viz: Saul shall be greater than Agag, cf. 1 Sam. 15:8,32,33; David's victories over Moab and Edom, 24:17,18; ships from Chittim humble Assyria = Shalmaneser compelled to withdraw from Tyre A.D. 722. But he knows nothing of the destruction of the Assyrians before Jerusalem in 701, which he must have mentioned, if it had taken place. E must consequently have written between 722 and 701." Such an argument can of course have weight only with those who agree with the critic in his principles, and in his interpretation of the details of the prophecy.

† *Einleitung in d. A. T.*, I., 2, p. 507.

incidentally, 31:16, is doubtless because it only became known to Israel after his malicious designs had been carried into effect.

It has also been charged that this is contradictory to 24:14,25, according to which Balaam returned to Mesopotamia after his interview with Balak ; how then could he have counselled Midian, as he is said to have done, or have been slain in the war with Midian ? The question is simply addressed to our ignorance. The history had no further concern with Balaam than to record what he did to the chosen people. It had no interest in giving the details of his biography. Whether he reached Pethor and was again sent for, or whether he simply started back on his way thither, and was diverted to give aid to Midian, we do not know. Either is possible, and either would be in harmony with all recorded facts. In strictness, 24:25, affirms simply that Balaam turned back homeward ; that he actually reached his home might be presumed, if there were no reason to suspect the contrary, but it does not properly lie in the words. The interview with Balak had a very different result from that which had been anticipated. It now ended abruptly. Balak and Balaam parted, each going his own way, disappointed and chagrined. There was no occasion to say more.

3. Chapter 25.

The critics claim that vs. 1-5 are not in accord with vs. 6-19. Nöldeke sought to account for this by the assumption that the opening verses of the chapter had been "worked over"; but Knobel and others after him maintain that different sources have here been drawn upon. According to one Israel was led astray by Moabitish women, v. 1, according to the other by Midianitish, v. 6. In the former the offence was both whoredom and idolatry, vs. 1-3, in the latter whoredom only. In the former the transgressors were executed, vs. 4,5, in the latter they were punished by a plague that swept away 24,000, v. 9. In the former Moses by the Lord's command bid the judges inflict the penalty of death upon all the guilty, vs. 4,5 ; in the latter Phinehas unsolicited under the impulse of his own zeal transfixes with his javelin a particularly flagrant offender, vs. 7,8. Accordingly we are told that vs. 1-5 is from E or JE, and vs. 6sq. from P. But then the awkward confession has to be made that P's narrative lacks a beginning, and JE's lacks a conclusion. It must be assumed, therefore, that R has omitted the beginning of P's narrative, and substituted for it an extract from JE, which really has no congruity with it ; and that he has in like manner dropped the end of JE's narrative, substituting for it an extract from P, to which it is altogether unrelated. The question then arises what conception we are to have of the good sense or the good faith of R, who could unwittingly or on purpose blend together two stories as distinct and as unlike as these are represented to be. How he could have perpetrated such a mistake with both narratives in full before him, when the

critics detect it so readily from the fragments that remain, it is difficult to imagine.

But apart from this embarrassment inherent in the very supposition of such an incongruous combination the proposed partition of the chapter is explicitly nullified by v. 18, where the matter of Peor, v. 3, and the matter of Cozbi, v. 15, are joined together as part and parcel of the same transaction, with which moreover the plague, v. 9, was associated. From this direct and positive testimony there is no escape but by a fresh assumption that R has either himself inserted vs. 17, 18, or has seriously meddled with the text.

The aid of R must also be invoked in other cases before the way is cleared for the partition of this chapter. The allusion to this same affair in 31:16 combines the trespass against Jehovah in the matter of Peor which the children of Israel were induced to commit, 25:3, with a resulting plague among the congregation, 25:9. The same combination recurs Josh. 22:17, again binding together the two parts of this chapter, which the critics insist on separating. Fresh assumptions of the interference of R with the text are necessary to get rid of these testimonies. The same thing seems to be implied in Deut. 4:3, which couples the sin of Baal-peor with divine inflictions upon those by whom it was committed. Ps. 106:28, 29 is also based upon the history in its present form. There is not the slightest indication anywhere that the narrative ever existed or was in circulation in any other form, none that it was ever known or referred to in either of the partial forms severally attributed to JE and P. Every allusion to it demonstrates that it was from the first the same complete whole, embracing all the particulars which it now contains. These do not belong to distinct much less discrepant accounts of the transactions here recorded, but constitute together one well-ordered and consistent whole, whose several portions are mutually supplementary, but in no respect discordant or suggestive whether of variant tradition or diversity of authorship.

The critics undertake to supply the lost beginning of P's narrative in substance at least by a comparison of 31:16. Dillmann tells us that it must have been prefaced by an account of the crafty counsel given by Balaam the soothsayer to the Midianites to seduce the Israelites by their women, and thus bring them into disfavor with Jehovah; also by the further statement that this was done and was followed by the plague. Wellhausen goes so far as to detect some misplaced fragments of this original preface in the elders of Midian going to consult Balaam with the rewards of divination in their hand, 22:4, 7. Kuenen on the contrary contends, *Hex.*, p. 335, that Balaam could not have been mentioned in the verses preceding 25:6, or R would not have omitted it. This premise is correct enough in itself, and might naturally raise the question whether the true beginning of the narrative, vs. 6 sqq., which the critics are at so much pains to find, may not after all be before their eyes in vs. 1-5. Kuenen, however, uses it not to close but to

widen the breach already made, by inferring that P could not have connected Balaam with the affair of Baal-peor in 31:16, which in his view is not the work even of R, but of a later diaskeuast, to whom indeed the whole of chap. 31 is to be referred and consequently 25:16-18 also, which is evidently preliminary to it.

But such sweeping consequences are quite too hasty. The writer knew of Balaam's connection with this scandalous transaction, but it was unknown to Israel at the time that the trespass was committed. His secret agency in the matter was, therefore, reserved for mention at the appropriate time, when all was revealed and the unworthy seer suffered the penalty of his misdeed.

And now why is not vs. 1-5 the suitable introduction to the verses that follow? The plague which had broken out among the people, vs. 8,9, and on account of which, v. 6, they were weeping at the door of the Tabernacle, is already intimated in v. 3, "the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel," and in the measures required to be taken, v. 4, "that the fierce anger of the Lord might be turned away from Israel."

The intimate connection of unchastity and idolatry nullifies the pretence that the criminality of v. 6 is dissociated from that of Baal-peor, v. 3, even if this were not explicitly set aside by v. 18. The act of Phinehas is quite in accord with the spirit of the command in v. 5. The ascription of the enticement, v. 1, to the daughters of Moab, whereas in the rest of the chapter only Midianites and Midianitish women are spoken of, only shows that women of both Moab and Midian participated in the offence. And that the latter were the chief instigators is apparent both from vs. 16-18, and from ch. 31. The reason of all this is obvious from the situation. Israel was now encamped in "the plains of Moab," 22:1, a territory once belonging to Moab and still called by his name, but which had been wrested from him by the Amorites, and was now occupied by Israel after their victory over Sihon, 21:25,26,31. The women who were natives of the country were naturally called "daughters of Moab." At the same time Midianites were mingled with them in large numbers, and their princes had held positions of authority in this region under Sihon, Josh. 18:21; Num. 31:8. It was by the plotting of these princes and their subordinates that Israel was brought into this great peril. It does not appear that Balak took any part in it. It was properly upon Midian, therefore, and not Moab that this great crime was avenged.

Dillmann is not content with sundering vs. 1-5 from vs. 6 sqq., but undertakes to split up vs. 1-5 likewise, in which he is followed by Kittel. He accomplishes this by his usual method of doublets. He alleges that 3a duplicates 2b, and that v. 5 duplicates v. 4, which they do not. In the former instance a general statement of their participation in idolatry (cf. Ex. 34:15) is followed by a statement of the particular deity to which they had addicted themselves. In the latter case a direction given by the Lord to Moses is repeated by him to those charged

with its execution. There is no superfluous iteration in either. The alternation of the terms "Israel" and "people" also furnishes him a pretext for division. Guided by this criterion he assigns vs. 1a,3,5 to E, vs. 1b,2,4a to J. But here his criterion breaks down; for 4b, which continues and completes the sentence begun in 4a, not only stands in the closest relation to v. 3, but has "Israel" instead of "people" as in the first clause of the verse. There is no resource consequently but to assume that R has here again been tampering with the text.

As a result of this partition Dillmann finds two differing accounts in these opening verses. According to J the people were unchaste with Moabitish women and were led by them to idolatry, whilst in E Moab is not named and the trespass of Israel consisted in their apostasy to Baal-peor. As a matter of course the elimination of certain portions of a narrative carries with it whatever they contain. The attempt to justify this critical severance by the statement that Josh. 24:9 sq. and Deut. 28:5 sq. do not charge on the Moabites the injury to Israel through Baal-peor, is altogether wide of the mark. These passages serve rather to refute the critics' assumption based on the severance of vs. 1-5 from the rest of the chapter, that the Moabites were the only or the chief aggressors in the present instance. The blame falls mainly on the Midianites. Neither the king of Moab nor the Moabitish nation as such were engaged in this transaction. The appeal to Hos. 9:10 is void of all significance, for the brevity of the allusion contains no suggestion of the influence under which the sin was committed.

Nöldeke finds a diversity between vs. 4 and 5; according to the former the heads of the people were to be hung up before the Lord, according to the latter the offenders were to be executed by the judges. Baumgarten explains this as a mitigation of the original sentence. The heads of the people by reason of their official position were held responsible for the people's sin and were ordered to be executed, but Moses confiding in the divine mercy ventured to relax this stern command and charged the judges to put to death such as were actually guilty. But the difficulty is imaginary and arises simply from a misinterpretation. As Knobel shows, the divine command to Moses was not to hang up the heads of the people, but to summon them to his assistance and hang *them*, i. e. the guilty parties, those who acted in the criminal manner described in the preceding verses. This command Moses repeats to the judges, who were "heads of the people," Ex. 18:25,26. Dillmann tries to make capital out of the apparent ambiguity of v. 4 for his critical dissection, alleging that it has arisen from the manipulation of R. But if R thought the sense sufficiently clear as determined by the connection, why may not the original writer have been of the same mind?

The critics say that the narrative of J must in its primitive form have contained an account of the execution of this command. Knobel thinks that the Redactor in combining the accounts assumed that the plague took the place of the threatened executions. Keil is of the opinion that the order given to the

judges was not carried into effect, because it was superseded by the act of Phinehas. This, however, seems rather to be mentioned as a signal instance in which an offender of high rank met his deserts, and Phinehas is commended for the deed, and the priesthood is confirmed to him and his descendants for the zeal thus shown. As in similar instances the fulfillment of the order though not recorded is to be taken for granted, cf. Ex. 17:14; 19:12; 33:21; Num. 10:2,31.

Dillmann queries whether vs. 10-13 is not a later addition because of some expressions not elsewhere found in P. Other critics do not share his scruples, and quote both the sentiment and the language of these verses as undoubtedly indicative of P. Zur the father of Cozbi is called, v. 15, head of the people of a fathers' house in Midian; v. 18, the prince of Midian; 31:8, a king of Midian; all in the same document. Such differences are, when it suits the critics, urged as proving a diversity of writers.

4. Chapters 26, 27:1-11.

Vater suggested that the census of ch. 26 may be only another account of that recorded in ch. 1. And Wellhausen complains (*Comp. d. Hex.*, p. 184) that no express mention is made at the outset of a previous enumeration. At the very least he says, the divine command in v. 2 should be, "Take the sum *again*," and this should be followed by an explicit statement that "they numbered the people *a second time*." Wellhausen seems to forget of how little avail such explicit references are in checking the adverse conclusions of critics. The very words for which he asks are found in Josh. 5:2, but "again" and "the second time" are there summarily thrown out of the text as harmonizing additions by a Redactor. It is not, he adds, until the close of the chapter, vs. 63,64, that this numbering by Moses and Eleazar in the plains of Moab is contrasted with that by Moses and Aaron in the wilderness of Sinai, and the statement made that Caleb and Joshua alone survived of those previously numbered. But this, he claims, directly contradicts v. 4, the last clause of which he sunders from what precedes and connects with v. 5 so as to read, "And the children of Israel, which went forth out of the land of Egypt, are as follows, viz: Reuben, etc." This is accordingly declared to be an enumeration of those who had come forth out of Egypt, which does not consist with the statement that but two of all those who came out of Egypt were included. Kuenen (*Hex.*, p. 100) and Dillmann admit the correctness of Wellhausen's rendering of the existing text, but charge that "vs. 3,4 are corrupt* and warrant no certain conclusion."

* To sustain his charge of the corruption of the text Kuenen asks, To whom does אֲנִי refer, v. 3? (evidently to "the children of Israel," v. 2), and alleges that the beginning of v. 4 is wanting (but the ellipsis is readily supplied from v. 2). Dillmann adds that אֲנִי after דָּבָר is unexampled, which is merely of force as against the Massoretic punctuation; if it be pointed אֲנִי, it has numerous parallels, e. g. Gen. 17:22; 28:8; 35:13-15; 41:9; 42:30, and its equivalent עַם occurs Gen. 31:29; Deut. 5:4; Josh. 24:27. He adds further that we should expect אֲנִי-בְנֵי instead of בְּנֵי if this were the object of נָקַד, but there are abundant examples to the contrary, e. g. Ex.

But there is really no difficulty in the case. It is only the improper division of the sentence which creates even the semblance of trouble. The text is correct as it stands, and the various emendations which have been proposed are needless and uncalled for. The English version renders it correctly, "As the Lord commanded Moses and the children of Israel which came forth out of the land of Egypt." As plain as words can make it, direction is given that the present enumeration should have the same limit of age, "from twenty years old and upward," as God had commanded on the previous occasion when Israel had just come out of Egypt. So interpreted, as it was intended to be, the clause has its appropriate force, and contrasts the situation in which the former census was made with that of the present. But as it is linked by Wellhausen, it is superfluous and unmeaning. Why should a census taken years after the exodus be introduced by saying, "The children of Israel, *who came forth out of the land of Egypt*, were" so and so? And what heedless stupidity is attributed to the Redactor, who could introduce such absolutely contradictory statements in the course of a single chapter, as Wellhausen would fasten upon him.

In addition to this explicit reference to the preceding census in v. 4, there are repeated indications in the chapter that this numbering took place near the close of the sojourn in the wilderness, as the preceding had occurred at the beginning. It was, v. 1, "after the plague" an allusion to the events of the foregoing chapter; it was made under the direction of Moses and Eleazar, vs. 1,3, who had succeeded to the high priest's office upon the death of Aaron, 20:25-28. It took place, v. 8, "in the plains of Moab by Jordan near Jericho." It was, vs. 9-11, after the rebellion of Korah, Dathan and Abiram, related in ch. 16. It was preparatory to the division of the land of Canaan, vs. 52-56, upon the possession of which they were shortly to enter. It was, vs. 64,65, after the full execution of the sentence incurred on the occasion of the mission of the spies, ch. 14. Wellhausen himself confesses the propriety of the enumeration on two distinct occasions, with separate ends in view, each being an indispensable part of the narrative in which it is found, and even the order in which the tribes are named in ch. 26 being determined by the arrangement of the camp fixed in chs. 1,2.*

The futility of the inferences, which the critics so frequently draw, that a writer has no knowledge of a fact which he has before related, because he does not repeat the mention of it, whenever they think that he might do so, is clearly shown by this signal instance.

33:2; Deut. 12:6; 1 Kgs. 1:44. And he urges that no such formula occurs elsewhere. This is true. The Lord ordinarily speaks to Moses, and makes him the medium of communication with the people. But if the Lord uttered his command to Moses and Moses delivered it to the children of Israel, why is it not entirely proper to say, as is here said, The Lord commanded Moses and the children of Israel?

* The order of the tribes in ch. 26 is precisely that of ch. 1, except that in naming the sons of Joseph the order of Ephraim and Manasseh is reversed, which is due to the change in their relative numerical strength. At the second census Manasseh had so increased as greatly to outnumber Ephraim, and is accordingly given the precedence.

Dr. Harper (*HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 277, note) thinks that "considerable doubt is cast on the historicity of the numbers" by the circumstance that "the aggregate number is very nearly the same, cf. 1:46 with 26:51," in the two enumerations; and that "in both, the tribal numbers as well as the total number are never given in units, and except in two cases (1:25; 26:7) are given only in hundreds." It is plain that the intention was to give the statement in round numbers, but why this should create suspicion of their unreality does not appear. Nor is there any obvious reason why in such a period of judgment the natural increase may not have been balanced by the losses, and while considerable changes occurred in the numbers of individual tribes, the sum of the whole may not have amounted to nearly the same as before.

The critics allege that vs. 9-11 is an interpolation. Their reason for this is thus frankly stated by Kuenen (*Hex.*, p. 100). It "refers to Num. 16 in its present form, and is therefore a later addition." It flatly contradicts the critical assumption that the rebellion of Dathan and Abiram is quite distinct from the conspiracy of Korah, and that the latter is an invention of a subsequent period, which came ultimately to be blended with the former. This passage confirms the narrative of ch. 16 in all its leading features, while the critics discredit it, and in order to get rid of its unwelcome testimony they arbitrarily pronounce it spurious. On a subsequent page (*Hex.*, p. 335) Kuenen modifies his view somewhat. "On closer examination we see that these three verses are not from a single hand. The author of vs. 9,10 includes Dathan and Abiram amongst Korah's band, and therefore cannot have held this latter and his followers to have been Levites. His position is that of the first redactor of Num. 16. On the other hand the writer of v. 11 ('and the sons of Korah perished not') goes on the assumption that at any rate Korah himself was a Levite, and he wishes to explain how it could be that after the captivity there was still a Levitical clan of the B'ne Korah." But there is no divergence between these verses themselves nor between them and Num. 16. The only thing at variance with either is the unwarranted inferences of the critics. The combination of Korah with Dathan and Abiram does not prove Korah to have been a non-Levite contrary to the express declarations of ch. 16 and the plain meaning of ch. 26. The fact that "the children of Korah died not" is not explicitly mentioned ch. 16,* but is not in conflict with anything there narrated, and is indeed, as Dillmann points out, implied in the form of expression, "all the men that appertained unto Korah and all their goods," denoting that "not his sons, but only his possessions and servants perished with

* F. H. Ranke (*Untersuchungen*, II., p. 243) observes that in ch. 16, "which was chiefly concerned with the miraculous sanction of the priesthood, it was not the place to go into details respecting Korah's family. But here, where the families of Israel are enumerated, including those of the Levites (vs. 57-62), among which we find the Korahite (v. 58),—here it was quite appropriate to insert a remark respecting the sons of Korah, who moreover had already been named before and so designated as especially worthy of note, Ex. 6:24."

*8

Korah."* And the introduction of this statement in the chapter before us is not for the sake of explaining a state of things which existed "after the captivity," but to prepare the way for the mention, v. 58, of the Korahite family among the Levites, which still survived after the catastrophe which overwhelmed Korah and his guilty associates.

It is argued that v. 7 completes the enumeration of the Reubenites in the regular form adopted in the case of the other tribes, and that vs. 8-11 are a digression from the main subject of the chapter. But this is no evidence of interpolation. On the contrary it is in accordance with the usage of the genealogical and statistical lists of the Pentateuch to insert brief notices of particular persons or events mentioned in the antecedent or subsequent history. The like occurs again in v. 33 of this chapter, where the mention of Zelophehad and his daughters is preparatory to the incident recorded in ch. 27, and where no one suspects an interpolation.†

Dillmann points out a discrepancy between vs. 29-33 and Josh. 17:1,2 which has no existence. He alleges that in the former passage Machir is the only son of Manasseh and all the families of the tribe are descended from him, whereas according to the latter Manasseh had several other children. But as appears from Josh. 17:3, these children were descended from him through Machir.

Wellhausen fancies a disagreement between vs. 57,58 and Ex. 6:16 sqq.; Num. 8:17 sqq. In v. 57 the three leading families or divisions of the tribe of Levi are named as in the other passages. But in v. 58 a different division is given into five families (Wellhausen adds Kohath and so counts six), which are not set in any relation to the preceding; whilst in the other passages these and several more besides are said to have been descended from the first three. But it is obvious

* Dillmann even claims from his critical stand-point that the last clause of 16:32 was inserted by the Redactor with definite reference to 26:12, and in order to explain the statement there made. They must therefore be in perfect accord. Whether this is due to the Redactor, or to the truth of history as recorded by the original writer, is another matter.

† The expressions in vs. 9,10 correspond so exactly with those employed in ch. 16 as to afford small chance for objecting on the score of diction. Dillmann, however, adduces נָזַח and נָזַח as foreign to the document in which they here occur. The former is from a verb which in its Niphal form occurs in every document of the Pentateuch, as the critics divide them, Ex. 2:13 J (so Well.); 21:22 E; Lev. 24:10 P; Deut. 25:11 D. The Hiphil occurs twice in this passage, and but once beside in the O. Test., viz., in the title of Ps. 60. If any weight is to be attached to the argument from this source, it can only be on the ground that a writer can never employ a word in one place unless he also uses the same form of it elsewhere. And this will make against the Redactor, to whom Dillmann would assign this passage, quite as much as against the several authors of the so-called Pentateuchal documents. The only one to whom it can be assigned on that principle is the author of the title of Ps. 60. It is said that נָזַח is here used in a different sense from that which it has Num. 21:8,9; but it is only a figurative employment based on the very same signification. Dillmann further remarks that the Samaritan text of v. 10 has נָזַח for נָזַח and inserts קָרַח before חֲמִשִּׁים, thus betraying an acquaintance with the original text of 16:34." But this is of a piece with the numerous inaccuracies and arbitrary alterations to be found in the Samaritan. A wrong interpretation was put upon ch. 16 as though Korah was consumed by fire at the Tabernacle along with the 250 men who were offering incense, and this verse was changed to correspond.

that this affords no justification for Wellhausen's assumption that the genealogies of Ex. 6 and Num. 3 are a later development from the more primitive material supplied in Num. 26:57,58; and quite as little for Dillmann's proposed reversal of this relation. In this last passage the descent already spoken of in the foregoing is assumed as known; and only those names are mentioned which came to be applied to permanent subdivisions of the tribe.

In the same way the occasional deviations of Num. 26 from the genealogy in Gen. 46 are to be explained. From the twelve sons of Jacob sprang the tribes of Israel; from his grandsons sprang the several families or tribal divisions. In the centuries that intervened some inconsiderable changes naturally took place in these lines of division. A few families died out or were so reduced in numbers as no longer to maintain a separate existence; while a few were subdivided and thus gave rise to fresh families.

The suggestion of Kayser that vs. 58-61 and v. 65 are additions by R is endorsed by Dillmann, who attributes v. 64 to him likewise. Nöldeke contents himself with striking from v. 59 the statement that Jochebed was the daughter of Levi and born in Egypt, as well as the mention of Miriam. Kuenen with more reason admits that all these verses are an original constituent of the chapter. The official position of Aaron certainly justified the insertion of these particulars respecting his family. And the fulfilment of 14:29 was too signal to be overlooked; nor is the record of it to be summarily dismissed on the groundless suspicion that it is a legendary addition sprung from too literal an interpretation of the threatening.

Wellhausen raises the question whether 27:1-11 is in its proper place. Must not the settlement of details follow rather than precede the determination of general principles? Must not the allotment of the land as a whole be regulated first as in chs. 32,34,35 before a particular case under the law of inheritance could arise? And if this passage were transposed after ch. 35, it would be brought into juxtaposition with ch. 36, where the very same case is handled further. While, however, Wellhausen insists on certain dislocations in the chapters that follow, he justly maintains that the paragraph before us belongs where it stands. It is linked with the preceding enumeration, which was made in order to obtain an accurate basis for the division of the land, 26:52-56. This brought to view a family with several daughters and no sons, v. 33, and inquiry was at once made on their behalf, whether they and others similarly situated were to be deprived of an equitable share in the common inheritance.

The explanation given, v. 3, that Zelophehad of the tribe of Manasseh was not in the company of Korah, implies that non-Levites were associated with Korah in his conspiracy. It thus gives additional confirmation to the fact, as recorded in ch. 16, that Dathan and Abiram were partners with him in his guilt, and conflicts with the critical hypotheses that are based on a contrary supposition.

5) THE LANGUAGE OF P.*

OLD WORDS.

(1) כבוד V., p. 174 (6:17). (2) יהוה (3) האסף אל עמיו יהוה Sect. 15, Lang. of P. (4) ערת בני ישראל Sect. 7, Lang. of P. (5) זרע אחרי Sect. 5, Lang. of P. (6) נשיא Sect. 15, Lang. of P. (7) בית אב always assigned to P. (8) למשפחותם V., p. 174 (8:13sq.). (9) ארץ כנען VI., p. 117. (10) ילד Hiph., V., p. 163 (13). (11) אש זרה Lev.

10:1; Num. 3:4 P; 26:61 R; all in Hex. (13) שָׁאָר Lev. 18:6,12,13; 25:49; Num. 27:11 P; Lev. 20:19; 21:3 J; different sense Ex. 21:10 E.

NEW WORDS.

(1) רִמָּה Num. 25:7 P; all in Hex.
(2) קָבָה Num. 25:8 P; all in O. T.
(3) דָּקָר Num. 25:8 P; all in Hex.
(4) קָבָה Num. 25:8 P; all in O. T.

6) THE LANGUAGE OF J.†

OLD WORDS.

(1) לקראת Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (2) יד חזקה Sect. 13, Lang. of J. (3) יהוה (4) שמע בקול Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (5) שקף Sect. 6, Lang. of J. (6) על-כן Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (7) עתה V., p. 155. (8) נָא Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (9) חרה אף V., p. 163. (10) לחץ Sect. 13, Lang. of E. (11) יסף V., p. 163. (12) רבץ V., p. 163. (13) זָה used adverbially, Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (14) הָרֶגְנָה Sect. 13, Lang. of J. (15) אָנֹכִי Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (16) קרר והשתחוה Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (17) רע בעיני Sect. 10, Lang. of J. (18) אָפַס Sect. 17, Lang. of J. (19) שִׁית Sect. 8, Lang. of J. (20) נשא עינים Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (21) חוזה Sect. 15, Lang. of E. (22) אָהֵל Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (23) נֹזֵל Sect. 15, Lang. of E. (24) נָטַע Gen. 2:8; 9:20; 21:33; Lev. 19:23; Num. 24:6 J; Ex. 15:17 E; Josh. 24:13 Rd; Deut. 6:11; 16:21; 20:8; 28:30,39; all in Hex. (25) אָרַר Sect. 12, Lang. of J. (26) מָנַע Sect. 8, Lang. of E. (27) חָלַל (= to begin), Gen. 4:26; 6:1; 9:20; 10:8; 11:8; 44:12; Num. 25:1 J; Gen. 41:54 E; Num. 17:11,12 P; Josh. 3:7 D; Deut. 2:25,31; 3:24; 16:9; (different sense Num. 30:3); all in Hex.

NEW WORDS.

(1) כַּת (= village, suburb); Num. 21:25,28; 32:42; Josh. 17:16 J; Josh. 17:11 R; Josh. 15:45,47 out out of a P context, and assigned to R on account of this word; all in Hex.
(2) מַשֵּׁל (= a proverb maker) Num. 21:27 J; all in Hex.
(3) שְׁבִיטָה (= captivity) Num. 21:29 J; all in Hex.
(4) קָבַח (= curse) Num. 22:17; 24:10 J; 22:11; 23:8,11,13,25,27 E; all in O. T.
(5) שָׁטַן Num. 22:22,32 J; all in Hex.
(6) שָׁלַף Num. 22:23,31; Josh. 5:13 J; all in Hex.
(7) מַשְׁעוֹל Num. 22:24 J; all in O. T.
(8) נָרַר Num. 22:24 J; all in Hex. (נָרַרָה Num. 22:16,24,36 E).
(9) הִסְכֵּן Num. 22:30 J; all in Hex.
(10) יָרַט Num. 22:32 J; besides in O. T. only Job 16:11.
(11) כָּפַעַם כָּפַעַם (= habitually) Num. 24:1 J; all in Hex.
(12) מַשֵּׁל נִשָּׂא Num. 24:3,15 J; 23:7,18 E; 24:20,21,23 R; all in Hex.
(13) סָפַק Num. 24:10 J; all in Hex.

7) THE LANGUAGE OF E.‡

OLD WORDS.

(1) תְּלֵאָה Ex. 18:8; Num. 20:14 E; all in Hex.
(2) צֶעַק V., p. 163. (3) נָא Sect. 5, Lang. of E. (4) פֶּן V., p. 155. (5) לקראת Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (6) רַק V., p. 175. (7) מָאֵן Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (8) נָתַן (= permit) Sect. 6, Lang. of E. (9) רָכַב (= to speak against) Sect. 17, Lang. of

E. (10) אֱלֹהִים (11) הִתְפַּלֵּל Sect. 6, Lang. of E. (12) הִבִּיט Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (13) עַל-כֵּן Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (14) שָׁעַן Sect. 6, Lang. of J. (15) אָז Sect. 12, Lang. of J. (16) חָפַר Sect. 6, Lang. of E. (17) כָּרַה Sect. 12, Lang. of J. (18) עָתָה V., p. 155. (19) אֹוִי Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (20) אָרַר Sect. 12, Lang. of J. (21) גִּרַּשׁ V.,

* The numbers are those of *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 276.

† The numbers are those of *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 280sq.

‡ The numbers are those of *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 285.

p. 154 (41). (22) לִין Sect. 6, Lang. of J. (23) קָבַב Sect. 18, Lang. of J. (24) יָסַף V., p. 163. (25) מָנַע Sect. 8, Lang. of E. (26) אָמְנָם Sect. 6, Lang. of J. (27) שִׁים V., p. 154. (28) מִזְבֵּחַ V., p. 175. (29) עֹלָה (= sacrifice), Sect. 6, Lang. of E. (30) עֹלָה V., p. 175 (8:20-22), Sect. 6, Lang. of E. (31) קָרָה Sect. 11, Lang. of J. (32) צֹר Sect. 15, Lang. of E. (33) הָן Sect. 12, Lang. of J. (34) אָמַם Sect. 17, Lang. of J. (35) רָאִיוּ V., p. 164, Sect. 15, Lang. of E. (36) עָמַל

Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (37) נָרַשׁ Num. 23:23 E; 24:1 J; all in Hex. (38) חָרָה אֵף V., p. 163. (39) הָרַג Sect. 13, Lang. of J.

NEW WORDS.

- (1) מִסְלָה Num. 20:19 E; all in Hex.
- (2) מְכָר (= price) Num. 20:19 E; all in Hex.
- (3) אָשַׁד Num. 21:15 E; (אֲשֶׁרֶת) Josh. 10:40; 12:3,8; 18:20 Rd; Deut. 3:17; 4:49.
- (4) שָׁפַי Num. 23:3 E; all in Hex.
- (5) נִצְמַד Num. 25:3,5 E; all in Hex.

SECTION 19. THE REMAINING HISTORICAL MATERIAL.

1. Deut. 32:48-52 = Num. 27:12-14.

The command to Moses to go up Mt. Abarim and see the land given to the children of Israel, and there be gathered to his people as Aaron had been because of their trespass at Meribah-Kadesh, is repeated in these passages for the most part in identical language. There is some diversity of opinion among the critics respecting the relations between them. Dillmann says P cannot have represented that the same command came twice to Moses, the first time without being obeyed, and the second time with no allusion to the first. It must, therefore, be supposed that Deut. 32:48-52 once stood in P before Num. 27:15-23 and in place of vs. 12-14, but in the final redaction of the Pentateuch was transferred to its present position before the execution of the command, Deut. 34, and was accordingly replaced in Numbers by vs. 12-14. Kuenen thinks that if R was the author of either passage, it must have been the second and not the first. He says (*Hex.*, p. 337), "We cannot determine whether this command was repeated once more in P itself after Num. 27:12-14, or whether R composed Deut. 32:48-52 in imitation of the former passage; but the former alternative is the more probable, as the passage in Deuteronomy is too independent for a mere copy."

Wellhausen has no difficulty in attributing both passages to the same writer and finding in them an actual repetition of the command, since so much had been inserted afterwards that it had been half forgotten. He understands Deut. 32:48 to mean that the second delivery of it occurred on the self-same day as the first; an emphatic statement which would have been quite unmeaning, if it had been repeated immediately after Num. 27:23, but becomes intelligible if the legislation in the plains of Moab, Num. 36:13, intervened, all which related to the future settlement in Canaan. Moses makes his last will and names Eleazar and Joshua executors. All this might have been embraced within a single day. With this view of the matter, ch. 31, the account of the Midianite war is incompatible, as it could not be brought within the time allowed. It is, therefore, declared to be no part of the original narrative. It is indeed, he admits, composed throughout in the spirit and manner of P, to whom the contiguous chapters are referred.

It is in accord with P's historical presuppositions, and is adapted to its place after ch. 27 by the express allusion, 31:2, to the command already given that Moses must be gathered to his people. But this is all waved aside by the dictum that the author of 27:12-23 could not possibly have had the exception, 31:2, in mind, which could have been attended to just as well or better directly after ch. 25.

According to Kuenen (*Hex.*, p. 102) "it is possible that 'this same day,' Deut. 32:48, may mean the day on which Moses received the prediction of his death. It is more probable, however, that some later day is meant, which was clearly indicated in a portion of P that had to be omitted when Deuteronomy was incorporated into it." Dillmann agrees with the critics already named in shortening the distance between the two passages under consideration by subtracting Deut. 1-32:47 as from a different source, also all that could as well or better have been communicated before, viz., ch. 27-30, or that must have been transacted previously, viz., ch. 31; and leaving only the appointment of Joshua, directions respecting the future division of the land, ch. 34-36, and the assignment of the land east of the Jordan, which also presupposes, 32:28, Moses' anticipation of his death. The self-same day of Deut. 32:48 is in his opinion neither that on which Moses was first warned of his approaching end, nor one referred to in some passage no longer extant, but that spoken of in Deut. 1:3.

Kayser is quite willing to leave Num. 31 in the place in which we find it and the laws in ch. 28-30 likewise, notwithstanding the fact that they separate 31:2 from 27:13 sqq. to which it plainly refers. He observes that such interruptions of the historical connection by legal passages are not rare elsewhere in P, e. g., Lev. 16:1 refers to ch. 10, yet is separated from it by ch. 11-15. This admission that a back reference from one passage to another is no evidence that these were originally in immediate juxtaposition, nullifies many critical conclusions, which rest on precisely this basis.

Nöldeke admits that both commands belong originally to the narrative, and he shows no anxiety to bring them nearer together by a process of elimination. The writer's purpose in recording the first was "to notify the reader that Moses' life was approaching its end, and to introduce the setting apart of his successor and the final arrangements and incidents; and this is repeated once again just before its execution."

This is the only sensible mode of dealing with the matter. The self-same day of Deut. 32:48 is not to be interpreted by some foreign context, to which it is arbitrarily linked by the critical severance of all that intervenes, but by the context in which it stands and to which the author of the book in its present form plainly intended that it should refer. Even if the critical analysis were admitted, it must still be contended, until the contrary is shown, that the Redactor has dealt fairly with his sources, and preserved their meaning unimpaired; and that the sense which they yield in combination is no perversion of that which they

expressed in their separate state. Thus interpreted in the only way that does not convict the Redactor of malfeasance, the day referred to is that on which Moses obeyed the last divine direction given to him on behalf of the people, 31:19,22; 32:44.

The general intimation was first given to Moses, 27:11-14, that his time had come to die. All that follows is in preparation for that event, the appointment of Joshua, supplementary laws to complete those already given, the punishment of Midian, directions regarding the division of the land, the farewell addresses to the people, and the delivery of the law to them in its final form. When all had been accomplished, he is bidden to ascend the mountain, view the land which he must not enter, and be gathered to his people. The somewhat miscellaneous character of these final arrangements, instead of discrediting the narrative, is true to nature and life. It gives the impression of a record made precisely as things occurred, and not of a fictitious narrative drawn up on an ideal plan. That some things remained to be attended to, which might have been done sooner, is no reason for assuming with Dillmann that the record is inaccurate, but the reverse. No motive can be assigned for inserting the laws in Num. 28-30 just where they are found, if that was not the time at which they were given.

The charge that these passages imply a different account of the transaction at Kadesh from that given Num. 20:1-11 is altogether unfounded. It is in precise accord with the reproof administered to Moses and Aaron on that occasion, v. 13, the language of which is in part repeated.

The explanatory clauses, "These are the waters of Meribah in Kadesh in the wilderness of Zin," Num. 27:14, and "which is in the land of Moab that is over against Jericho," Deut. 32:49, would seem superfluous in the language of the Lord addressed to Moses, but are not on that account to be considered glosses introduced into the text at a later time. There is no reason why the original writer should not have thought fit to place them where they are for the information of his readers.

2. Numbers 27:15-23.

The only critical question which arises here concerns the relation of this passage to Deut. 31:14 sqq. So far as this calls for remark it will be considered under No. 4.

3. Numbers 32:1-33:56 + Deuteronomy 1:3.

The critics are greatly embarrassed in their attempts to effect a partition of Num. 32. What they commonly represent to be peculiarities of distinct writers are here so indiscriminately mingled as to defy all attempts to separate them. And this is the case not only with J and E, which they admit are often elsewhere blended too intimately to be sundered, but with P likewise which they are in the

habit of affirming to be clearly distinguishable from JE. And in fact so long as P is limited to legal sections, genealogies and statistical tables, or to mere scraps attached to narratives recording dates, ages, removals, summary statements and the like, they get along swimmingly, and manage to assign P a distinct portion with comparative ease. But we find here, as we have found in repeated instances before, that when they allow a narrative to be shared between P and other documents they are in perplexity; and it is as difficult to distinguish P from JE as it is to discriminate J from E.

The explanation of this is not far to seek. Narratives are easily enough sundered from laws and genealogies; each naturally has its own characteristic words and phrases. But where the composition is of a uniform character, as in continuous narrative, the diversity of diction disappears. In other words the diversity of diction, which is urged as a mainstay of the hypothesis of documents, is traceable to the difference in the matter, not to the usages and preferences of distinct writers.

Nöldeke speaks of the "very complicated" character of this chapter, due as he thinks to the interference of the Redactor, so that the details of the partition cannot now be "determined with certainty." Wellhausen says that the similarity in matter of the two accounts makes separation difficult; and he remarks on the surprising affinity in point of language to be accounted for by its being worked over by the Redactor, or as he prefers to assume, JE has here drawn from a source closely akin to P. According to Kittell the chapter has been so vigorously worked over that it is difficult to effect a separation. Dillmann remarks upon the great divergence in all previous attempts to divide the sources, and says that the working together and working over is more thoroughgoing here than usual. Kuenen gives it up in despair. He says (*Hex.*, p. 101), "Perhaps we must assume that the author on this occasion departed from his usual practice of weaving his two authorities together, and made up an account of his own from them.... Here as in the case of Num. 20:1-13 I must leave the question undecided." Again (p. 254), "It is impossible accurately to assign its own to each of the main documents."

The assertion that the text has been worked over and that changes have been made by the Redactor means here just what it always means, that the critics find it impossible to fit it to their hypothesis. This is the only evidence that it has been tampered with.*

* The divergence among the critics indicates how serious is their perplexity in dealing with this chapter.

Nöldeke: P, 32:2,3(7),4-6,16-32,33 (in part), 40. JE, 32:34-39,41,42. R, 32:1,7-15.

Schrader: P, 32:1*2-4,16-19,20a,24,25,26,29*,30,32,33*,34-38. J, 32:1 (in part), 5-15,20b-23,26,27,29 (in part), 33 (mid.). E, 32:39-42.

Knobel: P, 32:1,2,16-19,24,28-30,33-38. J (2d source), 32:3-15,20-23,25-27,31,32,39-42. J, 32:1 (in part), 29 (in part).

Verse 1 has "the children of Reuben and the children of Gad"; in v. 2 and the rest of the chapter the order is reversed. On the ground of primogeniture it was natural to name Reuben first; but if citizens of Gad were more active and prominent in this delegation the change of order could be easily accounted for. Dillmann, however, claims that P writes "Reuben and Gad," 1a, and JE, "Gad and Reuben," 2a,6,25,31; but this will not answer for 29, which he gives to P, though it has "Gad and Reuben," nor for 33, which has the same, but is assigned to R, while v. 40, of similar structure, is given to P. This also makes it necessary to divide v. 2, though it is an unbroken sentence, since "Eleazar the priest" and "princes of the congregation" are marks of P. Vatke avoids this by assuming that these words are interpolated, inasmuch as Moses alone is addressed, v. 5 (thy sight, thy servants), and makes reply, v. 6; but the same thing constantly occurs when Moses and Aaron are joined together, Ex. 9:27,29,33; 10:8,9,16,18, etc., where the critics make the same claim and with as little reason.

It is further alleged that v. 4 is a doublet of 1b, which it manifestly is not, for although the sense is substantially the same, one is an introductory remark of the writer, the other occurs in an address to Moses.

Another alleged doublet is found in vs. 3 and 4a, where there is a two-fold description of the territory asked for. But there is no superfluous repetition; v. 3 indicates the region intended by its principal cities, 4a by the fact of its recent conquest. One is a very natural and proper addition to the other. The critics, however, have another reason for wishing to separate them. V. 3 is assigned to JE, because the names which it contains recur with slight modifications vs. 34-38 JE, but are not so exactly reproduced Josh. 18:15 sqq. P, the reason of which is obviously to be found in the general character of the description in Joshua, and the change of names noted v. 38 of this chapter. V. 4a is given to P, because "congregation" is a P word; but this compels a sundering of the sentence, for "thy servants," 4b, is a J phrase (though Nöldeke calls attention to the fact of its occurrence in a P connection, 81:49). And this leads to another incongruity, for according to P, v. 1a, the cause of this appeal by Reuben and Gad was their possession of flocks, and yet in their request as given in the portion allotted to P, they make no allusion to this circumstance nor to the fitness of the land for this purpose. Moreover the allusion in 4a is to the victory over Sihon and Og, which according to the critics is related by JE and not by P. A like allusion occurs in v. 33, which Nöldeke and others are obliged to eject as an interpolation since they

Kayser: JE, 32:1,4*,5*,6-18,20-23,24(?),25-27,33-42.
 Wellhausen: P, 32:18-19,24(=16),28-32,33. JE, 32:1-15,20-27,34-42.
 Dillmann: P, 32:1a,2b,4a,20-22*,28-30,18 sq. (40 ?). JE, 1b,2a,3,5-17,20,23-27,31,32a,34-38. J, 32:5-13,20 sq.,23,25-27,31 (worked over), (32,39,41 sq.). E, 32:2a,3,16 sq.,(20 sq.),24,34-38,(32,39,41 sq.).
 Driver: P, 32:18,19,28-32,(33). JE, 32:1-17 (in the main), 20-27 (in the main), 34-42.
 Vatke: P, 32:2b,3,28-32. E, 32:1,2a,4-27,33-47.
 Kuenen: PJE (Inseparable), 32:1-5,16-32. Diaskeuast, 32:6-15.

refer the verse to P, alleging that according to his conception the division of the land was all made by Moses or by Eleazar and Joshua, while JE as represented in vs. 34-39, 41, 42 laid more stress on the independent conquests and undertakings of individual tribes and parts of tribes.

Dr. Harper, who follows the analysis of Dillmann, finds the following "incongruities" in this chapter (HEBRAICA, VI., p. 290).

a. "Vs. 2b-4 give us the words of the children of Reuben and Gad; why then should v. 5 (apparently a mere continuation of their petition) begin anew, 'And they said,' etc.?"

If J's portion begins v. 5 (as Dr. H. will have it) there is nothing to indicate who are the speakers, to whom they are speaking, or what land it is that they are asking for. The verse is dependent for its meaning on what precedes, which, however, the critics sunder from it and assign to other writers. In presenting their petition Gad and Reuben first define the country intended and characterize it, vs. 3, 4; and then proceed to make their request, v. 5. That the writer should mark this turn in their discourse by inserting "and they said," equivalent to "they went on to say" is surely not surprising, and justifies no such severance as absolutely destroys the sense of what follows.

b. "V. 16 begins as if they came forward for the first time."

This is a mistake. "They came near unto him," merely suggests additional urgency, precisely as in Gen. 44:18 Judah draws near to Joseph, at whose feet he had fallen, v. 14, to whom he had spoken, v. 16, and who had twice spoken to him, vs. 15, 17. Moreover Num. 32:16, 17 may continue but certainly cannot open a negotiation for a possession east of Jordan. They contain no request for such a possession. In themselves they suggest no reason for the proposal here announced. They imply and derive all their significance from an antecedent request like that in v. 5, for the sake of gaining which this offer is made.

c. "The greatest inconsistency, however, is that after they voluntarily offer to accompany Israel in their conquests (vs. 16-19), Moses should introduce it as a condition, and talk so much about it (vs. 20-30)."

The only inconsistency is created by the critical partition. So far from their offer to accompany Israel being "voluntarily" made, it was extorted from them by Moses' sharp rebuke of their original proposal. His indignant denunciation of their unworthy suggestion that they should not be required to cross the Jordan, v. 5, brought from them the proposal, vs. 16-19, which they ought to have made in the first instance, not merely the half-way offer, vs. 16, 17, which is all that Dillmann allows them. Misinterpreting 19b as though it implied that the land east of the Jordan had already been promised to them as their inheritance, he transposes vs. 18, 19 after v. 30, whereas it is only hypothetically spoken, on the presumption that their offer would be accepted. Moses responds not by making a new proposition, but by holding them to that which they have themselves made,

only stating it with increased precision and solemnity. And upon their reaffirming their readiness to make the engagement, he instructs Eleazar, Joshua, and the heads of the tribes, who were charged with the future distribution of the land, in the terms upon which Reuben and Gad were to be allowed to settle east of Jordan, and the tribes pledge to them their assent to the required conditions. There is no more talking about the matter than was necessary in an affair of such consequence, that all might be definitely understood by all parties concerned, and the engagement made absolutely binding.

d. "V. 31, moreover, speaks explicitly of the condition as being the command of God, not the words of Gad and Reuben."

Not only were all Moses' injunctions clothed with divine authority, but he distinctly charged these tribes with rebellion against Jehovah, vs. 6-15, in proposing not to cross the Jordan, and he makes the whole arrangement a sacred pledge to Jehovah ("before Jehovah" occurs five times, vs. 20-22) and failure to fulfill it an offence against him, v. 23, which would surely find them out. It is difficult to see how they could regard this otherwise than as a command of Jehovah.

e. "No author would introduce 'the half of the tribe of Manasseh,' in v. 33a, so abruptly and inappropriately."

No hint is given why this is considered inappropriate, or in what respect. And it is difficult to discover any reason for so regarding it. V. 33 is a summary statement of the disposition made by Moses of the territory east of the Jordan, and is here indispensable since the preceding narrative would otherwise be without a suitable conclusion. As Reuben and Gad alone preferred the formal request for an inheritance in this region, only these two tribes are mentioned in the course of the negotiation. But as descendants of Manasseh took an active part in subdividing this tract of country, vs. 39, 41, 42, a portion was assigned to them likewise, which fact must of course be included in a general account of the whole matter, such as v. 33 professedly gives.

The eagerness of the critics to turn everything to the advantage of their divisive hypothesis, and to survey everything from the point of view of this hypothesis, seems to incapacitate them for seeing the reasonableness of that which arises naturally out of the truthfulness and the unity of the record before them. Hence the mystification about the mention of Manasseh in this verse. Nöldeke rids himself of it by ejecting all but the opening words and the last clause as an interpolation by R, so as to read, "And Moses gave unto them . . . the land according to the cities thereof," etc. On the contrary, while no one proposes to follow the Samaritan in inserting "the half tribe of Manasseh" along with the other two tribes throughout the entire chapter, Wellhausen maintains that it belongs not only in v. 33, but in v. 29 likewise, and has been dropped from the latter under the influence of JE. That Moses did assign an inheritance east of the Jordan to the half

tribe of Manasseh as well as to Reuben and Gad is explicitly confirmed by 34:14, 15; Josh. 13:15-32. As in his view the former of these passages was written by P and the latter in dependence on P, this is conceived to represent P's conception of the transaction. According to JE (vs. 34-42), however, only Reuben and Gad received their inheritance from Moses. Bashan was taken possession of by some families of Manasseh by their own prowess. This was in reality long after Moses, probably so in the opinion of the writer who in this case here anticipates the future. V. 40 is an attempt to legalize this act of theirs by claiming for it the authority of Moses.

Dillmann, Kittell, and Kuenen also allege that this conquest of the Manassites was postmosaic, because the name Havvoth-jair, v. 41, is in Judg. 10:3,4 connected with a judge of the name of Jair. It does not, however, discredit the fact of their original conquest by Jair of the Mosaic age and being called after him, that a descendant and namesake at a later period ruled a number of these cities, and thus gave fresh reason for their bearing the name. Kuenen not only makes these Manassite conquests postmosaic (*Hex.*, p. 47), but regards the engagement of Reuben and Gad to assist their brethren in the conquest of Canaan altogether unhistorical (*ibid.*, p. 255). He regards this as "a remote corollary of the wholly unhistorical conception of the unity of Israel in the time of Moses, and the conquest of Canaan as an act accomplished *simul et semel*. But this corollary cannot be shown to rest on any premises supplied either by J or by E. This being so I think the 'prophetic' portion of Num. 32 must be referred to the very last recension," i. e., the Redactor who combined J and E. This shows what power there is in the critical maxim, "Divide and conquer." Form your idea in advance as to the course of Israel's history. So partition the Pentateuchal narrative that any facts at variance with your idea shall be excluded from one or more documents. Regard the silence thus occasioned as evidence that the facts in question were unknown at the time to which these documents are referred, and that allusions to them elsewhere are of later date. Thus you can reconstruct the history after your own fashion, and draw a clear line of distinction between what is primitive and what is secondary, between what is historical and what unhistorical (from your point of view).

Under the head of "Similarities and Differences" (HEBRAICA, VI., p. 289) Dr. Harper makes the following statement: "According to all accounts, Reuben and Gad are to have their desired district only on condition that they aid their brethren across the Jordan; but according to P, (a) Moses demands it, Num. 32:20-22; (b) he leaves the contract with Eleazar, Joshua and the chiefs of the tribes, vs. 28sq.; while in E, they make the offer themselves, vs. 16sq., and that settles it."

Whether all accounts agree in the matter aforesaid depends upon the critic who partitions the accounts. As we have just seen, in the hand of Kuenen they

do not so agree. The alleged difference is created by sundering different parts of the same transaction and erecting each part into a separate version of the whole affair.

While vs. 5-15 are by most critics referred to JE, they contain several marks of P; e. g., v. 5, "possession," and the last clause of v. 29 plainly refers back to vs. 5 and 1b; vs. 7,9, "discourage"; v. 8, "Kadesh-barnea"; v. 11, "from twenty years old and upwards." The peculiar word for "armed" runs through the entire section, vs. 17-32, binding all together; v. 22 is linked to v. 27 by the common expression, "the land be subdued," and to v. 18 by "afterward ye shall return."

Ch. 33 contains a list of the stations of Israel in their journey through the wilderness, which according to v. 2 was written by Moses. Kayser says of it:

"The list of stations is commonly regarded as an ancient writing found by the Elohist (P), and incorporated by him in his work. Nevertheless the most serious scruples arise against this assumption from the circumstance that it contains the series of stations, enlarged to be sure, yet in the same order as they stand in the present Pentateuch, and interwoven with remarks which may be read now in the Jehovist, now in the Elohist."

Inasmuch as this list traces the very route marked out in the Pentateuch, not that indicated in P alone, nor in JE alone, but that which results from their combination, and as in repeated instances it contains statements found in both in identical language, Kayser infers that it is neither ancient nor reliable, but that it must be posterior to the Pentateuch in its completed form, and made up from it either by R or by some one later still. And he seeks to confirm this depreciating estimate of it by the fact that 42 stations are named, and if two be omitted there will be precisely 40, just one for each of the forty years spent in the wilderness, and Israel is said to have remained about a year at Sinai. The absurdity of this combination is sufficiently glaring, as 10 stations precede Sinai, the journey to which occupied less than two months, and the 10 stations after Kadesh were passed in as many months. The list could not have been deduced from the Pentateuch, for it has many names of which there is no previous mention; and the allegation that these are fictitious and a pure fabrication is a groundless charge of fraud. And the invention of a bald list of names would be a senseless and unmeaning fraud, for which no motive can be imagined.

If, now, this venerable itinerary was in the hands of the author of the Pentateuchal document P, and was by him esteemed ancient and authentic, and believed to be from the pen of Moses, and was used by him as one of the sources from which he drew his materials in compiling his narratives, then we can readily understand his transcribing it entire at this place in his work, also his introducing its statements respecting occurrences at particular stations on the route in the exact terms of the itinerary in appropriate parts of his narrative, and his passing over in silence in his general narrative places at which nothing worthy of mention occurred. But there are several things which are not intelligible on this hypothesis and do not seem to be consistent with it. It is not explicable that he should in repeated instances omit the mention of incidents recorded in the itinerary and of

the stations at which they took place; nor that just these incidents and stations should be noted and that in the very language of the itinerary in another document JE, whose authors according to the critics could not have been acquainted with it, since they incorporate 21:12-20 an independent list of stations quite inconsistent with that in ch. 33.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Kayser felt compelled in the interest of the divisive hypothesis to contest the antiquity and truthfulness of this Mosaic itinerary, and to claim that it could only have originated after P and JE had been compacted together into the Pentateuch in its present form. Kuenen takes the same ground. He says (*Hex.*, p. 98): "Ch. 33, the list of stations in the journey through the desert, which according to v. 2 was written down by Moses, presupposes the accounts in P, but it also assumes the other accounts of Israel's abode in the desert, and can only have been drawn up and inserted by R."* It certainly is a serious stumbling block in the way of the divisive critics, which they must by some expedient, if possible, remove.

This Dillmann attempts by a different method, but one equally impracticable. He rejects the baseless conjecture of Kayser and Kuenen on three grounds. (1) "V. 2 distinctly teaches that the author here used an ancient document, which in his time was attributed to Moses." (2) "There is a long series of names which do not occur elsewhere in the Pentateuch." (3) "Altogether variant parallels to vs. 29-37, 41-47 are found in Deut. 10:6,7; Num. 21:12-20. These parallels which belong to J and E, show that divergent lists or different recensions of the same list were in circulation, and make it only the more certain that this list belongs to P," whose "mode of expression and peculiarities of matter everywhere appear." He undertakes to account for this correspondence in style with P, when it is not a production of his, by the assumption that it was "worked over by him, and that he inserted vs. 1-4, 38-39, in which the expressions are identical with previous passages in P. The passages identical with JE, vs. 8 sq., 14 sq., 16 sq., 40, 49 are, he alleges, interpolations by R. But this unsupported conjecture of his is as inconsistent with v. 2, even on his understanding of it, as that which he rejects. Such deliberate falsifications both by P and R of a document believed by them to be from the pen of Moses, and given as such to their readers, is quite insupportable

* Wellhausen says (*Comp. Hex.*, p. 182) that though he cannot honestly concede 33:1-49 to P, he would be willing to do so on the ground that thus P would be clearly shown to be posterior to JE. This hints at a possible hypothesis, which, however, Wellh. does not himself adopt, and which would be as unavailing as those of either Kayser or Dillmann, that P was the author of this chapter, and in preparing it inserted from JE the verses identical with those elsewhere assigned to this document. But 1. The assumption that P was in possession of JE and acquainted with its contents would be embarrassing to the critics in the numerous passages in which they are compelled to make the opposite assumption. 2. This hypothesis makes v. 2 a wilful fraud, P giving out as the work of Moses a list of stations, which he has prepared himself; or if it be said that P prepared it on the basis of an ancient itinerary reputed to be from Moses, it is open to the same fatal objection as lies against the view of Dillmann.

without an impeachment of their veracity, which would make all their work utterly unreliable. Moses is made to verify their previous statements in matters of which by the hypothesis he said nothing. Moreover when these alleged interpolations are stricken out, the itinerary in its presumed original form would stand in no relation whatever to the narrative of Israel's sojourn in the desert, and the marvel is that it should be introduced at all. It would be reduced to a mere curiosity of no practical worth, and having no link of connection with the history.

If now this ancient itinerary can neither be from P nor R, and cannot have been interpolated either by P or R, what remains but to let it stand for what it claims to be, the work of Moses? And if he wrote it, then the narratives, which correspond with it and are by the critics assigned to P and to JE, are from his pen likewise. And so this chapter is in harmony with the traditional origin of the Pentateuch, and is not and cannot be brought into harmony with any of the divisive schemes.

But how, if it is contradicted, as Dillmann alleges, by Deut. 10 and Num. 21? The variance is only apparent, not real. Num. 21 has already been explained in the discussion of that chapter. As neither itinerary undertakes to name every stopping place, the mention in one of localities not spoken of in the other is no inconsistency. Nor is there any serious difficulty in Deut. 10. Obviously the Beeroth Bene-jaakan, Moserah, Gudgodah and Jotbathah of Deut. 10:6,7, are identical with the Moseroth, Bene-jaakan, Hor-haggidgad and Jotbathah of Num. 33:31-33. As Rithmah, v. 18, cf. 12:16, was in all probability the station in the wilderness of Paran, from which the spies were sent, and so identical with Kadesh or in its immediate vicinity, it follows that the stations in vs. 18-36 belong to the years of wandering from Kadesh, 14:25, to the Red Sea (Ezion-geber, 33:35) and back to Kadesh in the first month of the 40th year, 20:1. It was after this return to Kadesh that Aaron died in Mt. Hor, 20:22-29; 33:37,38. It is plain from this that Israel passed through the stations now under consideration once before the second arrival at Kadesh, 33:31-33, and once after, Deut. 10:6,7. That they did not pass through them in precisely the same order the second time that they did the first can create no difficulty. Nor is it a discrepancy that Deuteronomy names Moserah as the place of Aaron's death, and Numbers Mt. Hor, provided Moserah, as there is every reason to believe, lay at the foot of Mt. Hor; for the very next station, Bene-jaakan, was named from Jaakan, Gen. 36:27; 1 Chron. 1:42, a descendant of Seir, and Mt. Hor is "in the centre of Mount Seir," Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, s. v., Seir, Mount.

The assertion that vs. 50,51,54 belong to P, and vs. 52sq.,55sq. are from another source, either J (Dillm.) or H (Driv.) is directly in the face of the evident continuity of the passage; for v. 54 is plainly the sequel of v. 53. It is argued that P elsewhere commands no such extermination; but this simply means that a

partition must be carried through in this place, because it has been made elsewhere on insufficient grounds.

V. 54 repeats 26:53-56; nevertheless the critics assign both to the same document, since one is simply a command to Moses, the other a direction to communicate it to the people (Dillm.). And yet in how many instances are the words of God to Moses and the repetition of them to the people made a pretext for giving the former to one document and the latter to another?

4. Deuteronomy 31:14-34:10.

In Num. 27:12-23 a preliminary announcement is made to Moses of his approaching death. How long this was before his actual decease, we have no means of determining with precision. It was some time previous to the first day of the eleventh month of the fortieth year of the exodus, Deut. 1:3. If Moses died on or just before the first day of the twelfth month, this would leave a sufficient interval for the 30 days mourning of the people, Deut. 34:8, and all beside that is said to have taken place before the observance of the passover in Gilgal on the 14th day of the first month, Josh. 5:10. It is no unfair inference, therefore, that at least a month may have elapsed between this first notice and the close of Moses' life.

There was an obvious reason for thus giving him timely notice. It was that suitable arrangements might be made to transfer the leadership of Israel to another at this important crisis. It is to this task, accordingly, that the remainder of the book of Numbers and the whole of Deuteronomy are devoted. Joshua was at once named and set apart as Moses' successor, 27:15 sq.; some supplementary laws were given, chs. 28-30, 36; Midian was summarily chastised for their recent crime, ch. 31; directions were given to Joshua respecting the settlement of two and a half tribes east of Jordan, ch. 32, and of the division of Canaan among the other tribes, chs. 34, 35. Moses then makes his touching farewell addresses to the people, exhorting them in the most tender and earnest manner to obey the law, which he recapitulates and reduces to writing and formally delivers to the custody of the priests, Deut. 1-31:13. And now at the close of these preparations for his departure he is reminded, Deut. 31:14, that the time has come for him to die, and he is bidden to summon Joshua that the Lord may solemnly give him a final charge.

This simple recital of facts completely removes the "incongruities," which critics profess to discover in this transaction (HEBRAICA, VI., p. 290).

"If the entire Pentateuch be from one hand, it would be strange (a) that, after Joshua had been fully, legally and divinely appointed (Num. 27:18-23), the order should so soon come again to call Joshua, etc., Deut. 31:14 sq." This is further elucidated in a note by affirming "that the events in Num. 27 and Deut. 31 are very near each other, perhaps on the very same day, Deut. 32:48."

But the "self-same" day of Deut. 32:48 has nothing in the world to do with the day on which Joshua was set apart as Moses' successor, Num. 27. As the whole connection shows, it is the day on which Moses was again notified of his approaching end, Deut. 31:14, and wrote and delivered to the people his admonitory song, v. 22; 32:44. Many matters of great importance had been attended to in the interval of at least a month. That now on the eve of their final parting he should affectionately and solemnly address Joshua once more, surely is not "strange." Nor is it strange

"(b) That Moses should have called Joshua before he were bidden, and should have given him the same instructions, Deut. 31:7sq., which Yahweh gave afterwards, Deut. 31:23."

In concluding his address to the people Moses assured them, 31:1-6, that, though he could not go with them over Jordan, the Lord would accompany them and make them victorious over all foes. Then calling Joshua, who had already been formally appointed to succeed him, he bid him be brave for he must henceforth lead the people and God would bless him. Subsequently the Lord himself from the pillar of cloud in the Tabernacle confirms to Joshua Moses' words. Why is not all this just as it should be? Nor again is it strange

"(c) That the entire ceremony, including Moses' instructions, should take place in the presence of the whole congregation, Num. 27:19,22b; Deut. 31:7; while Yahweh's instructions, which would confirm his divine appointment more than anything else, were given privately, only Moses being present, Deut. 31:14b,23."

The ceremony of instituting Joshua as the future leader of the people was naturally performed in their presence by Moses, who laid his hands formally upon him, and defined the relation in which he should thenceforth stand to Eleazar the high priest. The words addressed by Jehovah to Joshua at the Tabernacle were designed to encourage him, not to impress the people.

Dillmann claims that Deut. 31:14,15 connects directly with v. 23, and that vs. 15-22 relates to a different subject and has been improperly intruded between them. This, however, is not the case. The Lord bids Moses and Joshua present themselves at the Tabernacle. He first addresses Moses, v. 16, with explicit allusion to what He had said to him, v. 14, joining Joshua with him in the direction given, v. 19* (write ye), and then, v. 23, gives Joshua the promised charge. It is argued that if v. 23 belonged where it is, the subject "Jehovah" should be expressed. But this is of no force, for v. 22 is parenthetical, and Jehovah is the

* Kuenen (*Hex.*, p. 125) and Klostermann refer "write ye" to the Israelites; Dillmann admits its reference to Moses and Joshua, but tries to evade the natural consequence of this admission by contending that the plural form of the verb is not original, but due to a harmonistic reviser of the text. It is only a fresh illustration of the habitual method of the critics to suspend the exegesis and integrity of the text upon accordance with their peculiar hypotheses.

speaker throughout the entire paragraph. And if this were not so, a multitude of examples can be adduced in which the change of subject, when sufficiently indicated by the sense, is left to the intelligence of the reader. It is further worth noting here, that obedience to the preceding command is recorded, v. 22, by anticipation in accordance with the usage of Hebrew historians. The critics here as elsewhere pervert this in the interest of partition, by balancing these proleptic statements over against those of the subsequent narrative, and inferring that they must belong to different sources, and that the author of 31:22 cannot have written 32:44.*

According to Dillmann the account of Joshua's formal induction into the leadership originally followed after v. 15, but has been omitted either on account of its incompatibility with or too great similarity to Num. 27:18 sqq., or because of Deut. 1:1-8. But the fact that no record is here made of his induction simply shows that this passage, instead of being a parallel account from another source, as the critics regard it, assumes that it has already taken place.

Dillmann further claims that 31:28,29 are to be disconnected from v. 30, that they originally prefaced an address now lost in which Moses urged the observance of the law just given, and that "these words," v. 28, are to be distinguished from "the words of this song," v. 30. But v. 28 plainly alludes to the opening words of the song, 32:1, and v. 29 indicates its general purport throughout. He also tries to establish an equally unfounded distinction between "the words of this song," 32:44, and "all these words," v. 45. And on the ground of these imaginary differences he concludes in the face of every other indication, as he himself admits, that this passage has been worked over and warped somewhat from its original intent. And yet he confesses after all that the thought, which he supposes to have been introduced into the passage, must have been in it from the beginning. The

* It is alleged that the language of 31:14-23 is not that of Deuteronomy, and shows that it cannot be by the same author. But the presence of words in this passage, which there has been no occasion to use in the book before, warrants no such conclusion. Dillmann instances the following: *מוֹעֵד* v. 14, but according to his analysis this occurs likewise but once in E (Ex. 33:7); why may not the same be the case in Deut.? *עֲמֹד עֵינַי* v. 15, but this is again referred to Deut. 1:33, which is without reason pronounced an interpolation; *בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל* vs. 19,22 sq., occurs also Deut. 3:18; 23:18; 24:7; 32:8, not to speak of 1:3; 4:44-46; 10:6; 28:69, of which the critics try to rid themselves on one pretext or another; *נֶאֱמַר* v. 20, also Deut. 32:19, besides in Pent. only Num. 14:11,23; 16:30; *הִפְרִית* vs. 16,20, besides in Pent. only Gen. 17:14 P; Lev. 26:15,44 J (Dillm.); *אֶלֶּה־יְנֻכָּהּ* v. 16, has a poetic equivalent (*אֶלֶּה יְנֻכָּהּ*), 32:12, besides in Pent. only Gen. 35:24, it should be further observed that it occurs, Deut. 31:16, in connection with an acknowledged Deuteronomic phrase *הָאֵשׁ הָיָה כִּי שָׂמָה*, which the critics summarily eject from the text; *וְנָח אֲחֹרַי* v. 16, besides in Pent. Ex. 34:15,16; Lev. 17:7; 20:5,6; Num. 15:39; *צָרָה* vs. 17,21, besides in Pent. Gen. 35:3; 42:21; *יָצַר* v. 21, besides in Pent. Gen. 6:5; 8:21; *הָיָה* with suf. as proximate future, with 1st pers. only of God at flood, Gen. 6:7; 9:9, or plagues of Egypt, Ex. 8:17; 9:18; 10:4; 14:17, with 2d pers. Deut. 31:16, and besides in Pent. only Gen. 16:11; 20:3, with no other suf. in this sense; *הָיָה־יָצַר* v. 14, also Deut. 7:24; 9:2; 11:25 with the same radical sense, though modified by the connection; *כִּי־יִהְיֶה* vs. 17,18,22, also Deut. 21:23; 27:11; cf. 27:2. These various words and phrases occur but seldom elsewhere in the Pent., and it is not surprising that they do not occur oftener in Deuteronomy.

reasoning in fact is brought to such a very fine point, that it is difficult to state intelligibly, what he conceives to have been the difference between the conception of D and his reviser Rd.

Ch. 32:1-43, the song of Moses, and ch. 33, his blessing, are here omitted as the discussion is for the present confined to the historical portion of the Pentateuch.

Ch. 34 is minced up in the most remarkable manner by the critics, and with no small diversity in their conclusions. There is no pretence of any want of connection in the chapter itself; but forms of expression which they attribute to distinct documents are here combined in one continuous paragraph, and consistency obliges them to part it asunder into disjointed fragments. No one would dream of partitioning it except for the sake of making it conform to a hypothesis elaborated elsewhere.

It seems to be reckoned an incongruity, *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 290, that Moses died on a well known mountain and was buried in one of its valleys and the precise spot was unknown. Also that conservative critics have to admit that another than Moses wrote Deut. 34; but it is hard to see what peril there is in the admission, since Deut. 31:24 indicates the limit up to which Moses himself wrote.

5) THE LANGUAGE OF P.*

OLD WORDS.

(1) יהוה (2) האסף אל עמי Sect. 7, Lang. of P. (3) קרש V., p. 151. (4) ערת (בני) ישראל Sect. 14, Lang. of P. (5) נשיא העדה Sect. 15, Lang.

of P. (6) כבש V., p. 151. (7) אֶחָדָה Sect. 5, Lang. of P. (8) ראש אבות Sect. 13, Lang. of P. (9) מסע Sect. 15, Lang. of P.

6) THE LANGUAGE OF J.†

OLD WORDS.

(1) מצא חן V., p. 175. (2) עברך (= 1st person) Sect. 6, Lang. of J; in P Num. 31:49. (3) יהוה (4) חרה אף V., p. 163. (5) אדמה V., p. 153. (6) מלא אחרי Sect. 17, Lang. of E. (7) רע בעיני Sect. 10, Lang. of J. (8) יסף V., p.

163. (9) טף Sect. 11, Lang. of J. (10) ועתה V., p. 155. (11) שים V., p. 154. (12) נאין Sect. 17, Lang. of J. (13) אנכי Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (14) בטרם V., p. 153. (15) האזין Sect. 15, Lang. of E. (16) אפס Sect. 17, Lang. of J. (17) אי V., p. 155. (18) הציל Sect. 10, Lang. of E.

7) THE LANGUAGE OF E.‡

OLD WORDS.

(1) טף Sect. 11, Lang. of J. (2) כבצר Num. 32:17,38 E; 13:19 J; Josh. 10:20 JE; 19:23,35 inserted from JE in P context; all in Hex. (3)

אלהים. (4) מוחץ Num. 24:8,17 J; Deut. 32:39; 33:11; all in Hex. (5) אהל Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (6) טמן Sect. 9, Lang. of E.

This completes the examination of the narrative portion of the Pentateuch. The legal sections yet remain to be considered.

* The numbers are those of *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 288.

† The numbers are those of *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 292.

‡ The numbers are those of *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 293.

◆BOOK◆NOTICES.◆

THE CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS OF WESTERN ASIA, VOL. IV.*

After a delay of several years, the second edition of the IVth volume of Rawlinson has appeared. It has been welcomed by all Assyriologists for two chief reasons: (1) because Vol. IV., 1st ed., has been out of print for many years and hence unobtainable and (2) because the 2d ed. is so great an improvement on the 1st. In the present review, I will note some of the most important changes and additions.

Plates 1, 1* and 2. These are the reproductions of plates 1 and 2 of the 1st ed., and they are expanded into three plates on account of the incompressibility of type. This has unfortunately necessitated the separation of the columns, and the arrangement of the reverse otherwise than on the tablet. The text, however, is much improved, the characters are better represented, and several mistakes have been corrected. Additions to the text are not numerous, but the 150 footnotes, mostly variants, are worthy of note.

Plates 3 and 4. These do not show any remarkable differences from the old edition other than the correction of mistakes, but in the "Additions and Corrections" some additional fragments of duplicates are reproduced. Some of the corrections had already been given by Brünnow and Zimmern.—In pls. 5 and 6 there are considerable additions and improvements in every column. There are numerous variants, supplemented by further fragments of duplicates in the Add. and Cor.—Plate 7 has not undergone many changes, but there are some important additions to the reverse (plate 8), supplemented in the Add. and Cor.—In plate 9 there are some important corrections, among which may be noted *ilu man-man* (l. 37, obv.) for the *ti u man* of the old ed.—Plate 10 has several corrections of the text, and spacing, in which great care has been taken. The importance of showing the spacing of the original in texts of this class is very great, repetitions being indicated by the uninscribed portions of certain lines.—Plate 11 shows also a considerable number of additions and corrections, taken from partial duplicates in the Akkadian language only. The reverse has been considerably improved; in fact, the comparison of the old sheet with the new is rather striking.—Plate 12 shows extensive augmentation, about a dozen lines having been completed and about thirty others added. Notwithstanding this, the name of the king has not come to light.

Passing plates 13 and 14, we see great changes in 15. The text is given in the original Babylonian character, instead of an Assyrian transcription, portions of col. I. obv. and II. rev. are introduced, and additional portions are given from duplicates in the Assyrian character. The text now occupies two plates. Considerably over a hundred variants are noted, adding greatly to the value of this

* THE CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS OF WESTERN ASIA. A selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria. Prepared for publication under the direction of the Trustees of the British Museum by Major-General Sir Henry Rawlinson, Bart. Second edition. London: 1891.

edition.—Plate 18 shows considerable change, the publication of the additional columns (II. and III.) of No. 3 having necessitated two plates instead of one. The form of No. 1 is greatly improved and all the texts show corrections. Additional fragments of Nos. 2 and 3 are given in the Add. and Cor. In consequence of the additional space afforded by the fact that there are two plates instead of one, two other very interesting texts have been added, to one of which, after plate 18* was printed off, a large additional fragment was found, necessitating the reproduction of the whole in the Add. and Cor. The new text, No. 6, is especially valuable on account of the names of animals which it contains.

Plate 21 has been expanded into two plates. Text No. 1, which occupies one col. in the old edition, takes up no less than three in the new. The additional columns are rather fragmentary, but the portion given in the old ed. is now fairly perfect, especially when the additions from S. 1128 (Add. and Cor.) are noted.

Plate 28 exhibits considerable change, the single sheet being enlarged to two. No. 1 is completed and the obv. and rev. are restored to their right positions. The colophon of No. 2 is added, No. 8 of the old ed. is accompanied by its obv., and considerable additions, added by Mr. Pinches to the old No. 4, are given in full, together with the obv. of the text. There are also variants at the foot of the page.

Plate 29 has grown from one to three (though it cannot be said that there is much on the last, No. 29*). No. 1 is greatly improved, and additions from duplicate fragments have been made. Nos. 2 and 3 are, but for a few corrections, practically the same as in the old ed., but No. 4 has, in the new ed., a whole plate (29*) to itself, as well as considerable additions among the Add. and Cor. This is now the most important text of its class. No. 5 is practically the same as in Haupt's *ASKT.*, in the correction of which, however, Mr. Pinches assisted.

Plate 31 is the Descent of Ishtar into Hades. The new text is an improvement on Geo. Smith's, wherever there was room for it. The few notes in the Add. and Cor. should not be overlooked.

The difference between the old and the new edition of plate 35 is remarkable. It is needless to say that the new is the better of the two, the style of the originals being imitated in every case, and corrections made. It is a pity that photolithography was adopted in the new edition, as it has not come out satisfactorily. Plates 36 and 37 of the old edition have, rightly or wrongly, been omitted from the new.

Plate 38 (the old 41) repeats the well-known text of Merodach-Baladan, and gives some improved readings. It is reproduced, however, by the unsatisfactory method of photolithography already mentioned. The transcription (the old 43) and the signs of the zodiac (the old 44) have been omitted. Plate 39 (the old 44 and 45), though done in the same way as 38, has come out much better. The characters are much better formed, and some corrections have been made in the text.

Plates 41 and 42 (the old 48 and 49) contain a large number of additions and corrections, together with over a hundred variants. It is the tale of Ishtar's courtship of Gilgamesh, already published by Prof. Haupt in his *Nimrodepes*, with another fragment of the series.

Plates 43 and 44 (the old 50 and 51) give the best text that has yet been issued of the Babylonian account of the Deluge, the improvements on the old edition

being enormous. Over 200 variants are noted at the foot. A good idea of what the tablet was like when completed can be obtained now, the text being printed lengthwise, though the scale is, of course, much larger than that of the original.

Plates 45-47 (the old 52-54) contain proclamations and letters, and they show decided improvements. Nos. 2 and 3 on pl. 45, all three texts on plate 46, and Nos. 1 and 4 on pl. 47 are reproduced in the original Babylonian character, and are not transcribed into the Assyrian. The letter of Sennacherib (No. 3 on pl. 47) is probably the most interesting.

Plate 53 (the old 60) has a considerable number of improvements and corrections, and a small addition in col. II. The obv. and rev. are now put in their right position, and the long and interesting colophon has been restored.

In plate 61 (the old 68), the "oracle to Esarhaddon," no duplicate has been found to complete the text, but many lines have been greatly improved by a careful collation, as cols. III., IV. and VI. testify, and many minor improvements have been made. The last two plates, 62 and 63 (the old 69 and 70) give the great syllabary found by George Smith. In all, there are more than 10,000 lines of inscription in the book.

I would simply add in conclusion that the new edition is the work of Mr. Pinches. It seems to be the policy of the Trustees of the British Museum to do more publishing than heretofore. This is seen from the appearance of this volume by Mr. Pinches, the Catalogue (in two parts at present) of the Kouyunjik Collections by Dr. Bezold—noticed by me in the Oct.-Jan. number of *HEBRAICA*—and the *Tel-el-Amarna Tablets*, by Drs. Bezold and Budge. The present policy of the Trustees is, of course, specially gratifying to all Assyriologists.

ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER.

London, May 2d, 1892.

ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN LETTERS BELONGING TO THE K. COLLECTION OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

The historical inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia have been, for the most part, carefully studied and translated. The more important texts hitherto published have been collated and fresh translations made by competent scholars during the last decade. No one can hope to add much to semitic science historically, or linguistically, by continuing to work over the old material. There are not a few passages in these inscriptions in which there is still uncertainty and others that are wholly obscure. The obscurities are mainly etymological and lexical and the aid necessary to their elucidation can be found only in new historical texts yet to be discovered, or, to a limited extent, in other branches of its copious literature, still imperfectly examined or wholly unknown. Assyriology in the future, more than in the past, must depend upon itself for its interpretation without, however, disdaining valuable suggestions yet to be received from Hebrew

* ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN LETTERS BELONGING TO THE K. COLLECTION OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM, by Robert Francis Harper, of The University of Chicago.—Part I. The University of Chicago Press. Luzac and Co., London. D. C. Heath and Co., Chicago. 1892.

and Aramaic, Arabic and Syriac, and even from some of the more remotely connected branches of this widespread family of languages. Assyrian possesses a vast deal of material for its exposition in the thousands of unpublished texts in the British Museum and in the other collections in Europe and the United States. But the past lines of advance are not the future lines of progress. The time for the publication of "Miscellaneous Texts" is past. There is a call for students to devote themselves to special "series" dealing with particular subjects. Not even vocabularies and syllabaries can safely be taken at random and applied without discrimination to texts generally. Many of them were evidently intended for the explanation of special works. The meanings attached have application only within the bounds of the subject for which they are prepared. It is well known that even in modern languages words which are the same orthographically and genetically connote, by the special uses to which they have been applied, quite divergent and sometimes even antithetic ideas. This occurred much more frequently in ancient languages than in modern. Facility in the formation of special terms was not a characteristic of early languages. The main vocabulary was levied upon for the best it could offer to do duty in their stead, and these words were, so to speak, compelled to connote certain ideas in accordance with the character of the subject treated. This fact must not be lost sight of by Assyriologists, for, great as is the temptation to overlook it, the confusion consequent upon the oversight may be greater. This is not the place to discuss this subject. We call attention to it here in connection with the work under review. Not only must Assyriology depend more largely upon itself, but, further, each department of its literature must be studied exhaustively and, to a certain extent, independently. Astrological and astronomical works cannot be explained except in their own light. Mythological, ceremonial and religious texts derive little aid from contract tablets. Epistolary correspondence cannot be successfully made out by depending upon the historical vocabulary. Each class, if it is to be studied profoundly and scientifically, demands separate and exhaustive examination. It is with pleasure, therefore, that we welcome this work by Dr. Harper. If Assyrian letters are to be read this is the way to do it. The author informs us in the preface that it is his purpose (which we hope will be effected), "1) to publish *all* the letters in the *K.* collection in which the name of the scribe is to be found; 2) the best preserved and most important of those without signatures; 3) a transliteration and either a tentative translation or a résumé of the contents . . . together with a glossary . . . in other words, to give a corpus epistolarum of the *K.* collection." The task which the author sets himself is not an easy one (as the collection numbers several hundred), but even a cursory reading of the letters of this volume is sufficient to show that in this exhaustive handling of the subject many difficulties, textual, grammatical and lexical, otherwise incapable of solution, will be found to be self-explanatory.

The study of these letters in the past has been somewhat desultory. Mr. George Smith first drew attention to them and attempted the translation of a few of them. Mr. Pinches next called attention to them in the *Transactions of the Society of Bib. Archaeology* (vol. 6, p. 219) and gave a translation of *K.* 14. He was followed by Mr. S. A. Smith, who published with translations thirty in the II. and III. Pts. of his edition of *Asurbanipal*, and about as many more, together with a few from other collections, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Bib. Archaeology*. He admits, in several instances, that his work is imperfect, and that he is

not sure that he has grasped the subject of the letter. Pater Strassmaier has given numerous extracts in his *Verzeichniss der Assyrischen und Akkadischen Wörter*, etc., and several complete texts have appeared in the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*. The most careful study they have received has been by Prof. Frederick Delitzsch. The results of his work have been published in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*.

The texts contained in the above publications are in the main from well preserved tablets. Some of the tablets copied in the present volume are fragmentary. These, however, throw light upon others. K. 1272 e. g. contains only the usual introductory formula and mention of the scribe as a citizen of Nineveh, a fact not stated elsewhere in his correspondence. Similarly K. 1428 is a joint-document from the four scribes who wrote the first fifty letters, thus showing that they were contemporaries. These fragments are often difficult to read. Others in this collection are difficult because of the imperfect state of preservation. A practiced eye is necessary and a general knowledge of literary forms indispensable.

Of the one hundred and twenty-four in this volume about four-fifths are published for the first time. The work will contain about six hundred when completed.

The arrangement of the letters according to the name of the scribe will prove quite convenient, as it will facilitate a comparison of all those emanating from the same source. This arrangement is the more important as the name of the king (to whom the greater number are addressed) is not given. The introductory formula, which is somewhat stereotyped, runs, usually: "To the king, my lord, thy servant." Following this is the name of the scribe with the salutation: "May there be peace to the king, my lord, may Nebo and Merodach be gracious to the king, my lord." The formula varies according to the supposed importance of the occasion. In the sixth letter "all the great gods of heaven and earth, those that inhabit the land of Assyria and those that inhabit the land of Chaldea, all the gods of the lands" are invoked. A similar invocation is found in the seventh and fifty-fourth. The latter is addressed to the king's daughter, and the scribe mentions several gods and goddesses to whom, he says, he prays daily for the health and prosperity of the princess and king. He closes with the wish that Bel and Nebo may turn toward him the friendly faces of the king and princess. Some of the scribes, almost regularly, omit the invocation, e. g., Tâbu-šil-šarra and Tim-ašur. During the period of this correspondence the worship of Nebo and Merodach was most prominent.

The author has done his work carefully and well. To insure, if possible, a more correct text the majority of his copies were submitted to Mr. Pinches for collation. In difficult texts, however, it is almost impossible to secure accuracy at every point. We have collated twenty-five of these letters and have found very few instances where we would venture a different reading. The following corrections are submitted: p. 21, last line, read *bul* for *ád* (cf. l. 2, p. 22); p. 40, l. 16, read *bab*, *kur* for *nu*; p. 44, l. 5, beginning, read *í*, in the middle read *tu* for *la*; l. 11, there is nothing wanting after *am*; l. 19, read *at*; p. 50, l. 12, *lu* is, perhaps, to be supplied at the end as S. A. Smith did at the suggestion of Pater Strassmaier; p. 88, l. 5, rev. read *hi-i-ti-šu* after *ša*; l. 11, there are traces before *šu*; l. 12, read *ma-a kaspu* before *šêbila*; p. 89, l. 5 is omitted, read *ana šarri bêlija*; lines 10 and 11, at the beginning are traces of three and two

wedges respectively; Rev. l. 12, read *tur* for the sign after §4. In Index II., p. xiv, Col. I., last line, read 43, 44 for "113, 114." In all the instances where the author has differed from his predecessors his readings are preferable.

The University of Chicago Press is to be congratulated on the general appearance and typographical execution of this book, the first to bear its imprimatur, and, especially, because its first work is a pledge of its interest in scientific study. The book is an 8vo of 116 pages containing letters from *nineteen* scribes on various state and local, mercantile, religious and private affairs. The work promises to be an important addition to Assyrian literature.

J. A. CRAIG.

LONDON, Nov. 4th, 1892.

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